THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD, IN FIVE BOOKS.

THE FIRST

Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the Creation unto ABRAHAM.

THE SECOND,

Of the Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the Temple of SALOMON.

THE THIRD,

From the destruction of JERUSALEM to the time of PHILIP of MACEDON.

THE FOURTH,

From the Reign of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the establishing of that Kingdom in the Race of ANTIGONUS.

THE FIFTH,

From the settled Rule of ALEXANDERS Successors in the East, untill the ROMANS (prevailing over all) made Conquest of ASIA and MACEDON.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.

LONDON,
Printed for *Robert White*, *John Place*, and *George Dawes*; and are to be sold by *George Dawes* at his Shop over against *Lincolns*-Inne Gate in *Chancery*-lane,
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The Contents of the Chapters, Paragraphs, and Sections, in the first Book of the first Part of the History of the World.

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§. IX. *Of* Jephtah: *and how the three hundred years which he speaketh of* Judges 11. verse 28. *are to be reconciled with the places,* Acts 13. 20. 1 Reg. 6. 1. *together with some other things touching Chronology about these times.*

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§. III. *Of the great battell between* Jeroboam *and* Abia; *with a Colorarie of the examples of Gods judgements.*

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§. I.

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Of Athalia, *and whose son he was that succeeded unto her.*

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OF Athalia *her usurping the Kingdom: and what pretences she might forge.*

§. II. *How* Jehu *spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest* Athalia.

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THE

THE PREFACE.

How unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my ſelf, to undertake a Work of this mixture; mine own reaſon, though exceeding weak, hath ſufficiently reſolved me. For had it been begotten then, with my firſt dawn of day, when the light of common knowledg began to open it ſelf to my younger years, and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well have doubted, that the darkneſs of Age and Death would have covered over both It and Me, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation, I have proceeded with the Hiſtory of the World; and laſtly, purpoſed (ſome few ſallies excepted) to confine my Diſcourſe, with this our renowned Iſland of Great Britain. *I confeſs that it had better ſorted with my diſability, the better part of whoſe times are run out in other travels, to have ſet together (as I could) the unjointed and ſcattered frame of our* Engliſh *affairs, than of the Univerſal: in whom, had there been no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough: the day of a tempeſtuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began. But thoſe inmoſt and ſoul-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured, with the deſire to ſatisfy thoſe few friends, which I have tried by the fire of Adverſity; the former enforcing, the later perſuading; have cauſed me to make my thoughts legible, and my ſelf the ſubject of every Opinion, wiſe or weak.*

To the World I preſent them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were (Fortune changing) ſped much better in any Age. For Proſperity and Adverſity have evermore tyed and untyed vulgar affections. And as we ſee it in Experience, That Doggs do always bark at thoſe they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in thoſe clamours: ſo it is with the inconſiderate multitude; who, wanting that Vertue which we call Honeſty in all men, and that eſpecial gift of GOD, which we call Charity in Chriſtian men; condemn without hearing, and wound without offence given: led thereunto by uncertain Report only; which His Majeſty *truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies.* Blame no man (*ſaith Siracides*) before thou have enquired the matter: underſtand firſt, and then reform righteouſly. *Rumor, res ſine Teſte, ſine Judice, maligna, fallax;* Rumour is without Witneſs, without Judge, malicious, and deceivable. *This vanity of vulgar Opinion it was, that gave S.* Auguſtine *Argument to affirm, That he feared the praiſe of good men, and deteſted that of the evil. And herein no man hath given a better Rule, than this of* Seneca; Conſcientiæ ſatisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus, ſequatur vel

Dæmonol. g. l. 3 c. 1.

Eccleſ 11. 7.

Laudari à bonis timeo, & amari à malis deteſtor.

Sen. de ira, l. 3. c. 22.

vel mala, dum bene merearis: Let us ſatisfie our own Conſciences, and not trouble our ſelves with fame; be it never ſo ill, it is to be deſpiſed, ſo we deſerve well.

For my ſelf, if I have in any thing ſerved my Countrey, and prized it before my private: the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair Sun-ſhine day to a Sea-man after Shipwrack; and the contrary no other harm, than an outragious tempeſt after the Port attained. I know that I loſt the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her whom I muſt ſtill honour in the duſt; though further than the defence of Her excellent Perſon, I never perſecuted any man. Of thoſe that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supreme Judg of all the World, hath taken the accompt: ſo as for this kind of ſuffering, I muſt ſay with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that have made themſelves Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them; I can neither envy at ſuch their purchaſed glory, nor much lament mine own miſ-hap in that kind; but content my ſelf to ſay with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, *in many particulars. To labour other ſatisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope, ſeeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travel the World without a Paſs-port. For were it otherwiſe; and were there not as many internal forms of the mind, as there are external figures of men; there were then ſome poſſibility to perſuade by the mouth of one Advocate, even Equity alone.*

But ſuch is the multiplying, and extenſive vertue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giving life which God hath caſt upon ſlime and duſt, as that among thoſe that were, of whom we read and hear; and among thoſe that are, whom we ſee and converſe with; every one hath received a ſeveral Picture of face, and every one a divers Picture of mind; every one a form a-part, every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature ſo much triumpheth, as in diſſimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is found ſo great diverſity of Opinions; ſo ſtrong a contrarity of inclinations: ſo many natural and unnatural; wiſe, fooliſh, manly, and childiſh affections and paſſions in mortal men. For it is not the viſible faſhion and ſhape of Plants, and of reaſonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the form internal.

And though it pleaſed God to reſerve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himſelf; yet, as the fruit tells the name of the Tree; ſo do the outward works of men (ſo farr as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to gheſs at the reſt. Nay, it were not hard to expreſs the one by the other, very near the life, did not craft in many, fear in the moſt, and the World's love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compaſs it hath, to qualifie and mask over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be alſo true, Nemo poteſt diu perſonam ferre fictam: cito in naturam ſuam reſidunt, quibus veritas non ſubeſt: No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour; the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long diſſemble their own natures. *Neither can any man (ſaith* Plutarch) *ſo change himſelf, but that his heart may be ſometimes ſeen at his tongues end.*

In this great diſcord, and diſ-ſimilitude of reaſonable Creatures, if we direct our ſelves to the Multitude; Omnes honeſtæ rei malus Judex eſt vulgus: The common People are evil Judges of honeſt things, *and* whoſe Wiſdom (*ſaith Eccleſiaſtes*) is to be deſpiſed: *if*

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to the better ſort ; every underſtanding hath a peculiar judgment, by which it both cenſureth other men, and valueth it ſelf. And therefore unto me it will not ſeem ſtrange, though I find theſe my worthleſs Papers torn with Rats ; ſeeing the ſlothfull Cenſurers of all Ages have not ſpared to tax the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition ; the ſevereſt men to themſelves, with Hypocriſie ; the greateſt lovers of Juſtice, with Popularity ; and thoſe of the trueſt Valour and Fortitude, with Vain-glory. But of theſe natures, which lie in wait to find fault, and to turn good into evil, ſeeing Solomon *complained long ſince ; and that the very Age of the World renders it every day after other more malicious ; I muſt leave the Profeſſors to their eaſie ways of reprehenſion, than which there is nothing of more facility.*

Eccleſ cap. 12. Nihil facilius quàm reprehendere alium.

To me it belongs in the firſt part of this Preface, following the common and approved cuſtom of thoſe, who have left the memories of Time-paſt to after-Ages ; to give, as near as I can, the ſame right to Hiſtory which they have done. Yet, ſeeing therein I ſhould but borrow other mens words ; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it hath been honoured ; in this one it triumpheth over all humane knowledg, That it hath given us life in our underſtanding, ſince the World it ſelf had life and begining, even to this day ; yea, it hath triumphed over time, which, beſides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over : for it hath carried our knowledg over the vaſt and devouring ſpace of many thouſands of years, and given ſo fair and piercing eyes to our mind ; that we plainly behold living now (as if we had lived then) that great world, Magni Dei ſapiens opus, The wiſe work (*ſaith* Hermes) of a great God, *as it was then, when but new to it ſelf. By it (I ſay) it is, that we live in the very time when it was created : we behold how it was governed ; how it was covered with waters, and again re-peopled ; how Kings and Kingdoms have flouriſhed and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made proſperous ; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the leaſt debt we ow unto Hiſtory, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead Anceſtors ; and, out of the depth and darkneſs of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of Hiſtory a policy no leſs wiſe than eternal ; by the compariſon and application of other mens fore-paſſed miſeries with our own like errors and ill deſervings. But it is neither of Examples the moſt lively inſtruction, nor the words of the wiſeſt men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet ſo wrought in our blind and ſtupified mindes, as to make us remember, That the Infinite Eye and Wiſdom of God doth pierce thorow all our pretences, as to make us remember, That the Juſtice of God doth require none other accuſer, than our own conſciences ; which neither the falſe beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacifie the Opinions of men) we put on ; can in any, or the leaſt kind, cover from his knowledg. And ſo much did that heathen Wiſdom confeſs, no way as yet qualified by the knowledg of a true God : If any (ſaith* Euripides) having in his life committed wickedneſs, think he can hide it from the everlaſting gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat GOD'S Judgments in particular, upon thoſe of all degrees, which have played with his Mercies, would require a Volume a-part : for the Sea *of Examples hath no bottom. The marks, ſet on private men, are with their bodies caſt into the Earth ; and their fortunes written onely in the memories of thoſe that lived with them : ſo as they who ſucceeded, and have not ſeen the fall of others, do not fear their own faults. GODS Judgments upon*

the greater and greateſt have been left to Poſterity; firſt, by thoſe happy hands which the Holy Ghoſt hath guided; and ſecondly, by their vertue, who have gathered the acts and ends of Men mighty and remarkable in the World. Now, to point farr off, and to ſpeak of the converſion of Angels into Devils, for Ambition: Or of the greateſt and moſt glorious Kings, who have gnawn the graſs of the earth with Beaſts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or, of that wiſe working of Pharaoh, *when he ſlew the Infants of* Iſrael, *ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or, of the policy of* Jezabel, *in covering the murther of* Naboth *by a trial of the* Elders, *according to the Law, with many thouſands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeleſs proof, that far-off Examples would not be left to the ſame far-off Reſpects, as heretofore? For who hath not obſerved, what labour, practice, peril, bloud-ſhed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the World have undergone, exerciſed, taken on them, and committed; to make themſelves and their Iſſues Maſters of the World? And yet hath* Babylon, Perſia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, *and the reſt, no fruit, no flower, graſs, nor leaf, ſpringing upon the face of the earth, of thoſe ſeeds: No, their very roots and ruines do hardly remain.* Omnia quæ manu hominum facta ſunt, vel manu hominum evertuntur, vel ſtando & durando deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is either overturned by the hand of man, or at length, by ſtanding and continuing conſumed. *The reaſons of whoſe ruines, are diverſly given by thoſe that ground their Opinions on ſecond cauſes. All Kingdoms and States have fallen (ſay the Politicians) by outward and forein force, or by inward negligence and diſſention, or by a third cauſe ariſing from both. Others obſerve, That the greateſt have ſunk down under their own weight; of which* Livie *hath a touch:* eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret ſua: *Others, That the divine Providence (which* Cratippus *objected to* Pompey) *hath ſet down the date and period of every Eſtate, before their firſt foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my ſelf a day over to reſolve.*

For ſeeing the firſt Books of the following Story, have undertaken the Diſcourſe of the firſt Kings and Kingdoms: and that it is impoſſible for the ſhort life of a Preface to travel after, and over-take far-off Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the preſent, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, and their Neighbour Princes; who having beheld, both in divine and humane letters, the ſucceſs of infidelity, injuſtice, and cruelty; have (notwithſtanding) planted after the ſame pattern.

True it is, that the judgments of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more ſtrange) the affection of any one man ſtirred up alike with examples of like nature: But every one is touched moſt with that which moſt nearly ſeemeth to touch his own private; Or otherwiſe beſt ſuteth with his apprehenſion. But the judgments of GOD are for ever unchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long proceſs of time, and won to give his bleſſing in one Age, to that which he hath curſed in another. Wherefore thoſe that are wiſe, or whoſe wiſdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to diſcern the bitter fruits of irreligious policy, as well among thoſe examples that are found in Ages removed farr from the preſent, as in thoſe of later times. And that it may no leſs appear by evident proof, than by aſſeveration, That ill doing hath always been attended with ill ſucceſs; I will here, by way of Pre-

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face, run over ſome examples, which the Work enſuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman Race, *we have no ſooner paſſed over the violence of the* Norman *Conqueſt, than we encounter with a ſingular and moſt remarkable example of Gods Juſtice, upon the children of* Henry *the Firſt. For that King, when by force, craft, and cruelty, he had diſpoſſeſt, over-reach'd, and laſtly made blind, and deſtroyed his elder Brother,* Robert, *Duke of* Normandy, *to make his own Sons Lords of the Land; GOD caſt them all, Male and Female, Nephews and Neeces* (Maud *excepted*) *into the bottom of the* Sea, *with above an hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the Kings dearly beloved.*

To paſs over the reſt, till we come to Edward *the Second; it is certain, that after the murther of that King, the iſſue of bloud then made, though it had ſome times of ſtay and ſtopping, did again break out, and that ſo often, and in ſuch abundance, as all our Princes of the Maſculine Race (very few excepted) died of the ſame diſeaſe. And although the young years of* Edward *the Third, made his knowledg of that horrible fact no more than ſuſpicious; yet, in that he afterwards cauſed his own Uncle, the Earl of* Kent, *to die, for no other offence, than the deſire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earl as then ſuppoſed to be living; the King making that to be Treaſon in his Uncle, which was indeed Treaſon in himſelf, (had his Uncles intelligence been true) this, I ſay, made it manifeſt, that he was not ignorant of what had paſt, nor greatly deſirous to have had it otherwiſe; though he cauſed* Mortimer *to die for the ſame.*

This cruelty, the ſecret and unſearchable Judgment of GOD, revenged on the Grand-child of Edward *the Third; and ſo it fell out, even to the laſt of that Line, that in the ſecond or third deſcent, they were all buried under the ruines of thoſe buildings, of which the Mortar had been tempered with innocent bloud. For* Richard *the Second, who ſaw both his* Treaſurers, *his* Chancellor, *and his* Steward, *with divers others of his Counſellors, ſome of them ſlaughtered by the people, others in his abſence executed by his enemies; yet he always took himſelf for over-wiſe, to be taught by examples. The Earls of* Huntington *and* Kent, Montagu *and* Spencer, *who thought themſelves as great Politicians in thoſe days, as others have done in theſe; hoping to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelves by the murther of* Glouceſter; *died ſoon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farr more ſhamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himſelf (who, in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his Greatneſs, cannot be excuſed, as the diſavowing himſelf by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents:) He was in the prime of his youth depoſed, and murthered by his Couſin-Germane and Vaſſal,* Henry *of* Lancaſter, *afterwards* Henry *the Fourth.*

This King, whoſe Title was weak, and his obtaining the Crown trayterous; who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, proteſting to intend only the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard *himſelf, and brake faith with all the Kingdom in Parliament, to whom he ſwore, that the depoſed King ſhould live. After he had enjoyed this Realm ſome few years, and in that time had been ſet upon on all ſides by his Subjects, and never free from Conſpiracies and Rebellions: he ſaw (if Souls immortal ſee and diſcern any things after the Bodies Death) his Grand-child* Henry

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the Sixth, and his Son the Prince, ſuddenly, and without mercy, murthered; the poſſeſſion of the Crown (for which he had cauſed ſo much bloud to be poured out) transferred from his Race, and by the Iſſues of his enemies worn and enjoy'd; enemies, whom, by his own practice, he ſuppoſed that he had left no leſs powerleſs, than the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom queſtionleſs, by entailing the ſame upon his own Iſſues by Parliament. And, out of doubt, humane reaſon could have judged no otherwiſe, but that theſe cautious proviſions of the Father, ſeconded by the valour and ſignal victories of his Son Henry *the Fifth, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the deſpair of all re-conqueſt and recovery. I ſay, that humane reaſon might ſo have judged, were not this paſſage of* Cauſabon *alſo true*; Dies, hora, momentum, evertendis dominationibus ſufficet, quæ Adamantinis credebantur radicibus eſſe fundatæ; A day, an hour, a moment, is enough to overturn the things that ſeem to have been founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now, for Henry *the Sixth, upon whom the greateſt ſtorm of his Grand-father's grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon* Richard, *the Grand-child of* Edward; *although he was generally eſteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince, yet, as he refuſed the Daughter of* Armaignac, *of the Houſe of* Navarre, *the greateſt of the Princes of* France, *to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in* France) *and married the Daughter of* Anjou (*by which he loſt all that he had in* France) *ſo in condeſcending to the unworthy death of his Uncle of* Glouceſter, *the main and ſtrong Pillar of the Houſe of* Lancaſter; *He drew on himſelf and his Kingdom the greateſt joint-loſs and diſhonour, that ever it ſuſtained ſince the* Norman *Conqueſt. Of whom it may truly be ſaid, which a Counſellor of his own ſpake of* Henry *the Third of* France, Q'uil eſtoit une fort gentile Prince; mais ſon reigne eſt advenu en une fort mauvois temps: That he was a very gentle Prince; but his Reign happened in a very unfortunate Seaſon.

It is true, that Buckingham *and* Suffolk *were the practicers and contrivers of the Duke's death*: Buckingham *and* Suffolk, *becauſe the Duke gave inſtructions to their authority, which otherwiſe under the Queen had been abſolute; the Queen, in reſpect of her perſonal wound,* ſpretæque injuria formæ, *becauſe* Glouceſter *diſſuaded her marriage. But the fruit was anſwerable to the ſeed; the ſucceſs to the counſel. For after the cutting down of* Glouceſter, York *grew up ſo faſt, as he dared to diſpute his Right, both by arguments and arms; in which quarrel,* Suffolk *and* Buckingham, *with the greateſt number of their adherents, were diſſolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleaſed God to ſtrike down* York; *yet his Son the Earl of* March, *following the plain path which his Father had troden out, deſpoiled* Henry *the Father, and* Edward *the Son, both of their lives and Kingdom. And what was the end now of that politick* Lady *the* Queen, *other than this, That ſhe lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers; that ſhe lived to look on, while her Husband the King, and her onely Son the Prince, were hewen in ſunder; while the Crown was ſet on his head that did it? She lived to ſee her ſelf deſpoiled of her eſtate, and of her movables: and laſtly, her Father, by rendring up the Crown of* France, *the Earldom of* Provence, *and other places, for the payment of* 50000. *crowns for her Ranſome, to become a ſtark Beggar. And this was the end of that ſubtilty, which* Siracides *calleth* fine, *but* unrigh-

unrighteous : *for other fruit hath it never yielded ſince the World was.* Sir. c. 19.

And now it came to Edward *the Fourth's turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of* Lancaſter *were rooted up, one onely Earl of* Richmond *excepted; whom alſo he had once bought of the Duke of* Britain, *but could not hold him. And yet was not this of* Edward *ſuch a Plantation, as could any way promiſe it ſelf ſtability. For this* Edward *the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld & allowed the ſlaughter which* Glouceſter, Dorſet, Haſtings, *and others, made of* Edward *the Prince in his own preſence; of which tragical Actors, there was not one that eſcaped the Judgment of GOD in the ſame kind. And he, which (beſides the execution of his Brother* Clarence, *for none other offence than he himſelf had formed in his own imagination) inſtructed* Glouceſter *to kill* Henry *the Sixth, his Predeceſſor; taught him alſo, by the ſame art, to kill his own Sons and Succeſſors,* Edward *and* Richard. For, thoſe Kings which have ſold the bloud of others at a low rate; have but made the Market for their own enemies, to buy of theirs at the ſame price.

To Edward *the Fourth, ſucceeded* Richard *the Third, the greateſt Maſter in miſchief of all that fore-went him; who, although, for the neceſſity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to perform in his own Perſon, than all the reſt; yet he ſo well fitted every affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his own intereſt. For he wrought ſo cunningly upon the affections of* Haſtings *and* Buckingham, *enemies to the Queen, and to all her Kinred, as he eaſily allured them to condeſcend, that* Rivers *and* Grey, *the Kings Maternal Uncle and half Brother, ſhould (for the firſt) be ſevered from him: Secondly, he wrought their conſent to have them impriſoned: And laſtly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their Heads ſevered from their Bodies. And having now brought thoſe his chief inſtruments to exerciſe that common Precept which the Devil hath written upon every Poſt, namely, To depreſs thoſe whom they had grieved, and to deſtroy thoſe whom they had depreſs'd; He urged that Argument ſo farr, and ſo forcibly; as nothing but the death of the young King himſelf, and of his Brother, could faſhion the concluſion. For he cauſed it to be hammered into* Buckingham's *head, That, whenſoever the King, or his Brother, ſhould have able years to exerciſe their power, they would take a moſt ſevere revenge of that cureleſs wrong offered to their Uncle and Brother,* Rivers *and* Grey. Scelera ſceleribus tuenda. Sen. de Clem.

But this was not his manner of reaſoning with Haſtings, *whoſe fidelity to his Maſters Sons was without ſuſpect; and yet the Devil, who never diſſuades by impoſſibility, taught him to try him. And ſo he did. But, when he found by* Catesby, *who ſounded him, that he was not fordable, he firſt reſolved to kill him ſitting in Council; wherein having failed with his Sword, he ſet the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And, becauſe nothing elſe could move his appetite, he cauſed his head to be ſtricken off, before he eat his Dinner. A greater Judgment of God, than this upon* Haſtings, *I have never obſerved in any Story. For, the ſelf-ſame day that the Earl* Rivers, Grey, *and others, were (without trial of Law, or offence given) by* Haſtings *advice, executed at* Pomfret; *I ſay,* Haſtings *himſelf, in the ſame day, and (as I take it) in the ſame hour, in the ſame lawleſs manner, had his Head ſtruck off in the Tower of* London. *But* Buckingham *lived a while longer; and with an eloquent Oration perſuaded the* Londoners *to elect* Richard *for their King. And having received the Earl-*

dom

down of Hereford *for reward, beſides the hope of marrying his Daughter to the Kings onely Son: after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his truſtieſt ſervant; he had his Head ſevered from his Body at* Salisbury, *without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what ſucceſs had* Richard *himſelf after all theſe miſchiefs and murthers, policies, and counter-policies to Chriſtian Religion; and after ſuch time as with a mercileſs hand he had preſſed out the breath of his Nephews and Natural Lords, other than the proſperity of ſo ſhort a life, as it took end, ere himſelf could well look over and diſcern it? the great out-cry of innocent bloud obtained at GOD'S hands the effuſion of his; who became a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour, both to his friends and enemies.*

This cruel King, Henry *the Seventh cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate inſtrument of Gods Juſtice. A politick Prince he was, if ever there were any, who by the engine of his wiſdom, beat down and overturned as many ſtrong oppoſitions, both before and after he wore the Crown, as ever King of* England *did; I ſay, by his wiſdom, becauſe, as he ever left the reins of his affections in the hands of his profit, ſo he always weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazzard than ſo much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well obſerved the proceedings of* Loys *the Eleventh, whom he followed in all was royal, or royal-like; but he was farr more juſt, and begun not their proceſſes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as* Loys *did.*

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his ſervants, and therein exceeding wiſe; for whatſoever himſelf gave, he himſelf received back the thanks and the love, knowing it well, that the affections of men (purchaſed by nothing ſo readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great Kings, than great Subjects. On the contrary, in whatſoever he grieved his Subjects, he wiſely put it off on thoſe that he found fit miniſters for ſuch actions. Howſoever, the taking off of Stanlies *Head, who ſet the Crown on his, and the death of the young Earl of* Warwick, *Son to* George *Duke of* Clarence, *ſhews, as the ſucceſs alſo did, that he held ſomewhat of the errors of his Anceſtors; for his poſſeſſion in the firſt Line ended in his Grand-child, as that of* Edward *the Third, and* Henry *the Fourth had done.*

Now, for King Henry *the Eighth, if all the Pictures and Patterns of a mercileſs Prince were loſt in the World, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the Story of this King. For, how many ſervants did he advance in haſt (but for what vertue no man could ſuſpect) and with the change of his fancy ruined again; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others, of more deſert, gave he abundant flowers from whence to gather Honey, and in the end of Harveſt burnt them in the Hive? How many Wives did he cut off, and caſt off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the bloud (wherof ſome of them for age, could hardly crawl towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles have kept the accompt) did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to give his accompt to GOD for the abundance of bloud already ſpilt: He impriſoned the Duke of* Norfolk *the Father; and executed the Earl of* Surry *the Son; the one, whoſe deſerving he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his own honour, and the Kings ſervice; the other never having committed any thing worthy of his leaſt diſpleaſure; the one exceeding valiant and adviſed; the other no leſs valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But beſides the ſorrows which he heaped upon the*

Fatherleſs

Fatherleſs and Widows, at home; and beſides the vain enterpriſes abroad, wherein it is thought that he conſumed more treaſure, than all our victorious Kings did in their ſeveral Conqueſts; what cauſleſs and cruel warrs did he make upon his own Nephew King James *the Fifth? What Laws and Wills did he deviſe to eſtabliſh this Kingdom in his own Iſſues? uſing his ſharpeſt weapons to cut off, and cut down thoſe Branches, which ſprang from the ſame root that himſelf did. And in the end (notwithſtanding theſe his ſo many irreligious proviſions) it pleaſed God to take away all his own, without increaſe; though, for themſelves in their ſeveral kinds, all Princes of eminent vertue. For theſe words of* Samuel *to* Agag *King of the* Amalekites, *have been verified upon many others:* As thy Sword hath made other women childleſs, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſs among other women. *And that bloud which the ſame King* Henry *affirmed, that the cold air of* Scotland *had frozen up in the North, God hath diffuſed by the Sun-ſhine of his grace; from whence his* Majeſty *now living, and long to live, is deſcended. Of whom I may ſay it truly, That if all the malice of the World were infuſed into one eye; yet could it not diſcern in his life, even to this day, any one of thoſe foul ſpots, by which the conſciences of all the fore-named Princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent bloud on the Sword of his Juſtice, with which the moſt that fore-went him have ſtained both their hands and fame. And for this Crown of* England, *it may truly be avowed; that he hath received it even from the Hand of God, and hath ſtaied the time of putting it on, howſoever he were provoked to haſten it: That he never took revenge of any man that ſought to put him beſide it; That he refuſed the aſſiſtance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever Princeſs did: That* His Majeſty *entred not by a breach, nor by bloud; but by the Ordinary Gate, which his own right ſet open; and into which, by a general love and obedience, He was received. And howſoever* His Majeſty's *preceding title to this Kingdom, was preferred by many Princes (witneſs the Treaty at* Cambray *in the year* 1559.) *yet he never pleaſed to diſpute it, during the life of that renowned* Lady *his Predeceſſor; no, notwithſtanding the injury of not being declared Heir, in all the time of her long Reign.*

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulneſs to God for the uniting of the Northern parts of Britanny *to the South, to wit, of* Scotland *to* England, *which, though they were ſevered, but by ſmall brooks and banks, yet, by reaſon of the long continued warr, and the cruelties exerciſed upon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely ſevered. This, I ſay, is not the leaſt of God's bleſſings which* His Majeſty *hath brought with him unto this Land; No, put all our petty grievances together, and heap them up to the height, they will appear as a Mole-Hill, compared with the* Mountain *of this concord. And if all the Hiſtorians ſince then have acknowledged the uniting of the* Red-Roſe *and the* White, *for the greateſt happineſs (Chriſtian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdom received from God, certainly, the peace between the two Lions of* Gold *and* Gules, *and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, beſides the ſparing of our* Britiſh *Bloud, heretofore, and during the difference, ſo often and abundantly ſhed, the ſtate of* England *is more aſſured, the Kingdom more enabled to recover her antient honour and rights, and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies, and conqueſts. It is true, that hereof we do not yet find the effect. But, had the Duke of* Parma, *in the year* 1588. *joined the Army which he commanded, with that of* Spain, *and landed it on the South-*

coast; *and had* His Majesty *at the same time declared himself against us in the North, it is easie to divine what had become of the Liberty of* England; *certainly, we would then, without murmure, have brought this Union a farr greater praise than it hath since cost us. It is true, that there was never any Common-weal, or Kingdom in the World, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings live in the World, and not above it. They are not Infinite, to examine every man's cause, or to relieve every man's wants. And yet, in the later (though to his own prejudice)* His Majesty *hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his own Coffers. Of whom it may be said, as of* Solomon, Dedit Deus *Solomoni* latitudinem cordis; *Which, if other men do not understand with* Pineda, *to be meant by* Liberality, *but by* Latitude of knowledg; *yet may it be better spoken of* His Majesty, *than of any King that ever* England *had; who, as well in divine, as in humane understanding hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.*

...ament in Sa.. 1. K. 4.

I could say much more of the Kings Majesty, *without flattery: did I not fear the imputation of presumption, and withall suspect, that it might befall these Papers of mine (though the loss were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen* Elizabeth, *made by unskilfull and common Painters, which, by her own commandment were knock'd in pieces, and cast into the fire. For ill* Artists, *in setting out the Beauty of the external; and weak Writers, in describing the Vertues of the internal; do often leave to Posterity, of well formed faces, a deformed memory; and of the most Perfect and Princely minds, a most defective Representation. It may suffice, and there needs no other discourse; if the honest* Reader *but compare the cruel and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom, for that purpose I have inserted this brief Discourse) with* His Majesties *temperat, revengeless, and liberal disposition; I say, that if the honest* Reader *weigh them justly, and with an even hand; and withall, but bestow every deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man that hath so just a cause to complain, as the King himself hath. Now, as we have told the success of the trumperies, and cruelties of our own Kings, and other great Personages; so we find, that GOD is every where the same God. And, as it pleased him to punish the usurpation and unnatural cruelty of* Henry *the First, and of our Third* Edward, *in their Children for many Generations: so dealt he with the Sons of* Loys Debonaire, *the Son of* Charls *the Great, or* Charlemain. *For after such time as* Debonaire *of* France *had torn out the eyes of* Bernard *his Nephew, the Son of* Pepin, *the eldest Son of* Charlemaine, *and Heir of the Empire, and then caused him to die in Prison, as did our* Henry *to* Robert *his elder Brother; there followed nothing but murthers upon murthers, poisoning, imprisonments, and civil Warr; till the whole Race of that famous Emperor was extinguished. And though* Debonaire, *after he had rid himself of his Nephew by a violent death, and of his bastard Brothers by a civil death (having inclosed them with sure guard all the days of their lives, within a Monastery) held himself secure from all opposition; yet God raised up against him (which he suspected not) his own Sons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him; his own Sons, with whom (to satisfie their ambition) he had shared his estate, and given them Crowns to wear, and Kingdoms to govern, during his own life. Yea, his eldest Son* Lothaire *(for he had four, three by his first Wife, and one by his second; to wit,* Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, *and* Charles) *made*

made it the cauſe of his depoſition, that he had uſed violence toward his Brothers and Kinſmen; and that he had ſuffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be ſlain. Eo quod, *ſaith the Text,* fratribus & propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem ſuum, quem ipſe liberare poterat, interfici permiſerit; Becauſe he uſed violence to his Brothers and Kinſmen, and ſuffered his Nephew to be ſlain, whom he might have delivered. *Sicp. Poſſuiere rer. hiſt. l. 5. c. 1.*

Yet did he that which few Kings do; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things which he performed in the General Aſſembly of the States, *it follows:* Poſt hæc autem palam ſe erraſſe confeſſus, & imitatus Imperatoris *Theodoſii* exemplum, pœnitentiam ſpontaneam ſuſcepit, tam de his, quam quæ in *Bernardum* proprium nepotem geſſerat: After this, he did openly confeſs himſelf to have erred, and following the Example of the Emperor *Theodoſius*, he underwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done againſt *Bernard* his own Nephew. *Paſq. Ibidem.*

This he did, and it was praiſe-worthy. But the bloud that is unjuſtly ſpilt, is not again gathered up from the ground by repentance. Theſe Medicines, miniſtred to the dead, have but dead rewards.

The King, as I have ſaid, had four Sons. To Lothaire *his eldeſt, he gave the Kingdom of* Italy, *as* Charlemaine *his Father had done to* Pepin, *the Father of* Bernard, *who was to ſucceed him in the Empire. To* Pepin, *the ſecond Son, he gave the Kingdom of* Aquitaine; *to* Loys, *the Kingdom of* Bavier; *and to* Charls, *whom he had by a ſecond Wife, called* Judith, *the remainder of the Kingdom of* France. *But his ſecond Wife, being a mother-in-law to the reſt, perſuaded* Debonaire, *to caſt his Son* Pepin *out of* Aquitaine; *thereby to greaten* Charls, *which, after the death of his Son* Pepin, *he proſecuted to effect againſt his Grand-child bearing the ſame name. In the mean while, being invaded by his Son* Loys *of* Bavier, *he dies for grief.*

Debonaire *dead,* Loys *of* Bavier, *and* Charles *afterward, called the* Bald, *and their Nephew* Pepin *of* Aquitaine, *join in league againſt the Emperor* Lothaire *their eldeſt Brother. They fight near to* Auxerre, *the moſt bloudy battel that ever was ſtrucken in* France; *in which, the marvellous loſs of Nobility, and men of Warr, gave courage to the* Saracens *to invade* Italy; *to the* Hunns *to fall upon* Almaine; *and the* Danes *to enter upon* Normandy. Charles *the* Bald *by Treaſon ſeizeth upon his Nephew* Pepin, *kills him in a Cloyſter*; Carloman *rebels againſt his Father,* Charles *the* bald, *the Father burns out the eys of his Son* Carloman; Bavier *invades the Emperor* Lothaire, *his Brother,* Lothaire *quits the Empire, he is aſſailed and wounded to the heart by his own conſcience, for his Rebellion againſt his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monaſtery.* Charls *the* bald *the Uncle, oppreſſeth his Nephews, the Sons of* Lothaire, *he uſurpeth the Empire, to the prejudice of* Loys *of* Bavier, *his elder Brother*; Bavier's *Armies, and his Son* Carloman, *are beaten, he dies of grief, and the Uſurper* Charles *is poiſoned by* Zedechias *a* Jew, *his Phyſician, his Son* Loys le Beque *dies of the ſame drink.* Beque *had* Charles *the* ſimple, *and two Baſtards,* Loys *and* Carloman; *they rebel againſt their Brother, but the eldeſt breaks his neck, the younger is ſlain by a wild Boar*; *the Son of* Bavier *had the ſame ill deſtiny, and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in ſporting with his companions.*

Charls *the* groſs *becomes Lord of all that the Sons of* Debonaire *held in* Germany; *wherewith not contented, he invades* Charles *the* ſimple; *but being forſaken of his Nobility, of his Wife, and of his Underſtanding; he dies a diſtracted Beggar.* Charles *the* ſimple *is held in Wardſhip by* Eudes, Major *of the Palace, then by* Robert, *the Brother of* Eudes; *and laſtly, being taken by the Earl of* Vermandois, *he is forced to die in the priſon of* Peron. Loys *the Son of* Charles *the* ſimple *breaks his neck in chaſing a Wolf; and of the two Sons of this* Loys, *the one dies of poiſon, the other dies in the Priſon of* Orleans; *after whom,* Hugh Capet, *of another Race, and a ſtranger to the* French, *makes himſelf King.*

Theſe miſerable ends had the Iſſues of Debonaire; *who after he had once apparelled Injuſtice with authority, his Sons and Succeſſors took up the faſhion,, and wore that Garment ſo long without other proviſion, as when the ſame was torn from their ſhoulders, every man deſpiſed them as miſerable and naked Beggars. The wretched ſucceſs they had (ſaith a Learned* French-man) *ſhews,* Que en ceſte mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la juſtice: That in the death of that Prince; to wit, of *Bernard* the Son of *Pepin,* the true Heir *of Charlemain,* men had more meddling than God or Juſtice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certain that Francis *the Firſt, one of the Worthieſt Kings (except for that Fact) that ever the* French-men *had, did never enjoy himſelf, after he had commended the deſtruction of the Proteſtants of* Mirandol, *and* Cabrieres, *to the Parliament of* Provence, *which poor people were thereupon burnt and murthered; men, women, and children. It is true that the ſaid King* Francis *repented himſelf of the fact, and gave charge to* Henry *his Son, to do Juſtice upon the murtherers, threatning his Son with GODS Judgments, if he neglected it. But this unſeaſonable care of his, God was not pleaſed to accept for payment. For after* Henry *was ſlain in ſport by* Montgomery, *we all may remember what became of his four Sons,* Francis, Charles, Henry, *and* Hercules. *Of which, although three of them became Kings, and were maried to beautiful and vertuous Ladies; yet were they, one after another, caſt out of the World, without Stock or Seed. And notwithſtanding their ſubtilty, and breach of Faith; with all their Maſſacres upon thoſe of the Religion, and great effuſion of bloud, the Crown was ſet on his Head, whom they all laboured to diſſolve; the Proteſtants remain more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more ſtrong Cities than ever they had.*

Let us now ſee if God be not the ſame God in Spain *as in* England *and* France. *Towards whom we will look no further back than to* Don Pedro *of* Caſtile,; *in reſpect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of* Sicil, *our* Richard *the Third, and the great* Evan Vaſilowick *of* Moſcovia, *were but petty ones: this* Caſtilian, *of all the Chriſtian and Heathen Kings, having been the moſt mercileſs. For, beſides thoſe of his own Bloud and Nobility, which he had cauſed to be ſlain in his own Court and Chamber, as* Sancho Ruis; *the great Maſter of* Calatrava, Ruis Gonſales, Alphonſo Tello, *and* Don John *of* Arragon, *whom he cut in pieces, and caſt into the ſtreets, denying him Chriſtian burial: I ſay, beſides theſe, and the ſlaughter of* Gomes Mauriques, Diego Peres, Alphonſo Gomes, *and the great Commander of* Caſtile; *he made away the two Infants of* Arragon *his Couſin-Germans, his Brother* Don Frederick, Don John de la Cerde, Albuquergues, Nugnes de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Guttiere *his great Treaſurer, and all his*

his Kinred; and a world of others. Neither did he ſpare his two youngeſt Brothers, innocent Princes, whom after he had kept in cloſe Priſon from their Cradles, till one of them had lived ſixteen years, and the other fourteen; he murthered them there. Nay, he ſpared not his Mother, nor his Wife the Lady Blanch *of* Bourbon. *Laſtly, as he cauſed the Arch-biſhop of* Toledo, *and the Dean to be killed, of purpoſe to enjoy their Treaſures; ſo did he put to death* Mahomet Aben Alhamar, *King of* Barbary, *with thirty ſeven of his Nobility, that came unto him for ſuccor, with a great ſumm of Money, to levy (by his favour) ſome Companies of Souldiers to return withall. Yea, he would needs aſſiſt the Hangman with his own hand, in the execution of the old King; in ſo much as Pope* Urban *declareth him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdom, and re-eſtabliſhed by the valour of the* Engliſh Nation, *led by the famous Duke of* Lancaſter; *He was ſtabbed to death by his younger Brother, the Earl of* Aſtramara, *who diſpoſſeſſed all his Children of their Inheritance, which, but for their Fathers injuſtice and cruelty, had never been in danger of any ſuch thing.* Hiſt. of Spain.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it muſt be Duke John *of* Burgoign, *who, after his trayterous murther of the Duke of* Orleans, *cauſed the Conſtable of* Armagnac, *the Chancellor of* France, *the Biſhops of* Conſtance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, *and other religious and reverend Church-men, the Earl of* gran Pre, Hector *of* Chartes, *and (in effect) all the Officers of Juſtice of the Chamber of Accompts, Treaſury, Requeſts (with ſixteen others to accompany them) to be ſuddenly and violently ſlain. Hereby, while he hoped to govern, and to have maſtered* France; *He was ſoon after ſtrucken with an Ax in the face, in the preſence of the* Dauphin; *and, without any leiſure to repent his miſdeeds, preſently ſlain.* Theſe were the lovers of other mens miſeries; and miſeries found them out. French invent. in anno 1418.

Now, for the Kings of Spain, *which lived both with* Henry *the Seventh,* Henry *the Eighth, Queen* Mary, *and Queen* Elizabeth; Ferdinand *of* Arragon, *was the firſt, and the firſt that laid the foundation of the preſent* Auſtrian *greatneſs. For this King did not content himſelf to hold* Arragon *by the uſurpation of his Anceſtor; and to faſten thereunto the Kingdom of* Caſtile *and* Leon, *which* Iſabel *his Wife held by ſtrong hand, and his aſſiſtance, from her own Neece, the Daughter of the laſt* Henry; *but moſt cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, he alſo caſt his own Neece out of the Kingdom of* Navarre; *and, contrary to Faith, and the Promiſe he made to reſtore it, fortified the beſt places, and ſo waſted the reſt, as there was no means left for any Army to invade it. This King, I ſay, that betrayed alſo* Ferdinand *and* Frederick, *Kings of* Naples, *Princes of his own Bloud, and by double alliance tied unto him; ſold them to the* French; *and with the ſame Army, ſent for their ſuccour under* Gonſalvo, *caſt them out; and ſhared their Kingdom with the* French, *whom afterwards he moſt ſhamefully betrayed.*

This wiſe and politick King, who ſold Heaven and his own Honour, to make his Son the Prince of Spain, *the greateſt Monarch of the World; ſaw him die in the flower of his years; and his Wife great with child, with her untimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldeſt Daughter married unto* Don Alphonſo *Prince of* Portugal, *beheld her firſt Husband break his neck in her preſence; and being with child by her ſecond, died with it. A juſt Judgment of God upon the Race of* Alphonſo, *now wholly extinguiſhed; who had not onely left*

many

many diſconſolate Mothers in Portugal, *by the ſlaughter of their children; but had formerly ſlain with his own hand, the Son and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady* Beatrix, *Dutcheſs of* Viſeo. *The ſecond Daughter of* Ferdinand, *married to the Arch-Duke* Philip, *turned fool, and died mad, and deprived. His third Daughter, beſtowed on King* Henry *the Eighth, he ſaw caſt off by the King; the Mother of many troubles in* England; *and the Mother of a Daughter, that in her unhappy zeal, ſhed a world of innocent bloud; loſt* Calice *to the* French; *and died heart-broken without increaſe. To conclude, all thoſe Kingdoms of* Ferdinand *have maſters of a new name; and by a ſtrange Family are governed and poſſeſs'd.*

Charls *the Fifth, Son to the Arch-Duke* Philip, *in whoſe vain enterpriſes upon the* French, *upon the* Almans *and other Princes and States; ſo many multitudes of Chriſtian Souldiers, and renowned Captains were conſumed; who gave the while a moſt perillous entrance to the* Turks, *and ſuffered* Rhodes, *the Key of Chriſtendom, to be taken; was in concluſion chaſed out of* France, *and, in a ſort, out of* Germany; *and left to the* French, Mentz, Toule, *and* Verdun, *places belonging to the Empire, ſtole away from* Inſpurg; *and ſcaled the* Alpes *by torch-light, perſued by Duke* Maurice; *having hoped to ſwallow up all thoſe Dominions; wherein he concocted nothing, ſave his own diſgraces. And having after the ſlaughter of ſo many Millions of men, no one foot of ground in either, He crept into a Cloyſter, and made himſelf a Penſioner of an hundred thouſand Duckets by the year, to his Son* Philip, *from whom he very ſlowly received his mean and ordinary maintenance.*

Nether. hiſt l. 7. fol. 33.

His Son again, King Philip *the Second, not ſatisfied to hold* Holland *and* Zeland, *(wreſted by his Anceſtors from* Jaqueline, *their lawfull Princeſs) and to poſſeſs in peace many other Provinces of the* Netherlands; *perſuaded by that miſchievous* Cardinal *of* Granvile, *and other* Romiſh *Tyrants; not onely forgot the moſt remarkable ſervices, done to his Father the Emperor, by the Nobility of thoſe Countreys, not onely forgot the Preſent made him upon his entry of fourty Millions of* Florens, *called the* Novaile aid; *nor onely forgot that he had twice moſt ſolemnly ſworn to the General States, to maintain and preſerve their antient Rights, Privileges, and Cuſtoms, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls before him, Conditional Princes of thoſe Provinces: but beginning firſt to conſtrain them, and enthral them by the* Spaniſh Inquiſition, *and then to impoveriſh them by many new deviſed and intollerable Impoſitions, he laſtly, by ſtrong hand and main force, attempted to make himſelf not only an abſolute* Monarch *over them, like unto the Kings and Soveraigns of* England *and* France; *but* Turk-like, *to tread under his feet all their Natural and Fundamental Laws, Privileges, and antient Rights. To effect which, after he had eaſily obtain from the* Pope *a diſpenſation of his former Oaths (which Diſpenſation was the true cauſe of the Warr and Bloudſhed ſince then;) and after he had tried what he could perform, by dividing of their own Nobility, under the Government of his baſe Siſter,* Margaret *of* Auſtria, *and the* Cardinal Granvile; *He employed that moſt mercileſs* Spaniard, Don Ferdinand Alvarez *of* Toledo, *Duke of* Alva, *followed with a powerful Army of ſtrange Nations; by whom he firſt ſlaughtered that renowned Captain, the Earl of* Egmont, *Prince of* Gavare; *and* Philip Montmorency *Earl of* Horn; *made away* Montigue, *and the Marqueſs of* Bergues, *and cut off in thoſe ſix years (that* Alva *Governed) of Gentlemen and*

Hiſt. of the Netherlands.

and others, eighteen thouſand and ſix hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, beſides all his other barbarous murthers and maſſacres. By whoſe miniſtery, when he could not yet bring his affairs to their wiſhed ends, having it in his hope to work that by ſubtilty which he had failed to perform by force, He ſent for Governour, his baſtard Brother, Don John *of* Auſtria; *a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to thoſe people. But he, uſing the ſame Papal advantage that his Predeceſſors had done, make no ſcruple to take Oath upon the holy Evangeliſts, to obſerve the Treaty made with the General States; and to diſcharge the* Low-Countreys *of all* Spaniards, *and other ſtrangers therein garriſoned; Towards whoſe Pay and Paſſport, the* Netherlands *ſtrained themſelves to mak a payment of* 600000. *pounds. Which Moneys received, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed the Citadels of* Antwerp *and* Nemures, *not doubting (being unſuſpected by the States) to have poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the maſtering places of thoſe Provinces. For whatſoever he overtly pretended, he held in ſecret a contrary counſel with the Secretary* Eſcovedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, *and others, Miniſters of the* Spaniſh *Tyranny formerly practiſed, and now again intended. But let us now ſee the effect and end of this perjury, and of all other the Duke's cruelties. Firſt, for himſelf; after he had murthered ſo many of the Nobility; executed (as aforeſaid) eighteen thouſand ſix hundred in ſix years, and moſt cruelly ſlain Man, Woman, and Child in* Mecklin, Zutphen, Narden, *and other places; and after he had conſumed ſix and thirty Millions of treaſure in ſix years, notwithſtanding his* Spaniſh *vaunt, That he would ſuffocate the* Holanders *in their own Butter-barrels, and Milk-tubs; He departed the Countrey no otherwiſe accompanied, than with the curſe and deteſtation of the whole Nation; leaving* His Majeſties *Affairs in a ten-fold worſe eſtate than he found them at his firſt arrival. For* Don John, *whoſe haughty conceit of himſelf overcame the greateſt difficulties; though his judgment were over-weak to mannage the leaſt: What wonders did his fearful breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his Brothers jealouſie and diſtruſt, with the untimely death that ſeized on him, even in the flower of his youth? And for* Eſcovedo *his ſharp-witted Secretary, who in his own imagination had conquered for his Maſter, both* England *and the* Netherlands; *being ſent into* Spain *upon ſome new project, he was at the firſt arrival, and before any acceſs to the King, by certain Ruffians, appointed by* Anthony Peres *(though by better warrant than his) rudely murthered in his own lodging. Laſtly, if we conſider the King of* Spain's *carriage, his counſel and ſucceſs in this buſineſs, there is nothing left to the memory of Man more remarkable. For he hath paid above an hundred Millions, and the lives of above four hundred thouſand Chriſtians, for the loſs of all thoſe Countreys, which, for beauty, gave place to none; and for revenue, did equal his* Weſt-Indies; *for the loſs of a Nation which moſt willingly obeyed him; and who, at this day, after fourty years Warr, are, in deſpight of all his forces, become a free Eſtate, and farr more rich and powerfull than they were, when he firſt began to impoveriſh and oppreſs them.*

Oh! by what plots, by what for-ſwearings, betrayings, oppreſſions, impriſonments, tortures, poiſonings, and under what reaſons of State, and politick ſubtilty, have theſe fore-named Kings, both ſtrangers, and of our own Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD upon themſelves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent miniſters! and in the end, have brought thoſe things to paſs for their enemies, and ſeen an effect ſo directly contrary to all their own counſels

and

and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themſelves; and the other never have ſucceeded; if no ſuch oppoſition had ever been made. GOD hath ſaid it, and performed it ever: Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum; I will deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe.

But what of all this? and to what end do we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead; ſeeing the world is the ſame that it hath been; and the children of the preſent time, will ſtill obey their Parents? It is in the preſent time, that all the wits of the World are exerciſed. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawfull; and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at leaſt we hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For, as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledg, in all things that concern our ſelves; or perſuade our ſelves, that GOD hath given us Letters Patents to perſue all our irreligious affections, with a Non obſtante: *ſo we neither look behind us what hath been, nor before us what ſhall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body: we are by it joined to the earth; we are compounded of earth; and we inhabit it. The Heavens are high, farr off, and unſearchable; we have ſenſe and feeling of corporal things; and of eternal grace, but by revelation. No marvel then that our thoughts are alſo earthly; and it is leſs to be wondred at, that the words of worthleſs men cannot cleanſe them; ſeeing their doctrine and inſtruction, whoſe underſtanding the Holy Ghoſt vouchſafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For, as the Prophet* Eſay *cried out long agone,* Lord, who hath believed our reports? *And out of doubt, as* Eſay *complained then for himſelf and others: ſo are they leſs believed, every day after other. For, although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in every man's mouth, yea, in the diſcourſe of every woman, who, for the greateſt number are but* Idols *of* Vanity; *what is it other than an univerſal diſſimulation? We profeſs that we know GOD, but by works we deny him. For Beatitude doth not conſiſt in the knowledg of divine things, but in a divine life; for the Devils know them better than men.* Beatitudo non eſt divinorum cognitio, ſed vita divina. *And certainly, there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private contention, the paſſionate diſpute, the perſonal hatred, and the perpetual warr, maſſacres, and murthers, for Religion among* Chriſtians; *the diſcourſe whereof hath ſo occupied the World, as it hath well near driven the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not ſoon reſolve, that took knowledg but of the religious diſputations among men, and not of their lives which diſpute, that there were no other thing in their deſires, than the purchace of Heaven; and that the World it ſelf were but uſed as it ought, and as an Inne, or place wherein to repoſe our ſelves in paſſing on towards our Celeſtial habitation? when on the contrary, beſides the Diſcourſe and outward profeſſion, the Soul hath nothing but hypocriſie. We are all (in effect) become Comædians in Religion; and while we act in geſture and voice, divine vertues, in all the courſe of our lives, we renounce our Perſons, and the parts we play. For Charity, Juſtice, and Truth, have but their being* in tearms, *like the Philoſophers* Materia prima.

Paul to Titus, c. 1. v. 10.

Neither is it that wiſdom, which Solomon *defineth to be the* School-Miſtreſs of the Knowledg of God, *that hath valuation in the World; it is enough that we give it our good word: but the ſame which is altogether exerciſed in the ſervice of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchaſe and obtain honour, with the many reſpects*

which

which attend it. These indeed be the marks, which (when we have bent our consciences to the highest) we all shoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our own; the care our own in this life, the peril our own in the future; and yet, when we have gathered the greatest abundance, we our selves enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest, He that had the greatest wisdom, and the greatest ability, that ever man had, hath told us, that this is the use: When goods increase (*saith Solomon*) they also Eccles 5 10.
increase that eat them; and what good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? *As for those that devour the rest, and follow us in fair weather; they again forsake us in the first tempest of misfortune, and steer away before the Sea and Wind; leaving us to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand Examples, I will take but one out of Master* Dannet, *and use his own words:* Whilest the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, after the resignation of his estates, stayed at *Vlosbing* for Wind, to carry him his last journey into *Spain*; He conferred on a time with *Seldius*, his Brother *Ferdinand*'s Embassador, till the deep of the night. And when *Seldius* should depart; the Emperor calling for some of his servants, and no body answering him, (for those that attended upon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest asleep) the Emperor took up the Candle himself, and went before *Seldius*, to light him down the Stairs; and so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that *Seldius* could make. And when he was come to the Stairs foot, he said thus unto him; *Seldius*, remember this of *Charles* the Emperor, when he shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast known in thy time environed with so many mighty Armies and Guards of Souldiers, thou hast also seen alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea, even of his own servants, *&c.* I acknowledg this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD, which I will by no means go about to withstand.

But you will say, that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first is, the reverend respect that is held of Great Men, and the Honour done unto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their Justice and Piety, accompany the outward worship given to their places and power; without which, what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the out-cry of an Herd of Animals, *who, without the knowledg of any true cause, please themselves with the noise they make? For, seeing it is a thing exceeding rare to distinguish Virtue and Fortune; the most impious (if prosperous) have ever been applauded; the most vertuous (if unprosperous) have ever been despised. For, as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune her self rides the Man. Who, when he is descended, and on foot; the Man taken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base Groom beats the one, and a bitter contempt spurns at the other, with equal liberty.*

The second is, the greatning of our Posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behind us. Certainly, of those which conceive that their Souls departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be said of them, which Lactantius *spake of certain Heathen Philosophers;* Quod sapientes sunt in re stulta. *For, when our spirits immortal shall be once separate from our mortal bodies, and disposed by GOD; there remaineth in them no other joy of their Posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a King's Palace, nor any other sorrow for their poverty, than there doth of*

shame

S. Aug. de cura pro mort. *ſhame in that, which beareth up a Beggars cottage.* Neſciunt mortui, etiam ſancti, quid agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non interſunt; The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their own children; for the Souls of thoſe departed, are not converſant with their affairs that remain. *And if we doubt of Saint* Auguſtine, *we cannot of* Job; *who tells us,* That we know not if our Sons ſhall be honourable; neither ſhall we underſtand concerning them, whether they ſhall be of low degree. *Which* Eccleſiaſtes *alſo confirmeth*; Man walketh in a ſhadow, and diſquieteth himſelf in vain; he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who ſhall gather them. The living (*ſaith he*) know that they ſhall die, but the dead know nothing at all; for, who can ſhew unto man, what ſhall be after him under the Sun? *He therefore accounteth it among the reſt of worldly vanities, to labour and travel in the World; not knowing after death, whether a fool or a wiſe man ſhould enjoy the fruits thereof*; which made me (*ſaith he*) endeavour even to abhorr mine own labour. *And what can other men hope, whoſe bleſſed or ſorrowfull eſtates after death, God hath reſerved? Mans knowledg lying but in his hope, ſeeing the Prophet* Eſay *confeſſeth of the Elect, That* Abraham is ignorant of us, and *Iſrael* knows us not. *But hereof we are aſſured, that the long and dark night of death of whoſe following day we ſhall never behold the dawn till his return that hath triumphed over it) ſhall cover us over till the world be no more. After which, and when we ſhall again receive Organs glorified, and incorruptible, the ſeats of Angelical affections; in ſo great admiration ſhall the Souls of the bleſſed be exerciſed, as they cannot admit the mixture of any ſecond or leſs joy; nor any return of forgone and mortal affection towards Friends, Kinred, or Children. Of whom, whether we ſhall retain any particular knowledg, or in any ſort diſtinguiſh them, no man can aſſure us; and the wiſeſt men doubt. But on the contrary; If a divine life retain any of thoſe faculties, which the Soul exerciſed in a mortal body; we ſhall not at that time ſo divide the joys of Heaven, as to caſt any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the World. No, be their eſtates greater than ever the World gave, we ſhall (by the difference known unto us) even deteſt their conſideration. And whatſoever comfort ſhall remain of all forepaſt, the ſame will conſiſt in the charity, which we exerciſed living: and in that Piety, Juſtice, and firm Faith, for which it pleaſed the Infinite Mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as unneceſſary and vain? Certainly, no. For that Infinite Wiſdom of God, which hath diſtinguiſhed his Angels by degrees; which hath given greater and leſs light and beauty to heavenly bodies; which hath made differences between Beaſts and Birds; created the Eagle, and the Flie, the Cedar, and the Shrub; and among Stones, given the faireſt tincture to the Ruby, and quickeſt light to the Diamond; hath alſo ordained Kings, Dukes, or Leaders of the people; Magiſtrates, Judges, and other degrees among men. And, as Honour is left to Poſterity, for a mark and enſign of the vertue and underſtanding of their Anceſtors; ſo (ſeeing* Siracides *preferreth Death before Beggary; and, that Titles, without proportionable eſtates, fall under the miſerable ſuccour of other mens pity) I account it fooliſhneſs to condemn ſuch a care; Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raiſe not our own buildings*

Job 14. 21.

Pſal 39.

Eccleſ. 9. 5. & 1. 2.

Eſay 63. 16.

Sirac 40. v. 28.

out

out of other mens ruines. For, as Plato *doth firſt preferr the perfection of bodily health; ſecondly, the form and beauty; and thirdly,* Divitias nulla fraude quæſitas: *ſo* Jeremy *cries,* Wo unto them that erect their houſes by unrighteouſneſs, and their chambers without equity; *And* Eſay *the ſame,* Wo to thoſe that ſpoil, and were not ſpoiled. *And it was out of the true wiſdom of* Solomon, *that he commandeth us,* not to drink the Wine of violence; not to lie in wait for bloud; and not to ſwallow them up alive, whoſe riches we covet; for ſuch are the ways (*ſaith he*) of every one that is greedy of gain.

Plat. de leg. l. 2 & 6. & in Georgeo

Jer. 22. 13.

Eſa. 33. 15.

Prov. 1. 18. 12.

Prov. 23. 1, 2, 3, 8, 9. & 25. 9, 8.

And, if we could afford our ſelves but ſo much leiſure, as to conſider, That he which hath moſt in this world, hath, in reſpect of the world, nothing in it; and that he which hath the longeſt time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, ſetting it either by that which is paſt, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we ſhall abide for ever; I ſay, if both, to wit, our proportion in the World, and our time in the World, differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of underſtanding, that we ſo much priſe the one, which hath (in effect) no being; and ſo much neglect the other, which hath no ending; coveting thoſe mortal things of the World, as if our Souls were therein immortal, and neglecting thoſe things which are immortal, as if our ſelves, after the World, were but mortal.

But let every man value his own wiſdom, as he pleaſeth. Let the rich man think all fools, that cannot equal his abundance; the Revenger eſteem all negligent, that have not troden down their oppoſites; the Politician all groſs, that cannot Merchandize their faith: Yet, when we once come in ſight of the Port of death, to which all winds drive us, and when, by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the navigation of this life takes end; Then it is, I ſay, that our own cogitations (thoſe ſad and ſevere cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermoſt for all the pleaſing paſſages of our lives paſt. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our ſelves can no longer exerciſe cruelty to others; and it is onely then, that we are ſtrucken through the Soul with this terrible Sentence, That God will not be mocked. *For if, according to S.* Peter, The righteous ſcarcely be ſaved: and that *God* ſpared not his Angels; *where ſhall thoſe appear, who, having ſerved their appetites all their lives, preſume to think, that the ſevere Commandments of the All-powerfull God were given but in ſport; and that the ſhort breath, which we draw when death preſſeth us, if we can but faſhion it to the ſound of* Mercy (*without any kind of ſatisfaction or amends*) *is ſufficient?* O quam multi, *ſaith a reverend Father,* cum hac ſpe ad æternos labores & bella deſcendunt! *I confeſs, that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it ſaid, That we ended well; for we all deſire* (*as* Balaam *did*) to die the death of the righteous. *But, what ſhall we call a diſ-eſteeming, an oppoſing, or (indeed) a mocking of God; if thoſe men do not oppoſe him, diſ-eſteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for God, to ask him forgiveneſs at leiſure, with the remainder and laſt drawing of a malicious breath? For, what do they otherwiſe, that die this kind of well-dying, but ſay unto God, as followeth? We beſeech thee, O God, that all the falſhoods, forſwearings, and treacheries of our lives paſt, may be pleaſing unto thee; that thou wilt for our ſakes (that have had no leiſure to do any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impoſſible) and forget to be a juſt God;*

Gal. 6. 7.

1 Pet. 4.

that thou wilt love injuries and oppreſſions, call ambition wiſdom, and charity fooliſhneſs. For I ſhall prejudice my Son (which I am reſolved not to do) if I make reſtitution; and confeſs my ſelf to have been unjuſt (which I am too proud to do) if I deliver the oppreſſed. Certainly, theſe wiſe worldlings have either found out a new God, or made One; and in all likelihood, ſuch a Leaden One, as Lewis *the Eleventh ware in his Cap; which, when he had cauſed any that he feared or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head, and kiſs it; beſeeching it to pardon him this one evil act more, and it ſhould be the laſt; which (as at other times) he did, when, by the practice of a* Cardinal, *and a falſified Sacrament, he cauſed the* Earl of Armagnac *to be ſtabbed to death; mockeries indeed, fit to be uſed towards a Leaden, but not towards the Everliving GOD. But of this compoſition are all devout lovers of the World, that they fear all that is dureleſs and ridiculous; they fear the plots and practices of their oppoſites, and their very whiſperings; they fear the Opinions of men, which beat but upon ſhadows; they flatter and forſake the proſperous and unproſperous, be they Friends or Kings; yea, they dive under water, like Ducks, at every pebble-ſtone, that is but thrown towards them by a powerful hand; and on the contrary, they ſhew an obſtinate and Giant-like valour againſt the terrible judgments of the All-powerfull God; yea, they ſhew themſelves Gods againſt God, and Slaves towards men; towards men, whoſe bodies and conſciences are alike rotten.*

Now, for the reſt; If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poor and oppreſſed, whom we accompt wretched; we ſhall find the hapineſs of the one, and the miſerable eſtate of the other, ſo tied by God to the very inſtant, and both ſo ſubject to enterchange (witneſs the ſudden downfall of the greateſt Princes, and the ſpeedieſt upriſing of the meaneſt perſons) as the one hath nothing ſo certain, whereof to boaſt; nor the other ſo uncertain, whereof to bewail it ſelf. For, there is no man ſo aſſured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of either, or all, the very next hour, or day to come. Quid veſper vehat, incertum eſt; What the evening will bring with it, it is uncertain. And yet ye cannot tell (*ſaith* S. *James*) what ſhall be to morrow. To day he is ſet up, and to morrow he ſhall not be found; for he is turned into duſt, and his purpoſe periſheth. *And although the air which compaſſeth adverſity, be very obſcure; yet therein we better diſcern God, than in that ſhining light which environeth worldly glory; through which, for the clearneſs thereof, there is no vanity which eſcapeth our ſight. And let adverſity ſeem what it will; to happy men ridiculous, who make themſelves merry at other mens misfortunes; and to thoſe under the* croſs, *grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is paſt, to the very inſtant, the portions remaining are equal to either. For, be it that we have lived many years,* and (*according to* Solomon) in them all we have rejoyced; *or be it that we have meaſured the ſame length of days, and therein have evermore ſorrowed; yet, looking back from our preſent being, we find both the one and the other; to wit, the joy and wo, ſailed out of ſight; and death, which doth perſue us, and hold us in chace, from our infancy, hath gathered it.* Quicquid ætatis retro eſt, mors tenet; Whatſoever of our age is paſt, death holds it. *So, as whoſoever he be, to whom Fortune hath been a ſervant, and the Time a friend; let him but take the accompt of his memory (for we have no other keeper of our pleaſures paſt) and truly examine what he hath reſerved, either of Beauty and Youth,*

or

or fore-gone delights; what it hath ſaved, that it might laſt, of his deareſt affections, or of whatever elſe the amorous Spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and he ſhall find that all the Art which his elder years have, can draw no other vapour out of theſe diſſolutions, than heavy, ſecret, and ſad ſighs. He ſhall find nothing remaining, but thoſe ſorrows, which grow up after our faſt-ſpringing youth, over-take it, when it is at a ſtand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither; in ſo much as looking back from the very inſtant time, and from our now being, the poor, diſeaſed, and captive creature, hath as little ſenſe of all his former miſeries and pains, as he, that is moſt bleſs'd in common Opinion, hath of his fore-paſſed pleaſure and delights. For whatſoever is caſt behind us, is juſt nothing; and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it: Omnia quæ eventura ſunt, in incerto jacent. *Onely thoſe few black Swans I muſt except; who, having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price; do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without fear, and embrace both, as neceſſary guides to endleſs glory.*

For my ſelf, this is my conſolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the ſorrows of this life are but of two ſorts; whereof the one hath reſpect to GOD; the other to the World. In the firſt, we complain to GOD againſt our ſelves, for our offences againſt him; and confeſs, Et tu juſtus es in omnibus quæ venerunt ſuper nos; And thou, O Lord, art juſt in all that hath befallen us. *In the ſecond, we complain to our ſelves againſt GOD; as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, anſwering our appetites; or for taking them from us having had them; forgetting that humble and juſt acknowledgment of* Job, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken. *To the firſt of which, S.* Paul *hath promiſed bleſſedneſs; to the ſecond, death. And out of doubt, he is either a fool, or ingrateful to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledg, how mean ſoever his eſtate be, that the ſame is yet farr greater, than that which God oweth him; or doth not aknowledg, how ſharp ſoever his afflictions be, that the ſame are yet farr leſs, than thoſe which are due unto him. And if an Heathen wiſe man call the adverſities of the World but* tributa vivendi; the tributes of living: *a wiſe Chriſtian man ought to know them, and bear them as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them man-like, and reſolvedly, and not as thoſe whining Souldiers do,* Qui gementes ſequuntur Imperatorem.

For ſeeing God, who is the Author of all our Tragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the parts we are to play; and hath not, in their diſtribution, been partial to the moſt mighty Princes of the World; That gave unto Darius *the part of the greateſt Emperor, and the part of the moſt miſerable Beggar; a Beggar, begging Water of an Enemy to quench the great drought of death; That appointed* Bajazet *to play the* Grand Seignior *of the* Turks *in the morning, and in the ſame day, the* Footſtool *of* Tamerlane *(both which parts* Valerian *had alſo played, being taken by* Sapores*) that made* Belliſarius *play the moſt victorious Captain, and laſtly, the part of a blind Beggar; of which, examples of many thouſands may be produced: why ſhould other men, who are but as the leaſt Worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly, there is no other accompt to be made of this ridiculous World, than to reſolve, That the change of Fortune on the great Theatre, is but as the change of Garments on the leſs. For, when on the one and the other, every man*

wears

wears but his own skin, the Players are all alike. Now, if any man out of weakneſs priſe the paſſages of this world otherwiſe (for, ſaith Petrarch, Magni ingenii eſt revocare mentem a ſenſibus) *it is by reaſon of that unhappy fantaſie of ours, which forgeth in the brains of Man all the miſeries (the corporal excepted) whereunto he is ſubject. Therein it is, that Miſfortune and Adverſity work all that they work. For, ſeeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatſoever Fortune or Force takes from any one; it were a fooliſh madneſs in the ſhipwrack of worldly things, where all ſinks but the Sorrow, to ſave it. That were, as* Seneca *ſaith,* Fortunæ ſuccumbere, quod triſtius eſt omni fato; To fall under Fortune, of all other, the moſt miſerable deſtiny.

But it is now time to ſound a retreat, and to deſire to be excuſed of this long perſuit; and withall, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the Picture of time paſt (which we call Hiſtory) *in ſo large a Table, may alſo be accepted in place of a better reaſon.*

The examples of divine Providence, every where found (the firſt divine Hiſtories *being nothing elſe but a continuation of ſuch examples) have perſuaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For, though theſe two glorious actions of the Almighty be ſo near, and (as it were) linked together, that the one neceſſarily implieth the other; Creation inferring Providence (for what father forſaketh the child that he hath begotten?) and Providence preſuppoſing Creation; Yet many of thoſe that have ſeemed to excel in worldly wiſdom, have gone about to diſ-join this coherence; the* Epicure *denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the World had a beginning; the* Ariſtotelian *granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.*

Now, although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for, by Faith, we underſtand that the World was made by the Word of God) *be too weighty a work for* Ariſtotle's *rotten ground to bear up, upon which he hath (notwithſtanding) founded the Defences and Fortreſſes of all his* Verbal *Doctrine; yet that the neceſſity of Infinite power, and the World's beginning, and the impoſſibility of the contrary, even in the judgment of Natural reaſon, wherein he believed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no leſs ſtrange, that thoſe men which are deſirous of knowledg (ſeeing* Ariſtotle *hath failed in this main point; and taught little other than* tearms *in the reſt) have ſo retrench'd their minds from the following and overtaking of Truth, and ſo abſolutely ſubjected themſeves to the law of thoſe Philoſophical Principles; as all contrary kind of teaching, in the ſearch of cauſes, they have condemned, either for phantaſtical, or curious. But doth it follow, that the Poſitions of Heathen Philoſophers are undoubtedly Grounds and Principles indeed, becauſe ſo called? Or, that* ipſi dixerunt, *doth make them to be ſuch? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reaſon hath built any thing ſo ſtrong againſt it ſelf, as the ſame reaſon can hardly aſſail it, much leſs batter it down: the ſame in every queſtion of Nature, and infinite power, may be approved for a fundamental Law of humane knowledg. For, ſaith* Charron, *in his Book of Wiſdom,* Tout propoſition humaine a autant d' authorite quel' autre, ſi la raiſon n' on fait la difference; Every humane propoſition hath equal authority, if reaſon make not a difference: *the reſt, being but the Fables of Principles. But hereof, how ſhall the upright and impartial judg-*

Charron de Sageſſe.

ment

ment of man give a Sentence, where oppoſition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And, to this purpoſe, it was well ſaid of Lactantius, Sapientiam ſibi adimunt, qui ſine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur; They neglect their own wiſdom, who without any judgment approve the invention of thoſe that fore-went them; and ſuffer themſelves, after the manner of Beaſts, to be led by them. *By the advantage of which ſloth and dulneſs, ignorance is now become ſo powerfull a Tyrant, as it hath ſet true Philoſophy, Phyſick and Divinity in a Pillory; and written over the firſt,* Contra negantem principia; *over the ſecond,* Virtus ſpecifica; *and over the third,* Eccleſia Romana. *Lact. de orig. Erro. l. 2. c. 8.*

But for my ſelf, I ſhall never be perſuaded, that God hath ſhut up all the light of Learning within the Lanthorn of Ariſtotle's *brains; or, that it was ever ſaid unto him, as unto* Eſdras, Accendam in corde tuo Lucernam intellectus; *That God hath given invention but to the Heathen, and that they onely invaded Nature, and found the ſtrength and bottom thereof; the ſame Nature having conſumed all her ſtore, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That theſe, and theſe, be the cauſes of theſe and theſe effects, Time hath taught us; and not Reaſon; and ſo hath Experience without Art. The Cheeſ-wife knoweth it as well as the Philoſopher, that ſowre Rennet doth coagulate her Milk into a Curd. But, if we ask a reaſon of this cauſe, why the ſowreneſs doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philoſophy, to ſatisfie this, and many other like vulgar queſtions. But man, to cover his ignorance in the leaſt things, who cannot give a true reaſon for the Graſs under his feet, why it ſhoud be green rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet diſcover the way and reaſon of Nature's working, in thoſe which are farr leſs noble Creatures than himſelf; who is farr more noble than the Heavens themſelves:* Man (*ſaith* Solomon) that can hardly diſcern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find out the things that are before us; *that hath ſo ſhort a time in the World, as he no ſooner begins to learn, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledg; in his underſtanding nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Eſſence of his own Soul, and which the wiſeſt of the Naturaliſts (if* Ariſtotle *be he) could never ſo much as define, but by the Action and Effect, telling us what it works (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any elſe doth know, but GOD that created it* (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my Soul, *ſaith* Job.) *Man, I ſay, that is but an Idiot in the next cauſe of his own life, and in the cauſe of all actions of his life: will (notwithſtanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who (ſaith* Job) is ſo excellent as we know him not; *and examine the beginning of the work, which had end before Mankind had a beginning of being. He will diſable God's power to make a World, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the Motes of the Air for a cauſe; caſt the work on neceſſity or chance; beſtow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the* Matter, *the other of* Form; *and laſtly, for want of a work-man, have it Eternal; which latter Opinion* Ariſtotle, *to make himſelf the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World; and his Sectators have maintained it;* Parati ac conjurati, quos ſequuntur Philoſophorum animis invictis opiniones tueri. *For* Hermes, *who lived at once with, or ſoon after* Moſes, *Ariſt. l. 9.* *Job 2.*

Moſes, Zoroaſter, Muſæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Meliſſus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, *and many others (whoſe Opinions are exquiſitely gathered by* Steuchius Eugubinus) *found in the neceſſity of invincible reaſon,* One Eternal and infinite Being, *to be the Parent of the Univerſal.* Horum omnium ſententia quamvis ſit incerta, eodem tamen ſpectat, ut providentiam unam eſſe conſentiant: ſive enim Natura, ſive Æther, ſive Ratio, ſive Mens, ſive Fatalis Neceſſitas, ſive divina Lex, idem eſt quod a nobis dicitur Deus; All theſe mens Opinions (ſaith *Lactantius*) though uncertain, come to this; That they agree upon one Providence, whether the ſame be Nature, or Light, or Reaſon, or Underſtanding, or Deſtiny, or divine Ordinance, that it is the ſame which we call *GOD. Certainly, as all the Rivers in the World, though they have divers riſings, and divers runnings; though they ſometimes hide themſelves for a while under ground, and ſeem to be loſt in Sea-like Lakes; do at laſt find, and fall into, the great* Ocean: *ſo after all the ſearches that humane capacity hath; and after all Philoſophical contemplation and curioſity, in the neceſſity of this Infinite power, all the reaſon of Man ends and diſſolves it ſelf.*

Lact. 1

As for others: and firſt touching thoſe which conceive the matter *of the World to have been* eternal, *and, that God did not create the World,* ex nihilo, *but* ex materia præexiſtente: *the Suppoſition is ſo weak, as is hardly worth the anſwering. For (ſaith* Euſebius) mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere; They ſeem unto me, which affirm this, to give part of the work to God, and part to Fortune; *in ſo much as, if God had not found this* firſt matter *by chance, He had never been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Univerſal. For, were the* Matter *or* Chaos *eternal; it then follows, That either this ſuppoſed* Matter *did fit it ſelf to God, or God accommodate himſelf to the* matter. *For the firſt; it is impoſſible, that things without ſenſe could proportion themſelves to the Workmans Will. For the ſecond; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applied himſelf, according to the proportion of* matter *which he lighted upon.*

Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. 7. c. 8

But let it be ſuppoſed, That this matter *hath been made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wiſe; I would gladly learn how it came to paſs, that the ſame was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent, and infinitely wiſe; and no more, nor no leſs, than ſerved to receive the form of the Univerſal. For, had it wanted any thing of what was ſufficient; then muſt it be granted, That God created* out of nothing *ſo much of new* matter, *as ſerved to finiſh the work of the World: Or, had there been more of this* matter *than ſufficed, then God did diſſolve and annihilate whatſoever remained and was ſuperfluous. And this muſt every reaſonable Soul confeſs, That it is the ſame work of God alone, to create any thing* out of nothing, *And by the ſame Art and Power, and by none other, can thoſe things, or any part of that eternal* matter, *be again changed into Nothing; by which thoſe things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.*

Again, to ſay that this matter *was the cauſe of it ſelf; this, of all other, were the greateſt Idotiſm. For, if it were the cauſe of it ſelf at any time; then there was alſo a time when it ſelf was not; at which time of not being, it is eaſie enough to conceive, that it could neither procure it ſelf, nor any thing elſe. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impoſſible.*

impoſſible. Nihil autem ſeipſum præcedit, neque ſeipſum componit corpus; There is nothing that doth precede it ſelf, neither do bodies compound themſelves.

For the reſt, Thoſe that feign this matter *to be eternal, muſt of neceſſity confeſs, that Infinite cannot be ſeparate from Eternity. And then had* infinite matter *left no place for* infinite form; *but that the* firſt matter *was* finite, *the* form *which it received proves it. For concluſion of this part, whoſoever will make choice, rather to believe in eternal deformity, or in eternal dead matter, than in eternal light, and eternal life; let eternal death be his reward. For, it is a madneſs of that kind, as wanteth terms to expreſs it. For what reaſon of man (whom the curſe of preſumption hath not ſtupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of ſhadow;* quia comprehenſio eſt intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) *hath any thing wanting in it ſelf, either for* matter *or* form; *yea, for as many worlds (if ſuch had been Gods will) as the* Sea *hath ſands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation than the workman's will. Yea, Reaſon it ſelf finds it more eaſie for Infinite power, to deliver from it ſelf a finite world, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a fool and duſt, to change the form of matter made to his hands. They are* Dionyſius *his words* ; Deus in una exiſtentia omnia præhabet; *and again,* Eſſe omnium eſt ipſa Divinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; *to wit,* cauſaliter, *or in better terms,* non tanquam forma, ſed tanquam cauſa univerſalis. *Neither hath the World Univerſal cloſed up all of GOD:* For the moſt part of his works (ſaith *Siracides*) are hid. *Neither can the depth of his Wiſdom be opened by the glorious work of the World; which never brought to knowledg all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, That we ſeldom entitle GOD The* All-ſhewing, *or The* All-willing; *but the* Almighty, *that is, infinitely able.* Cap. 1. ſect. 28.

But now for thoſe, who from that ground, That out of nothing, nothing is made, *inferr the Worlds eternity; and yet not ſo ſalvage therein, as thoſe are, which give an eternal being to dead matter: It is true, if the word* [Nothing] *be taken in the affirmative; and the* making, *impoſed upon Natural Agents and finite power;* That out of nothing, nothing is made. *But ſeeing their great Doctor,* Ariſtotle *himſelf confeſſeth,* Quod omnes Antiqui decreverunt quaſi quoddam rerum principium, ipſumque infinitum: That all the Antient decree a kind of beginning, and the ſame to be infinite; *and a little after, more largely, and plainly,* Principium ejus eſt nullum, ſed ipſum omnium cernitur eſſe principium, ac omni complecti ac regere: *it is ſtrange, that this Philoſopher, with his followers, ſhould rather make choice out of falſhood, to conclude falſly; than out of truth, to reſolve truly. For, if we compare the World Univerſal, and all the unmeaſureable Orbs of Heaven, and thoſe marvellous bodies of the* Sun, Moon, *and* Starrs, *with* ipſum Infinitum, *it may truly be ſaid of them all, which himſelf affirms of his imaginary* Materia prima, *That they are neither* quid, quale, *nor* quantum; *and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite* (qui deſtruit omnen proportionem) *is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore,* Anaximander, Meliſſus, *and* Empedocles, *call the World Univerſal, but,* particulam Univerſitatis & infinitatis; a parcel of that which is the Univerſality, and the Infinity it ſelf: *And* Plato, *but* a ſhadow Stent. Reg. l. 3. c. 9. ex Ariſt. Phyſ. 3. 20.

of God. But the other, to prove *the World's eternity, urgeth this* Maxime, *That*, A ſufficient and effectual cauſe being granted, an anſwerable effect thereof is alſo granted. *Inferring, that God being for ever a ſufficient and effectual cauſe of the World, the effect of the cauſe ſhould alſo have been for ever; to wit, the World univerſal. But what a ſtrange mockery is this in ſo great a Maſter, to confeſs a ſufficient and effectual cauſe of the World (to wit, an Almighty God) in his Antecedent; and the ſame God to be a God reſtrained in his Concluſion; to make God free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiouſly to reſolve of God, as of natural neceſſity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor underſtanding; which cannot but work, matter being preſent: As Fire, to burn things combuſtible. Again, he thus diſputeth, That every Agent which can work, and doth not work, if it afterward work, it is either thereto moved by it ſelf, or by ſomewhat elſe; and ſo it paſſeth from power to act: But God (ſaith he) is immovable, and is neither moved by himſelf, nor by any other; but being always the ſame, doth always work. Whence he concludeth, If the World were cauſed by God, that he was for ever the cauſe thereof; and therefore eternal. The anſwer to this is very eaſie; For that God's performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to perform, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather conſtancy in him. For the ſame action of his will, which made the World for ever, did alſo with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this anſwer, in it ſelf ſufficient, others add further, that the Pattern or Image of the World may be ſaid to be eternal; which the* Platonicks *call* Spiritualem mundum; *and do in this ſort diſtinguiſh the* Idæa *and* Creation in time. Spiritualis eſt mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali eſt Architecto, fuit ſemper cum illo, eritque ſemper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod ſecundum opus eſt Dei, decedit jam ab opifice ex parte una, quia non fuit ſemper: retinet alteram, quia ſit ſemper futurus: That repreſentative, or the intentional word (*ſay they*) the ſamplar of this viſible world, the firſt work of *GOD*, was equally antient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever ſhall be. This material world, the ſecond work or creature of *GOD*, doth differ from the Worker in this; that it was not from everlaſting, and in this it doth agree, that it ſhall be for ever to come; *The firſt point, That it was not for ever, all Chriſtians confeſs: The other they underſtand no otherwiſe, than that after the conſummation of this world, there ſhall be* a new Heaven, and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. *But of theſe things we need not here ſtand to argue; though ſuch opinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this conſideration, of an eternal and unchangeable cauſe, producing a changeable and temporal effect; Touching which point,* Proclus *the* Platoniſt *diſputeth, That the compounded Eſſence of the World (and becauſe compounded, therefore diſſipable) is continued, and knit to the Divine Being, by an individual and inſeparable power, flowing from Divine unity; and that the World's natural appetite of God ſheweth, that the ſame proceedeth from a good and underſtanding divine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, muſt be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlaſtingly continue and preſerve the ſame. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (ſaith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the temporal*

Mar. Ficin. de immort. Animæ, l. 18. c. 1.

ral Nature it hath, ſucceſſively every moment by little and little; even as the whole material World is not altogether; but the abolished parts are departed by ſmall degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the ſame ſmall degrees ſucceed, as the ſhadow of a tree in a River, ſeemeth to have continued the ſame a long time in the Water, but it is perpetually renewed in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to return to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall deny that ever it ſhall have any end, and to this purpoſe affirm, That it was never heard, never read, never ſeen, no, not by any reaſon perceived, that the Heavens have ever ſuffered corruption; or that they appear any way the older by continuance; or in any ſort otherwiſe than they were; which had they been ſubject to final corruption, ſome change would have been diſcerned in ſo long a time. To this it is anſwered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newneſs, and that they have not continued ſo long, than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if conjectural arguments may receive anſwer by conjectures; it then ſeemeth, that ſome alteration may be found. For either Ariſtotle, Pliny, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, *and others, were groſsly miſtaken; or elſe thoſe parts of the World, lying within the burnt* Zone, *were not in elder times habitable, by reaſon of the* Sun's *heat, neither were the* Seas *under the Equinoctial navigable. But we know by experience, that thoſe Regions ſituate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the* Sea, *over which we navigate, paſſable enough. We read alſo many Hiſtories of Deluges; and how that in the time of* Phaeton, *divers places in the World were burnt up, by the* Sun's *violent heat.*

Ariſt. Met. 1. Plin. l. 2. c. 8. Strab. l. 2. Beda de ratione tem. l. 1. c. 31. Thom. p. 1. q. 102. a. 1.

But in a word, this Obſervation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That Stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, have ſtood two or three thouſand years; that many things have been digged up out of the Earth, of that depth, as ſuppoſed to have been buried by the general Flood; without any alteration, either of ſubſtance or figure; yea, it is believed, and it is very probable, that the Gold which is daily found in Mines and Rocks, under ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldeſt times have not invaded and corrupted; what great alterations ſhould we look for in Celeſtial and Quinteſſential bodies? And yet we have reaſon to think, that the Sun, *by whoſe help all creatures are generate, doth not in theſe later Ages aſſiſt Nature, as heretofore. We have neither Giants, ſuch as the eldeſt World had, nor Mighty Men, ſuch as the elder World had; but all things in general are reputed of leſs vertue which from the Heavens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger Diſcourſe, we might eaſily fetch ſtore of proof; as that this World ſhall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.*

And I ſee no good Anſwer that can be to this Objection: If the World were eternal; why not all things in the World eternal? If there were no firſt, *no* Cauſe, *no* Father, *no* Creator, *no* incomprehenſible Wiſdom, *but that every* Nature *had been alike eternal; and Man more rational than every other* Nature; *Why had not the eternal reaſon of Man, provided for his eternal Being in the World? For, if all were equal, why not equal conditions to all? Why ſhould Heavenly bodies live for ever, and the bodies of Men rot and die?*

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keep the Centre, and gave order that it

ſhould hang in the Air; *that the* Sun *ſhould travel between the Tropicks, and never exceed thoſe bounds, nor fail to perform that Progreſs once in every year*; *the* Moon *to live by borrowed light*; *the fixed* Starrs (*according to common opinion*) *to be faſtned like nails in a Cart-wheel*; *and the* Planets *to wander at their pleaſure? Or, if none of theſe had power over other*; *was it out of Charity and Love, that the* Sun *by his perpetual travel within thoſe two Circles, hath viſited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turns and times? Out of doubt, if the* Sun *have of his own accord kept this courſe in all eternity*; *He may juſtly be called eternal Charity, and everlaſting Love. The ſame may be ſaid of all the* Starrs, *who being all of them moſt large and clear fountains of vertue and operation, may alſo be called eternal Vertues*; *the* Earth *may be called eternal Patience*; *the* Moon, *an eternal Borrower, and Beggar*; *and Man, of all other the moſt miſerable, eternally Mortal. And what were this, but to believe again in the old Play of the gods? Yea, in more gods by Millions, than ever* Heſiodus *dream'd of. But in ſtead of this mad folly, we ſee it well enough with our feeble and mortal eyes: and the eyes of our reaſon diſcern it better*; *That the* Sun, Moon, Starrs, *and the* Earth, *are limited, bounded, and conſtrained*; *themſelves they have not conſtrained, nor could.* Omne determinatum cauſam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit; Every thing hath ſome efficient cauſe, by which it is bounded.

Now, for Nature; *As by the ambiguity of this name, the School of* Ariſtotle *hath both commended many errors unto us, and ſought alſo thereby to obſcure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, ſhining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World*; *ſo if the beſt definition be taken out of the ſecond of* Ariſtotle's Phyſicks, *or* primo de Cœlo, *or out of the fifth of his* Metaphyſicks, *I ſay, that the beſt is but nominal, and ſerving onely to difference the beginning of Natural motion from Artificial: which yet the* Academicks *open better*; *when they call it,* A Seminary ſtrength, infuſed into matter by the Soul of the World; *who give the firſt place to* Providence, *the ſecond to* Fate, *and but the third to* Nature. Providentia (*by which they underſtand* GOD) Dux & Caput; Fatum, medium ex providentia prodiens; Natura poſtremum. *But be it what he will, or be it any of theſe* (*God excepted*) *or participating of all*; *yet that it hath choice or underſtanding* (*both which are neceſſarily in the cauſe of all things*) *no man hath avowed. For this is unanſwerable of* Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut ſcientiam; He onely can be ſaid to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledg in the doing it.

Ficin. de Plat *But the will and ſcience of Nature, are in theſe words truly expreſs'd by* Ficinus: Poteſt ubique Natura, vel per diverſa media, vel ex diverſis materiis, diverſa facere; ſublata vero mediorum materiarumque diverſitate, vel unicum, vel ſimilimum operatur, neque poteſt quando adeſt materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diverſity of means, or out of diverſity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diverſity of means, and the diverſity of matter, it then works but one or the like work; neither can it but work, matter being preſent. *Now, if* Nature *made choice of diverſity of matter, to work all theſe variable works of Heaven and Earth, it had then both underſtanding and will*; *it had counſel to begin*; *reaſon to*

diſpoſe

diſpoſe; vertue and knowledg to finiſh, and power to govern; without which, all things had been but one and the ſame; all of the matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth. And, if we grant Nature *this will, and this underſtanding, this counſel, this reaſon, and power;* Cur natura potius quam Deus nominetur? *Why ſhould we then call ſuch a cauſe rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the firſt and higheſt place to divine power:* Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omneſque ſummum locum divino cuidam numini aſſignant. *And this I ſay, in ſhort, that it is a true effect of true reaſon in man (were there no authority more binding than reaſon) to acknowledg and adore the firſt and moſt ſublime power.* Vera Philoſophia, eſt aſcenſus ab his quæ fiuunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere ſunt, & ſemper eadem: True Philoſophy is an aſcending from the things which flow, and riſe, and fall, to the things that are for ever the ſame.

Lact. de ira Dei l. 1. c. 10.

Arist. l. 1. de cœlo. c. 3. t. 22.

For the reſt; I do alſo account it not the meaneſt, but an impiety, monſtrous, to confound God and Nature; be it but in tearms. For it is God, that onely diſpoſeth of all things according to his own will, and maketh of one Earth, veſſels of honour and diſhonour: *It is Nature that can diſpoſe of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God that commandeth all; it is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth. It is Nature that ſecondarily doth alſo good, but it neither knoweth, nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himſelf; Nature nothing in it ſelf. It is God which is the Father, and hath begotten all things; it is Nature which is begotten by all things, in which it liveth and laboureth; for by it ſelf it exiſteth not. For, ſhall we ſay, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavy things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reaſon, which doth conduct every River into the ſalt Sea? Shall we tearm it knowledg in Fire, that makes it to conſume combuſtible matter? If it be Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledg in theſe; by the ſame Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledg it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore, ſeeing all things work as they do (call it by* Form, *or* Nature, *or by what you pleaſe) yet, becauſe they work by an impulſion, which they cannot reſiſt; or by a faculty, infuſed by the ſupremeſt power; we are neither to wonder at, nor to worſhip, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder; and to him is the worſhip due, who hath created ſuch a Nature in things, and ſuch a faculty, as neither knowing it ſelf, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doth yet work all things to their laſt and uttermoſt perfection. And therefore every reaſonable man, taking to himſelf for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that ever the World had, to wit; That there is a power Infinite, and eternal (which alſo neceſsity doth prove unto us, without the help of Faith and Reaſon; without the force of Authority) all things do as eaſily follow which have been delivered by divine Letters, as the waters of a running River do ſucceſſively perſue each other from the firſt fountains.*

Thus much, I ſay, it is, that Reaſon it ſelf hath taught us; and this is the beginning of knowledg. Sapientia præcedit, Religio ſequitur; quia prius eſt Deum ſcire, conſequens colere; *Sapience goes before, Religion follows; becauſe it is firſt to know God, and then to worſhip him. This Sapience,* Plato *calleth* abſoluti boni ſcientiam, *The Science of the*

Lact. l. 4. c. 4. de vera ſapientia.

Ipsae de Deo

the absolute good: And another, Scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum. *For Faith (saith* Isidore) *is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples persuaded:* Fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. *I confess it, That to enquire further, as of the Essence of God, of his Power, of his Art, and by what mean he created the World; Or of his secret judgment, and the causes, is not an affect of Reason;* Sed cum ratione insaniunt; *but they grow mad with reason, that enquire after it: For, as it is no shame nor dishonour (saith a* French *Author)* de faire arrest au but qu'on nasceu surpasser; *For a man to rest himself there, where he finds it impossible to pass on further: so whatsoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, it acknowledgeth it to be so; as understanding it self not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knows the end of his own Art. For, seeing both Reason and Necessity teach us (Reason, which is* pars divini spiritus in corpus humanum mersi) *that the World was made by a Power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us: and seeing the same Reason and Necessity make us know, that the same infinite Power is every where in the World; and yet how every where it cannot inform us: our belief hereof is not weakned, but greatly strengthned by our ignorance, because it is the same Reason that tells us, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by Man.*

Quod est infinitum, & non secundum naturam terminatum, non continetur à scientia. Arist. poster.

I have been already over-long, to make any large Discourse, either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse; especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the grossest, the unsutable division of the Books, I could not know how to excuse, had I not been directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first Part finished. All men know, that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of those things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it suits well enough with a great many Books of this Age, which speak too much, and yet say little, ipsi nobis furto subducimur; *We are stollen away from our selves, setting a high price on all that is our own. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I believe as he doth; That who so thinks himself the wisest man, is but a poor and miserable Ignorant. Those that are the best men of Warr, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do always keep the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from their selves; from self-love, self-estimation, and self-opinion.*

Generally, concerning the order of the Work, I have only taken counsel from the Argument. For of the Assyrians, *which after the down-fall of* Babel *take up the first Part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of Posterity; some few enterprises, greater in Fame than Faith, of* Ninus *and* Semiramis, *excepted.*

It was the Story of the Hebrews, *of all before* Olympiads, *that overcame the consuming disease of Time, and preserved it self from the very Cradle and Beginning to this day; and yet not so entire, but that the large Discourses thereof (to which, in many Scriptures, we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the Actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up here and there in the same Time, I am driven to relate by way of digression; of which we may say with* Virgil:

Apparent

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto;
They appear here and there, fioting in the great gulf of Time.

To the ſame firſt Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to us; though moſt of the Authors Names have periſhed in ſo long a Navigation. For thoſe Ages had their Laws; they had their diverſity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobility; Policy in Warr; Navigation, and all, or the moſt of needful Trades. To ſpeak therefore of theſe (ſeeing in a general Hiſtory we ſhould have left a great deal of Nakedneſs by their omiſſion) it cannot properly be called a digreſſion. True it is, that I have alſo made many others; which, if they ſhall be laid to my charge, I muſt caſt the fault into the great heap of humane error. For, ſeeing we digreſs in the ways of our lives; yea, ſeeing the life of Man is nothing elſe but digreſſion; I may the better be excuſed, in writing their lives and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Laws of Hiſtory, and of the kinds.

The ſame hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman, Sir Francis Bacon. *Chriſtian Laws are alſo taught us by the Prophets and Apoſtles; and every day preach'd unto us. But we ſtill make large digreſſions; yea, the Teachers themſelves do not (in all) keep the path which they point out to others.*

For the reſt, after ſuch time as the Perſians *had wreſted the Empire from the* Chaldæans, *and had raiſed a great Monarchy, producing actions of more importance than were elſewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whileſt it ſo flouriſhed, that the affairs of the Nations adjoining had reference thereunto. The like obſervance was to be uſed towards the Fortunes of* Greece, *when they again began to get ground upon the* Perſians; *as alſo towards the affairs of* Rome, *when the* Romans *grew more mighty than the* Greeks.

As for the Medes, *the* Macedonians, *the* Sicilians, *the* Carthaginians, *and other* Nations, *who reſiſted the beginnings of the former Empire, and afterwards became but parts of their compoſition and enlargement: it ſeemed beſt to remember what was known of them from their ſeveral beginnings, in ſuch times and places as they in their flouriſhing eſtates oppoſed thoſe Monarchies, which in the end ſwallowed them up. And herein I have followed the beſt Geographers; who ſeldom give names to thoſe ſmall Brooks, whereof many joined together, make great Rivers; till ſuch time as they become united, and run in main ſtream to the Ocean* Sea. *If the Phraſe be weak, and the Style not every where like it ſelf; the firſt ſhews their legitimation and true Parent; the ſecond will excuſe it ſelf upon the Variety of Matter. For* Virgil, *who wrote his* Eclogues, gracili avena, *uſed ſtronger pipes, when he ſounded the wars of* Æneas. *It may alſo be laid to my charge, that I uſe divers* Hebrew *words in my firſt Book, and elſewhere, in which language others may think, and my ſelf acknowledg it, that I am altogether ignorant; but it is true, that ſome of them I find in* Montanus, *others in* Latine *Characters in* S. Senenſis; *and of the reſt I have borrowed the interpretation of ſome of my friends. But ſay, I had been beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondred at, having had an eleven years leiſure to attain the knowledg of that, or of any other Tongue;*

How-

Howſoever, I know that it will be ſaid by many, That I might have been more pleaſing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine own Times, having been permitted to draw water as near the Well-head as another. To this I anſwer, That whoſoever in writing a modern Hiſtory, ſhall follow Truth too near the heels, it may haply ſtrike out his teeth. There is no Miſtreſs or Guide that hath led her followers and ſervants into greater miſeries. He that goes after her too far off, loſeth her ſight, and loſeth himſelf; and he that walks after her at a middle diſtance; I know not whether I ſhould call that kind of courſe, Temper, or Baſeneſs. It is true, that I never travelled after mens Opinions, when I might have made the beſt uſe of them; and I have now too few days remaining, to imitate thoſe, that either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardiſe, or both, do yet (when Death hath them on his ſhoulders) flatter the World, between the Bed and the Grave. It is enough for me (being in that ſtate I am) to write of the eldeſt Times; wherein alſo, why may it not be ſaid, that in ſpeaking of the paſt, I point at the preſent, and tax the Vices of thoſe that are yet living, in their perſons that are long ſince dead; and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly, if there be any, that finding themſelves ſpotted like the Tigers of old time, ſhall find fault with me for painting them over anew, they ſhall therein accuſe themſelves juſtly, and me falſly.

For, I proteſt before the Majeſty of God, that I malice no man under the Sun. Impoſſible I know it is, to pleaſe all; ſeeing few or none are ſo pleaſed with themſelves, or ſo aſſured of themſelves, by reaſon of their ſubjection to their private paſſions, but that they ſeem divers perſons in one and the ſame day. Seneca *hath ſaid it, and ſo do I:* Unus mihi pro populo erat: *and to the ſame effect,* Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis, ſed tibi; *(or as it hath ſince lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the reſolution of an antient Philoſopher,* Satis eſt unus, Satis eſt nullus. *For it was for the ſervice of that ineſtimable Prince,* Henry, *the ſucceſſive hope, and one of the greateſt of the Chriſtian World, that I undertook this Work. It pleaſed him to peruſe ſome part thereof, and to pardon what was amiſs. It is now left to the World without a Maſter; from which, all that is preſented, hath received both blows and thanks:* Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus eſt omnis judicii, in quo lis ſecundum plures datur. *But theſe Diſcourſes are idle. I know, that as the charitable will judg charitably; ſo againſt thoſe,* qui gloriantur in malitia, *my preſent adverſity hath diſarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not farr to fall; and for riſing again, as in the Natural privation, there is no receſſion to habit; ſo it is ſeldom ſeen in the privation politick. I do therefore forbear to ſtile my Readers,* Gentle, Courteous, *and* Friendly, *thereby to beg their good Opinions, or to promiſe a ſecond and third Volume (which I alſo intend) if the firſt receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certain, let us claw the Reader with never ſo many courteous Phraſes, yet ſhall we evermore be thought fools, that write fooliſhly. For concluſion, all the hope I have, lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well-deſerving of them, than ever I ſhall do again. For had it been otherwiſe; I ſhould hardly have had this leiſure to have made my ſelf a Fool in Print.*

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE VVORLD:

Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the ſame, from the CREATION unto ABRAHAM.

The FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preſervation of the World.

§. I.

That the Inviſible God is ſeen in his Creatures.

GOD, whom the wiſeſt men acknowledg to be a Power uneffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant clarity inviſible; an Underſtanding which it ſelf can onely comprehend; an Eſſence eternal and ſpiritual, of abſolute pureneſs and ſimplicity; was, and is pleaſed to make himſelf known by the Work of the World: in the wonderful magnitude whereof (all which he imbraceth, filleth, and ſuſtaineth) we behold the Image of that glory which cannot be meaſured, and withall, that one, and yet univerſal Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heaven, we perceive a ſhadow of his divine Countenance; in his merciful proviſion for all that live, his manifold goodneſs: and laſtly, in creating and making exiſtent the World univerſal, by the abſolute Art of his own Word, his Power and Almightineſs; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs, being all but Attributes of one ſimple Eſſence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part diſcern *per ſpeculum creaturarum*, that is, in the diſpoſition, order, and variety of Celeſtial and Terreſtrial bodies: Terreſtrial, in their ſtrange and manifold diverſities; Celeſtial, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By theſe potent effects, we approach to the knowledg of the omnipotent cauſe, and by theſe motions, their Almighty Maker.

In theſe more then wonderful works, God (ſaith * *Hugo*) ſpeaketh unto man: and it is true, that theſe be thoſe diſcourſes of God, whoſe effects, thoſe that live, witneſs in themſelves;

* Hugo ſuper Eccleſ. Homil. 8.

selves; the sensible in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable souls: for, according to * S. *Gregory*, *Omnis homo eo ipso quòd rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet*; Every man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith *Job*) which is, according to the Fathers, *Dominationem illius conspicere in creaturis*, *To discern him in his providence by his creatures.* That God hath been otherwise seen, to wit, with corporal eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my understanding, grounded on these places of S. *John* and S. *Paul*, *Ye have not heard his voice at any time, neither have ye seen his shape.* And again, *Whom never man saw, nor can see.*

* *Greg. in Mor. Herm. ad fil. Tat. l. 5. Unus verò ingenitus, & non apparens & immanifestus, omnia autem manifestans per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia solùm generatorum est; nihil apparitio quàm generatio. Joh. 5 3. 1 Tim 6.16*

And this I am sure agrees with the nature of Gods simplicity, of which S. *Augustine*, *Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*; That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were *Origen*, *Cyril*, *Chrysostom*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, *Hierom*, *Augustine*, *Gregory* the great, *Evaristus*, *Alcuinus*, *Dionysius Areopagita*, *Aquinas*, and all others of authority. But by his own Word, and by this visible World, is God perceived of men; which is also the understood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphical Characters are the unnumbred Stars, the Sun and Moon; written on these large Volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those living creatures, and plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned *Cusanus*, *Mundus universus nihil aliud est, quàm Deus explicatus*; The World universal is nothing else but God expresst. And the invisible things of God (saith S. *Paul*) are seen by the creation of the World, being considered in his creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding then his own Will, no other matter then his own Power, no other Workman then his own Word, no other consideration then his own infinite goodness. The example and pattern of these his Creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his own love, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his unchanged Will moved, by his high Wisdom disposed, and by his Almighty Power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to love God, *ex fide, & ex effectibus* (that is) both perswaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds Creation: *Neque enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognosciq; potest, sed vel ex rerum, quæ factæ sunt, quæque fiunt & gubernantur, observatione & collatione; vel ex ipsius Dei verbo:* For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be known by any knowledg of cause or beginning (saith *Montanus*) but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and govern; or else by the word of God himself.

Origen l. 2. περὶ ἀρχῶν c. 22. Cyril. & Chrys. in Joh hom. 14 Greg. Naz. l. 2. Theolog. Hier. in Esaiam. Aug. l. 2. de Trin. c. 12. & 13. Greg. Mag. l. 18. Mor. Evar. ep. 1. Decret. Alcuin. l. 2. de Trin. c. 16. D. Arcop c. 4. Cœl. Hierar. Thom. p. 2. q. 12. art. 11. & alibi. Deus qui natura invisibilis est ut à visibilibus posset sciri, opus fecit quod Opificem sui visibiliter manifestaret, ut per certum incertum sciretur, & ille Deus omnium esse crederetur, Amb. in epist. ad Rom. c. 1. Cusan. de gen. ilialog. Rom. 1. 20.

§. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authority is not to be despised, have acknowledged the World to have been created by God.

THis work and creation of the World, did most of the antient and learned Philosophers acknowledg, though by divers terms, and in a different manner expresst; I mean all those who are intitled by S. *Augustine*, *Summi Philosophi*, Philosophers of highest judgment and understanding. *Mercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium universorum*, The original of the Universal; to whom he giveth also the attributes of *Mens*, *Natura*, *Actus*, *Necessitas*, *Finis*, & *Renovatio.* And wherein he truely with S. *Paul*, casteth upon God all power; confessing also, that the World was made by Gods Almighty Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est mundus.* *Zoroaster* (whom *Heraclitus* followed in opinion) took the word *Fire* to expres God by (as in *Deuteronomy*, and in S. *Paul* it is used) *Omnia ex uno igne genita sunt*, *All things* (saith he) *are caused or produced out of one fire.*

Herm. in Pœmand. & in sermone sacro. *Deut 4. Heb. 12.*

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the World had beginning in time, from the Will of the most high God; whose remarkable words are thus converted; *Cum abscondisset omnia Jupiter summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia:* Of which I conceive this sense; *When great Jupiter had hidden all things in himself, working out of the love of his sacred heart, he sent thence*, or brought forth, *into grateful light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought.*

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Unus Deus, Pater, Creator summus*, *Plato* calleth God the cause and original, the nature and reason of the universal; *Totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus.* But hereof more at large hereafter. *Vid. cap.*

Now, although the curiosity of some men have found it superfluous, to remember the opinions

A. Mon. Nat. Hist. fol. 7.

opinions of Philoſophers in matters of Divinity: (it being true, that the Scripture hath not want of any forrain teſtimony) yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; ſo S. *Paul* himſelf did not deſpiſe, but thought it lawful and profitable, to remember whatſoever he found agreeable to the word of God among the Heathen. that he might thereby take from them all eſcape, by way of of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not: as in the Epiſtle to *Titus* he citeth *Epimenides* againſt the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*; and in the ſeventeenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus &c.* For, Truth (ſaith S. *Ambroſe*) by whomſoever uttered, is of the holy Ghoſt; *Veritas à quocunque dicatur, à Spiritu ſancto eſt:* and laſtly, let thoſe kind of men learn this rule; *Quæ ſacris ſerviunt, prophana non ſunt*; *Nothing is prophane, that ſerveth to the uſe of holy things.*

§. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, *Geneſ.* 1. 1.

THis viſible world of which *Moſes* writeth, God created in the beginning, or firſt of all: in which (ſaith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebrews* ſeek ſome hidden myſtery, and which in the *Jews Targum* is converted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to ſucceſſion of time, nor to order, as ſome men have conceived, both which are ſubſequent: but only to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primary Matter to be informed, nor Form to inform, nor any Being, but the Eternal. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but diſpoſed of Matter already in being, then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, ſo muſt it follow, that the inſtitution of Matter proceded from a greater power, then that of God. And by what name ſhall we then call ſuch an One (ſaith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to diſpoſe of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we fain a double creation, or allow of two Powers, and both infinite; the impoſſibility whereof ſcorneth defence. *Nam impoſſibile eſt plura eſſe infinita: quoniam alterum eſſet in altero finitum*; *There cannot be more Infinities then one: for one of them would limit the other.*

Cuſan. de Mente. l. 3.

§. IV.

Of the meaning of the words Heaven *and* Earth, *Geneſ.* 2. 1.

THe Univerſal matter of the world (which *Moſes* comprehendeth under the names of *Heaven* and *Earth*) is by divers diverſly underſtood; for there are that conceive, that by thoſe words was meant the firſt matter, as the Peripateticks underſtand it; to which S. *Auguſtine* and *Iſidore* ſeem to adhere, *Feciſti mundum* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *de materia informi*; *quam feciſti de nulla re, pene nullam rem*: that is, *Thou haſt made the world of a matter without form*; *which matter thou madeſt of nothing, and being made, it was little other then nothing.*

But this potential and imaginary *materia prima*, cannot exiſt without form. *Peter Lombard, the Schoolmen, Beda, Lyranus, Comeſtor, Toſtatus*, and others affirm that it pleaſed God firſt of all to create the Empyrean Heaven: which at the ſucceeding inſtant (ſaith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with *Angels*. This Empyrean Heaven *Steuchius Eugubynus* calleth *Divine clarity and uncreated:* an errour, for which he is ſharply charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the ſubſequent, when he made it to be a place, and the ſeat of Angels and juſt Souls, then in the former affirmation; for of the firſt, That God liveth in eternal Light, it is written, *My ſoul, praiſe thou the Lord, that covereth himſelf with light:* and in the Revelation, *And the City hath no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon to ſhine in it: for the glory of God did light it.* And herein alſo *John Mercer* upon *Geneſis*, differeth not in opinion from *Eugubynus*: for as by Heaven created in the beginning, was not meant the inviſible or ſuperceleſtial; ſo in his judgment, becauſe it was in all eternity the glorious ſeat of God himſelf, it was not neceſſary to be created; *Quem Mundum Super-cæleſtem meo judicio creari* (ſaith *Mercer*) *non erat neceſſe.*

Beda Hex. Strabo ſuper Gen. Eug. Coſ. & de nat. in corp.

Pſ. 104. 12. *Claritas divina non eſt lux facta, ſed ſapientia Dei non creata, ſed nata, Apoc.* 21. 23. *Mercer. in Gen.* 7. 7.

But as *Moſes* forbare to ſpeak of Angels, and of things inviſible and incorporate, for the weakneſs of their capacities, whom he then cared to inform of thoſe things which were moſt manifeſt, (to wit) that God did not only by a ſtrong hand deliver them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promiſe made to their forefathers; but alſo that he created, and was the ſole cauſe of this aſpectable, and perceivable Univerſal: ſo on the other ſide I dare not think, that any ſuperceleſtial Heaven, or whatſoever elſe (not himſelf) was increate and eternal; and as for

the place of God before the world created, the finite wisdom of mortal men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the seat of infinite power, no more then infinite power it self can be limited: for his place is in Himself, whom no magnitude else can contain:

Bar. 3. 24, 25. *How great is the house of God* (saith *Baruch*) *how large is the place of his possession; it is great, and hath no end, it is high and unmeasurable.*

But leaving multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words *Heaven* and *Earth*, was meant the solid matter and substance, as well of all the Heavens, and Orbs supernal, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which covered it over, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *Materia, Chaos, possibilitas, sive posse fieri.* Which matter (saith *Calvin*) was so called, *quod totius mundi semen fuerit; Because it was the seed of the Universal:* an opinion of antient Philosophers long before.

Cusan. in Compend. fol. 224. Operis.

Calvin. in Gen.

§. V.

That the substance of the Waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by Moses *understood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and void, is described as the Chaos of the antient Heathen.*

MOses first nameth Heaven and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth; but afterwards he nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the confused Mass, and (as *Basil* saith) *Præparare naturam aquæ ad fœcunditatem vitalem; To prepare the nature of water to a vital fruitfulness.*

For under the word *Heaven*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures expresst: and by the name of *Earth* and *Waters*, all was meant, whatsoever is under the Moon, and subject to alteration. Corrupt seeds bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heavens are not subject, though subject

Ps 102. 26. to perishing. *They shall perish* (saith *David*) *and the heavens shall vanish away like smoak,*

Esay. 51. saith *Esay.* Neither were the waters the matter of Earth; for it is written, *Let the waters*

Gen. 1. 9. *under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear:* which proveth, that the dry land was mixt and covered with the waters and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or seed of the Earth, much less of the Universal. *Initio tu, Domine, terram fundâsti, Thou, O Lord,*

Ps. 104. 6. *in the beginning hast founded the Earth:* and again, *The Earth was covered with the Deep* (meaning with waters) *as with a garment,* saith *David.* And if by natural arguments it may be proved, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth us also, that earth rarified may become water: water, air: air, fire: and so on the contrary. *Deus ignis substantiam per aerem in aquam convertit, God turneth the substance of fire by air into water.* For the Heavens and the Earth remained in the same state, in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicity of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. *Cœlum vero & terra in statu creationis remanserunt quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est.* And the word which the Hebrews call *Maim*, is not to be understood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specifical water; but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Est autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero Aquas fecit;* *For Maim* (saith he) *is a double liquor* (that is, of divers natures) *and this name or word the Latines, wanting a voice to expresse it, call it in the Plural,* Aquas, *Waters.*

Zeno. Gul. Paris. 600. A. Moni. de nat.

This Mass, or indigested matter, or Chaos, created in the beginning, was without form, that is, without the proper form, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the Waters. *And the Earth was void,* that is, Gen. 1. 2. not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after *the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters,* and wrought this indigested matter into that form, which it now retaineth; then did *the earth bud forth the herb, which seedeth seed, and the fruitful tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good;* which attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confused; nor to the Heavens, before they had motion, and adornment. *God saw that it was good,* that is, made perfect: for perfection is that to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta sunt opera; The works of the perfect God, are perfect.*

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the antient Poets their invention of *Demogorgon*; *Hesiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledg of that Chaos: of which *Ovid*; Ovid. Met. lib. 1.

Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) Cœlum,
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixêre Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heaven, that all doth hide,
In all the World one onely face of Nature did abide:
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heap.

§. VI.

§. VI.

How it is to be understood, that the Spirit of God moved upon the waters; and that this is not to be searched curiously.

AFter the Creation of Heaven and Earth, then void and without form, the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters. The *Seventy Interpreters* use the word *superfercbatur*, moved upon or over: *incubabat* or *fovebat* (saith *Hierome*) out of *Basil*; and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cujusdam Syri sententiam recensebo* (saith *Basil*:) which words *incubare* or *fovere*, importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a special likeness. *Verbum translatum est ab avibus pullitici suæ incubantibus, quamvis spirituali, & planè inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo*; *The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpressible manner.*

Basil Hexæm. Junius.

Some of the Hebrews convert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volitabat*; *The Spirit of God did flutter*: the Chaldean Paraphrast in this sense, *Ventus à conspectu Dei sufflabat*: or, as other understand the Chaldean, *Flabat, pellebat, removebat: The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did blow upon*; according to the 147. *Psalm*, *He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no wind nor exhalation.* *Arias Montanus* in these words, *Et Spiritus Elohim Meracheset, id est, efficaciter motitans, confovens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris*; *The Spirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warm, and cherishing, quickning and stirring upon the face of this double liquor.* For he maketh four originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passive and material, to wit, *Causa*, which is the divine Goodness: *Jehi*, which is, *fiat, sive erit, Let it be*, or, *It shall be. Quæ vox verbo dei prima prolata fuit: Which voice* (saith he) *was the first that was uttered by the Word of God.* The third, *Spiritus Elohim*, the Spirit of God, *id est, Vis quædam divina, agilis ac præsens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens*; that is, *A certain divine power, or strength every where active and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things.* The fourth he calleth *Maim, id est, Materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis*; *Matter apt to becom every thing.* For my self, I am resolved (*Cum Deus sit super rationale omni ratione*; *Seeing God is in all reason above reason*) that although the effects which follow his wonderful waies of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans understanding, yet

Pſal. 147. 18.

Ar. Mont. in ſap. Eugub. in Coſ. ſol. 13.

Ar. Mont. natura, pag. 145.

the manner and first operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or spirit, compassed with a mortal body. *Animalis homo quæ Dei sunt non percipit: For my thoughts* (saith the Lord in *Esay*) *are not your thoughts, neither are your waies my waies.* Esa. 55. 8. And as the world hath not known God himself: so are his waies (according to S. *Paul*) *past finding out. O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee*, saith Christ. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality, and operation, were by incubation or how else, the manner is onely known to God. *Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit*; *For how God* (saith S. *Augustine*, speaking of his Ubiquity) *is in all things, either by essence, presence, or power, our understanding cannot comprehend. Nihil inter Deum hominemque distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius Majestatis æternæ, cogitatio assequeretur humana: There would be no difference between God and man, if man's understanding could conceive the counsels and disposing of that eternal Majesty*; and therefore to be over-curious in searching how the all-powerful Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operative spirit distinguishing, gave form to the Matter of the Universal, is a labour and search like unto his, who not contented with a known and safe Foord, will presume to pass over the greatest River in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his understanding. We behold the Sun, and enjoy his light, as long as we look towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warm our selves safely, while we stand neer the fire; but if we seek to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

Aug. Tract. 10. in John 17. 25.

Laſt in Præfat.

But to eschew curiosity: this is true, that the English word (*moved*) is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula*, *Vis causæ efficientis*, *The force of the efficient cause*; S. *Augustine* sometimes taketh for the Holy Ghost; sometimes for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus, under the name of a Spirit*, which is sometimes so taken: or for *virtualis creatura*, *For a created virtuality*: *Tertullian* and *Theodoret* call it also a breath or wind: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem*, *A pure or thin intelligible Spirit*: Anaxagoras, *Mentem*: Tostatus, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei*, *The will and mind of God*; which *Mens*, *Plato in Timæo* maketh *Animam mundi*, *The soul of the world*

world: and in his sixth Book *de Republica*, he calleth it *the Law of Heaven*; in his Epistles, *The Leader of things to come, and the presence of things past.* But as *Cyprian* wrote of the incarnation of Christ our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox silet, & non mea tantùm, sed etiam Angelorum; My mind faileth, my voice is silent, and not mine onely, but even the voice of Angels:* so may all men else say in the understanding and utterance of the waies and works of the Creation; for to him (saith *Nazianzenus*) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed consubstantiale illi est, quicquid ejus est, & quicquid est; Whatsoever attribute of him there is, and whatsoever he is, it is the very same substance that himself is.*

Nazian. lib. 2. Theol.

But the Spirit of God which moved upon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustaineth and giveth continuance to the Uniuersal. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it *which maintaineth all things*, saith *Solomon. If thou send forth thy Spirit* (saith *David*) *they are created:* And *Gregory, Deus suo præsentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quòd si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent universa; God giveth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himself from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would again fall away and vanish into nothing.* And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath expresst excellently:

Wisd. 1. v. 7.

Principio Cœlum ac Terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemq; globum Lunæ, Titaniaq; astra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; infusa per artus,
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

Virg. Æneid. lib. 8. 724.

The Heaven, and Earth, and all the liquid Mayn,
The Moon's bright Globe, and Stars Titanian
A Spirit within maintains: and their whole mass,
A mind, which through each part infus'd doth pass,
Fashions, and works, and wholly doth transpierce
All this great Body of the Universe.

And this was the same Spirit, which moved in the Universal, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garnished the Heavens*, saith *Job.* So then the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and created in them their spirituality, and natural motion; motion brought forth heat; and heat rarifaction, and subtilty of parts. By this Spirit (which gave heat and motion, and thereby, operation to every nature, while it moved upon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and Chaos, disposed to all forms alike) was begotten Aire: an element superiour, as lighter then the waters; through whose vast, open, subtile, Diaphanick, or transparent body, the light, afterwards created, might easily transpierce: Light for the excellency thereof being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chrysostom* calleth a vital Operation, *Aquis à Deo insitam, ex qua aquæ non solum motionem, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint.* He calleth it, *A vital Operation given by God unto the waters, whereby the waters had not onely motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth living Creatures.*

Job c. 26. v. 13.

Gen. 1. 3.

§. VII.

Of the Light created, as the material substance of the Sun, and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledg of it: and of the excellency and use of it: and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.

THese Waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the Sun, the Organ and Instrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceive) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Suns creation, and the uniting of the dispersed light therein. This is proved by these words, *Let there be lights in the Firmament, to separate the day from the night:* which lights in the Firmament of Heaven, were also made for signes, and for seasons, and for daies, and for years, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which, days and years are distinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three days which preceded the Suns creation, or formal perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the Day named in the fifth Verse; was but such a space, as afterwards by the Suns motion made a civil or natural day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the Seas, and Creatures therein; Earth, the matter of Beasts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: so may Light (for expression sake) be called the Chaos, or material substance of the

Gen. 1. 14.

the Sun, and other lights of heaven: Howbeit, neither the Sun, nor any thing ſenſible, is that light it ſelf, *Quæ cauſa eſt lucidorum, Which is the cauſe that things are lightſome* (though it make it ſelf and all things elſe viſible:) but a body moſt illightned, which illuminateth the Moon, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greeks* call *Æther*, the place of the ſuppoſed Element of fire) is effected and qualified, and by it all bodies living in this our ayr. For this light *Avicenna* calleth *Vehiculum & fomentum omnium cœleſtium virtutum, & impreſſionum: The conducter, and preſerver, or nouriſher of all celeſtial virtues and impreſſions*, nothing deſcending of heavenly influences, but by the *medium*, or means of light. *Ariſtotle* calleth light a quality, inherent or cleaving to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen eſt qualitas inhærens Diaphano:* but this may be better avouched of the heat, which it tranſporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heat (ſay the Platonicks) *Abeunte lumine reſidet in ſubjecto, The light being departed, doth reſide in the ſubject*, as warmth in the ayr, though the ſame be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academicks* make incorporal, and ſo doth *Montanus*, *Cui nec duritia reſiſtit, nec ſpatium; Which neither hardneſs reſiſteth, nor ſpace leaveth.*

Ariſtotle findeth corporality in the beams of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, ſaith *Picolomineus*. *Democritus*, *Leucippus*, and *Epicurus*, give materiality to light it ſelf, but improperly: for it paſſeth at an inſtant from the Heaven to the Earth, nor is it reſiſted by any hardneſs, becauſe it paſſeth through the ſolid body of glaſs, or other Cryſtalline matter; and whereas it is withſtood by unclean and unpure earthy ſubſtances, leſs hard, and more eaſie to invade then the former, the ſame is, *Quòd obſtaculum naturâ terreum atq; ſordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem; Becauſe an obſtacle by nature earthy and foul, doth not receive the pure clearneſs of light:* alluding to that moſt divine Light, which onely ſhineth on thoſe minds, which are purged from all worldly droſs, and humane uncleanneſs.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither do I marvel at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philoſophers, or School-men, or other antient or latter Writers, that any of them underſtood either it or themſelves therein: all men (to caſt off ignorance) have diſputed thereof, but there is no man that hath been taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferiour to any in wit) as he hath ſhewed little ſtrength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Lombard*, *Lyranus*, and others: ſo is his own judgment herein, as weak as any mans; and moſt of the School-men were rather curious in the nature of terms, and more ſubtile in diſtinguiſhing upon the parts of doctrine already laid down, then diſcoverers of any thing hidden, either in Philoſophy or Divinity: of whom it may be truly ſaid, *Nihil ſapientiæ odioſius acumine nimio; Nothing is more odious to true wiſdom, then too accute ſharpneſs.* Neither hath the length of time, and the ſearch of many learned men, (which the ſame time hath brought forth and devoured) reſolved us, whether this light be ſubſtantial, corporal, or incorporal: Corporal they ſay it cannot be, becauſe then it could neither pierce the ayr, nor thoſe hard, ſolid, and Diaphanous bodies, which it doth; and yet every day we ſee the ayr illightned: Incorporal it cannot be, becauſe it ſometime affecteth the ſight of the eye with offence, and therefore by moſt of the Fathers ſo eſteemed. Others ſay (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, becauſe no form ſo excellent as it ſelf to inform it: neither can it be any accident, which is not ſeparable without the deſtruction of the ſubject: for light being taken from the Sun, the Sun is no more the Sun in exiſtence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and form, then either, or both muſt be one of theſe, lucid or bright, dark or opake, Diaphanous or tranſparent; but darkneſs cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light nor darkneſs, but capable of either) cannot be the cauſe of either, and therefore muſt the matter, or form, or both, be lucid and ſhining. Lucid and ſhining obtain their ſo being of the light; and therefore if we derive this being of light from a former, then would the progreſs go on infinitely and againſt nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sun hath his being primarily, and immediately of it ſelf, and is therefore the Suns form, and the form of all lucid and ſhining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

Lucida corpora ſunt plena ſua luce, alienis tenebris impervia. Opaca ſunt plena ſuis tenebris alieno lumine. Tranſparentia ſeu Diaphana carent ſuis & lumine & tenebris: alienis & lumine & tenebris permeantur. Scal. ſub. ex. 71.

But in my underſtanding, *Lumen* (which may be Engliſhed by the word *Shine*) is an intentional Species of that, which may be Engliſhed by Light; and ſo, this ſhining which proceedeth from the Sun, or other lights of Heaven, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentional Species thereof; and an intentional Species may be underſtood by example of a red or green colour, occaſioned by the ſhining of the Sun through red or green glaſs: for then we perceive the ſame colour caſt upon any thing oppoſite; which redneſs or other colour, we call the *intentional Species*

ex dicitur, quæ ſe omnis ſibilia ſit. Cuſ. in mpend. p. 7. & ercit. lib. 3.

Scin l. b. lumine, ap. 11.

Pic. de ſini.

14.

Plotin.

cies of the colour in that glass. And again, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet understood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created, be the same which the Sun inholdeth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the Suns creation.

But by the most wise and unchanged order, which God observed in the works of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sun: for *Moses* repeateth twice the main parts of the Universal: first, as they were created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with form: first, naming the Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry Land; and the Heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called *Arida*, or dry Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their virtual forms: So the Sun although it had not its formal perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (under the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day united, and set in the Firmament of Heaven: for, to Light created in the first day God gave no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation* (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this Light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdome of God find cause why it should move (by which motion, days and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by moving, the Sun might give light, heat, and operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herb, &c. God caused the Sun to move, and (by interchange of time) to visite every part of the inferiour World; by his heat to stir up the fire of generation, and to give activity to the seeds of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that use and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerful Word he approved, and approving it, disposed thereof, to the use and comfort of his future Creatures.

Quemadmodum Rex aliquis, &c. Procop. in Gen. 1.

Job 28. 24. 9.

But in that it pleased God to ask of *Job*, *By what way is the Light parted, and where is the way where Light dwelleth?* we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under mans understanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enjoy the effects thereof. *For this light is of the treasure of God* (saith Esdras:) *And those which inhabite the Heavens, do onely know the Essence thereof. Nihil ignotum in cœlo, nihil notum in terra: Nothing unknown in Heaven, nothing perfectly known on Earth. Res veræ sunt in mundo invisibili; in mundo visibili umbræ rerum: Things themselves are in the invisible World; in the world visible, but their shadows.* Surely, if this Light be not spiritual, yet it approacheth neerest unto spirituality; and if it have any corporality, then of all other the most subtile and pure; for howsoever, it is of all things seen, the most beautiful, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficial. For it ministreth unto men, and other creatures, all celestial influences; it dissipateth those sad thoughts and sorrows, which the darkness both begetteth and maintaineth; it discovereth unto us the glorious works of God, and carrieth up with an Angelical swiftness, our eyes unto Heaven, that by the sight thereof, our minds being informed of his visible marvels, may continually travel to surmount these perceived Heavens, and to find out their omnipotent Cause and Creator. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis; Our knowledg doth not quiet it self in things created. Et ipsa lux facit, ut cætera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cùm suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the Light* (Saith Saint Ambrose) *that maketh the other parts of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it self communicateth its goodness and beauty unto all.* Of which, *Ovid* out of *Orpheus*:

Esd. l. 2. c. 6. 42.

Herm.

Ficin.

Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Mundi oculus.

Ovid. Met. lib. 1.

The world discerns it self, while I the World behold,
By me the longest years, and other times are told,
I the worlds eye.

Lastly, If we may behold in any creature, any one spark of that eternal fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightness, the same in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this Light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called *Lux ipsa*; and the Light, by *Hermes*, named *Lux sancta*; and *Christ* our Saviour said to be *that Light which lightneth every man that cometh into the world.* Yet in respect

Joh. 1. 9. & 14. 6.

reſpect of Gods incomprehenſible ſublimity, and purity, this is alſo true, that God is neither a mind, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits; nor a light, ſuch as can be diſcerned. *Deus profectò non mens eſt, at verò ut ſit mens cauſa eſt; nec ſpiritus, ſed cauſa quâ ſpiritus extat; nec lumen, ſed cauſa quâ lumen exiſtit: God* (ſaith *Hermes* in Pœmandro) *certainly is not a mind, but the cauſe that the mind hath his being; nor ſpirit, but the cauſe by which every ſpirit is; nor light, but the cauſe by which the light exiſteth.*

So then the *Maſs* and *Chaos* being firſt created, void, dark, and unformed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickned; and the Waters, having now received Spirit and motion, reſolved their thinner parts into Ayr, which God illightned: the Earth alſo by being contiguat, and mixt with waters (participating the ſame divine virtue) brought forth the bud of the herb that ſeedeth ſeed, *&c.* And for a mean and organ, by which this operative virtue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be united, and gave it alſo motion and heat, which heat cauſed a continuance of thoſe ſeverall *ſpecies*, which the Earth (being made fruitful by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times ſucceeding.

Gen. 1. 10.

§. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament: and whether there be any Cryſtalline Heaven, or any Primum mobile.

AFter that the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created, God ſaid, *Let there be a Firmament in the middeſt of the waters, and let it ſeparate the waters from the waters:* that is, thoſe waters which by rarifaction and evaporation were aſcended, and thoſe of the Earth and Sea.

But theſe waters, ſeparate above this Extenſion, which the Latine Tranſlation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expanſum* (for ſo *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* turn it) are not the Cryſtalline Heavens created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Baſilius Magnus* calleth a childiſh ſuppoſition, making in the ſame place many learned arguments againſt this infancie. For the waters above the firmament, are the waters in the ayr above us, where the ſame is more ſolid and condenſe, which God ſeparated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended diſtance and vaſt ſpace: the words *Raquia* (which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*), and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the heaven and for ayr, and more properly for the ayr and *Æther*, then for the heavens, as the beſt Hebricians underſtand them, *Quo ſuprema ac tenuia ab infimis craſſis diducta, interſectaque diſtarent*, for that *whereby the ſupreme and thin bodies were placed in diſtance, being ſevered and cut off from low and groſs matters:* and the waters above the firmament, expreſt in the word *Majim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters above the ayr, or in the uppermoſt region of the ſame.

Mon. Nat. hiſt. fol. 192.

And that the word Heaven is uſed for the Ayr, the Scriptures every where witneſs; as in the bleſſings of *Joſeph*, and in the 104. Pſalm: * *By theſe Springs ſhall the fowl of the Heaven dwell*; and *upon Sodom and Gomorrah it rained brimſtone and fire out of the Heaven*; and in *Iſaacs* bleſſing to *Jacob*; *God give thee therefore of the dew of Heaven:* and in *Deuteronomy* the 11. *But the land whither you go to poſſeſs it, is a land that drinketh water of the rayne of Heaven*; and in *Job*, *Who hath ingendred the froſts of Heaven?* and in S. *Matthew*, *Behold the Fowls of Heaven, for they ſow not.* So as in all the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament throughout, is the word *Heaven* very oft uſed for Ayr, and taken alſo hyperbolically for any great Height, as, *Let us build us a Tower, whoſe top may reach to Heaven &c.* And in this very place *Baſil* avoucheth, that this appellation of Heaven for the Firmament, is but by way of ſimilitude: his own words be theſe; *Et vocavit Deus firmamentum cœlum. Hæc appellatio alii quidem propriè accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad ſimilitudinem*; *And God called the firmament Heaven: This appellation* (ſaith *Baſil*) *is properly applied to another* (that is to the Starry Heaven) *but to this* (that is, to the firmament dividing the waters) *it is impoſed by ſimilitude.* And if there were no other proof, that by the Firmament was meant the Ayr, and not the Heaven, the words of *Moſes* in the eighth verſe, conferred with the ſame word *Firmament* in the twentieth verſe, make it manifeſt: for in the eighth verſe it is written, that God called the Firmament, which divided waters from waters, Heaven; and in the twentieth verſe he calleth the Firmament of Heaven, Ayr; in theſe words, *And let the Fowl flye upon the earth in the open firmament of Heaven.* And what uſe there ſhould be of this ycie, or cryſtalline, or waterie Heaven, I conceive not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *Primum mobile* would otherwiſe gather and increaſe: though in very truth, inſtead of this help, it would add an unmeaſurable greatneſs of circle, whereby the ſwiftneſs of that firſt Moveable would exceed all poſſibility of belief. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impoſſibilia*; *but no man*

* Pſal. 104. 12. 2 Gen. 19. 24. Cap. 27. 28. Deut 11. 11. Job 38 29. Matth. 6. 26.

Gen. 11. 4.

ought to be held to impossibilities: and faith it self (which surmounteth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible conductor the Word of Truth, which also may be called *lumen omnis rationis & intellectus; the light of all reason and understanding.* Now that this supposed first Moveable, turneth it selfe so many hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those that can believe mens imagination, apprehend it; for I cannot. But of these many Heavens, let the Reader that desireth satisfaction, search *Orontius*; and of this waterie Heaven, *Basilius Magnus*, in his *Hexam. fol.* 40,41. *&c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, in his second Book and sixth chapter. For my self, I am perswaded, that the waters called, The waters above the Heavens, are but the clouds and waters engendred in the uppermost ayr.

§. IX.

A Conclusion, repeating the summ of the works in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise God in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or Being, but Gods incomprehensible eternity. First, he created the matter of all things: and in the first three dayes he distinguished, and gave to every nature his proper form; the form of levitie to that which ascended; to that which descended, the form of gravity: for he separated light from darkness, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the last three days, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the World: he set in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sun, Moon, and Starrs; filled the Earth with Beasts, the Ayr with Fowl, and the Sea with Fish, giving to all that have life a power generative, thereby to continue their Species, and kinds; to Creatures vegetative and growing, their Seeds in themselves; for *he created all things, that they might have their being: and the generations of the world are preserved.*

Wisd. Sol. c. 1. 14.

§. X

That Nature, is no Principium per se; *nor Form, the giver of being: and of our ignorance how second causes should have any proportion with their effects.*

AND for this working-power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to *Aristotle*; the same is nothing else, but the strength and faculty, which God hath infused into every creature, having no other selfe-ability, then a Clock, after it is wownd up by a mans hand, hath. Those therefore that attribute unto this faculty, any first or sole power, have therein no other understanding, then such a one hath who, looking into the Stern of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helm and Rudder, doth ascribe some absolute virtue to the peece of wood, without all consideration of the hand that guides it, or of the judgment, which also directeth and commandeth that hand: forgetting in this and in all else, that by the virtue of the first act, all Agents work whatsoever they work: *Virtute primi actus, agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt:* for as the mind of man seeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the ears, and maketh choyce by the will: and therefore we attribute sight to the eye, and hearing to the ears, *&c.* and yet it is the mind only, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sun, by the Starrs, by Nature or infused properties, and by men as by several Organs, several effects; all second causes whatsoever, being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and disperse what they have received from the head and fountain of the Universal. For as it is Gods infinite power, and everywhere-presence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sun power to draw up vapours, to be made clouds; clouds to contain rain, and rain to fall: so all second and instrumental causes together with Nature it self, without that operative faculty which God gave them, would become altogether silent, virtueless, and dead: of which excellently *Orpheus*; *Per te virescunt omnia, All things by thee spring forth in youthful green.* I enforce not these things, thereby to annihilate those variable virtues which God hath given to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, *&c.* for all His workes in their virtues prayse him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, have taken on them to teach: I say, there is not any one among them, nor any one among us, that could ever yet conceive it, or express it, ever enrich his own understanding with any certain truth, or ever edifie others (not foolish by selfe-flattery) therein. For (saith *Lactantius*, speaking of the wisdom of the Philosophers) *Si facultas inveniendæ veritatis huic studio subjaceret, aliquando esset inventa;*

Natura enim, remota providentia & potestate divina, prorsus nihil est. Lact. de falsa Sapientia. l. 3. c. 28.

ta; cùm verò tot temporibus, tot ingeniis in ejus inquiſitione contritis, non ſit comprehenſa, apparet nullam ibi eſſe ſapientiam; If in this ſtudie (ſaith he), *were means to find out the truth, it had ere this bin found out: but ſeeing it is not yet comprehended, after that ſo much time, and ſo many wits have been worn out in the inquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no wiſdom there to be had. Nam ſi de unâ re præciſa ſcientia haberetur, omnium rerum ſcientia neceſſariò haberetur: If the preciſe knowledg of any one thing were to be had, it ſhould neceſſarily follow, that the knowledg of all things were to be had.* And as the Phyloſophers were ignorant in Nature, and the waies of her working; ſo were they more curious, then knowing, in their firſt matter and Phiſical form. For if their firſt matter had any being, it were not then the firſt matter: for, as it is the firſt matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaveth, when it doth ſubſiſt. And ſeeing it is neither a ſubſtance perfect, nor a ſubſtance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other ſubſtance ſhould thence take concreſcence, it hath not been taught, neither are theſe forms (ſaith a learned Authour) any thing, *ſi ex ea exprimatur potentia, quæ nihil eſt.* Again, how this firſt matter ſhould be *ſubjectum formarum*, and paſſive, which is underſtood to precede the form, it is hard to conceive: for to make form, which is the cauſe, to be ſubſequent to the thing cauſed (to wit, to the firſt matter) is contrary to all reaſon, divine and humane: only it may be ſaid, that originally there is no other difference between matter and form, then between heat and fire, of which the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other, but in a kind of rational conſideration. Leaving therefore theſe Riddles to their Lovers, who by certain Scholaſtical diſtinctions wreſt and pervert the truth of all things, and by which *Ariſtotle* hath laboured to prove a falſe eternity of the World, I think it farr ſafer to affirm with Saint *Auguſtine*, *That all ſpecies and kinds are from God, from whom, whatſoever is natural proceedeth, of what kind or eſtimation ſoever; from whence are the ſeeds of all forms, and the forms of all ſeeds and their motions; A quo eſt omnis ſpecies, à quo eſt quicquid naturaliter eſt, cujuſcunq; generis eſt, cujuſcunq; æſtimationis eſt; à quo ſunt ſemina formarum, formæ ſeminum, motus ſeminum atq; formarum.* And thus much *Averrois* is forced to confeſs. *For all forms* (ſaith he) *are, in primo motore*; which is alſo the opinion of *Ariſtotle* in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* upon *Dionyſius*.

Cypr. de mente l. 3.

12. Metaph.

§. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starrs have great influence: and that their operations may diverſly be prevented or furthered.

AND, as of Nature, ſuch is the diſpute and contention concerning Fate or Deſtinie, of which the opinions of thoſe learned men that have written thereof, may be ſafely received, had they not thereunto annexed and faſtened an inevitable neceſſity, and made it more general, and univerſally powerful then it is, by giving it Dominion over the mind of man, and over his will, of which *Ovid*, and *Juvenal*:

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.
Servis regna dabunt, captivis Fata triumphos. *Juven Sat. 7. 201.*

'Gainſt Fate no counſel can prevaile.
Kingdoms to Slaves by Deſtinie,
To Captives triumphs given be.

An errour of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Phariſees, Priſcillianiſts, the Bardiſaniſts, and others, as *Baſil*, *Auguſtine*, and *Thomas* have obſerved: but that Fate is an obedience of ſecond cauſes to the firſt, was well conceived of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the Platoniſt. *Plotinus* out of the Aſtronomers calleth it a diſpoſition from the acts of celeſtial Orbs, unchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the ſame being alſo true enough, in reſpect of all thoſe things which a rational mind doth not order nor direct. *Ptolemie*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chryſippus*, *Empedocles*, and the Stoicks, ſome of them more largely, others more ſtrictly, aſcribe to Fate a binding and inevitable neceſſity; and that it is the ſame which is ſpoken and determined by God (*quod de unoquoq; noſtrum fatus eſt Deus*) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starrs are inſtruments of far greater uſe, then to give an obſcure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunſet: it being manifeſt, that the diverſity of ſeaſons, the Winters, and Summers, more hot and cold, are not ſo uncertained by the Sun and Moon alone, who alway keep one and the ſame courſe; but that the Stars have alſo their working therein.

Baſil. Eſta. 4. Aug. de hereſ 70. c. 35 Tho cont. Gent 3. cap. 8 3. Ficin in 12. de leg. Cic. de fat.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given virtues to Springs and Fountains, to cold Earth, to Plants and Stones, Minerals, and to the excremental parts of the baſeſt living creatures, why ſhould we rob the beautiful Stars of their working powers? for ſeeing they are many in number, and of emi-

nent beauty and magnitude, we may not think, that in the treasury of his wisdom, who is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every Star) a peculiar virtue and operation; as every herb, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to cover and shadow her dusty face, but otherwise for the use of man and beast, to feed them and cure them; so were not those uncountable glorious bodies set in the Firmament, to no other end, then to adorn it; but for Instruments and Organs of his divine Providence, so far as it hath pleased his just will to determine. *Origen* upon this place of *Genesis*, *Let there be light in the Firmament, &c.* affirmeth, that the Starrs are not causes (meaning perchance binding causes;) but are as open Books, wherein are contained and set down all things whatsoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisdom: which latter part I believe well, and this saying of *Syracides* withall: *That there are hid yet greater things then these be, and we have seen but a few of his works.* And though, for the capacity of men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and uttermost virtues of herbs and plants, which our selves sow and set, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestial bodies. For *hardly* (saith *Solomon*) *can we discern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find we out those things that are before us: Who can then investigate the things that are in Heaven? Multum est, de rebus cœlestibus aliquid cognoscere: It is much to know a little of heavenly things.* But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we doe not bind God to his creatures, in this supposed necessity of Destiny; so on the contrary, we do not rob those beautiful creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes despoiled God of his Prerogative, or had God himself constrained the mind and will of man to impious acts by any celestial inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some, were justifiable; of whom S. Augustine, *Impia perversitate in malis factis rectissimè reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potiùs Auctorem Syderum, quàm commissorem scelerum; Where we reprehend them of evil deeds, they again with wicked perverseness urge, that rather the Author and Creator of the Stars, then the doer of the evil, is to be accused.*

But that the Stars and other celestial bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitive appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora cœlestia* (saith *Damascene*) *constituunt in nobis habitus, complexiones, & dispositiones. The heavenly bodies* (saith he) *make in us habits, complexions, and dispositions*; for the body (though *Galen* inforce it further) hath undoubtedly a kind of drawing after it the affections of the mind, especially bodies strong in humour, and weak in virtues; for those of cholerick complexions are subject to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to be transported, where the Mind hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonless mind, I am resolved: For all those which were created mortal, as birds, beasts, and the like, are left to their natural appetites; over all which, celestial bodies (as instruments and executioners of Gods providence) have absolute dominion. What we should judge of men, who little differ from beasts, I cannot tell; for as he that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them; so whosoever shall neglect the remedies by virtue and piety prepared, putteth himself altogether under the power of his sensual appetite; *Vincitur fatum si resistas, vincit si contempseris, Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it; if thou neglect, it conquereth.*

But that either the Stars or the Sun have any power over the minds of men immediately, it is absurd to think, other then as aforesaid, as the same by the body's temper may be effected. *Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilium corporum confert, & ad vitam ipsam movet & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sun* (saith S. *Augustine*) *helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moveth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them:* yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: *Bonus quidem est Sol, in ministerio, non imperio, The Sun is good to serve, not to sway* (saith S. *Ambrose.*) And S. *Augustine, Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora, God ruleth the bodies below by those above*; but he avoucheth not, that superiour bodies have rule over mens minds, which are incorporal.

But howsoever we are by the Stars inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation; and *Aristotle* himself confesseth, that the Heavens do not always work their effects in inferiour bodies no more then the signs of rain and wind do always come to pass. And it is divers times seen, that paternal virtue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. *Est in Juvencis Patrum virtus, In the young Off-spring the Fathers virtue is*, and so the contrary, *Patrum*

Gen. 1. 15.

Eccles. 42. ch 32.

Wisd 9. 16.

Aristotle.

Aug 20. Super Gen. ad lit.

Gal. l. tur. an. seq. temp.

Quint.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 9.

Hex. lib. 4. de term. 3.

Hor. lib. 4. Od. 30.

trum vitia: and herein alſo there is often found an enterchange; the Sons of virtuous men, by an ill conſtellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men to virtue.

Egregia eſt ſoboles ſcelerato nata parente:

A worthy ſon is born of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reſerved power) that ſo much ſetteth this art of influence out of ſquare and rule, as Education doth: for there are none in the World ſo wickedly inclined, but that a religious inſtruction and bringing up, may faſhion anew and reform them; nor any ſo well diſpoſed, whom (the reins being let looſe) the continual fellowſhip and familiarity, and the examples of diſſolute men, may not corrupt and deform. Veſſels will ever retain a ſavour of their firſt liquor: it being equally difficult either to cleanſe the mind once corrupted, or to extinguiſh the ſweet ſavour of virtue firſt received, when the mind was yet tender, open, and eaſily ſeaſoned; but where a favourable conſtellation (allowing that the Stars incline the will) and a virtuous education do happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found ſo exceeding virtuous or vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together and agreeing in one: for as the ſeeds of virtue may by the art and huſbandry of Chriſtian counſel produce better and more beautiful fruit, then the ſtrength of Self-nature and Kind could have yielded them; ſo the plants apt to grow wild, and to change themſelves into weeds, by being ſet in a ſoyl ſutable, and like themſelves, are made more unſavoury and filled with poyſon. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapiens adjuvabit opus Aſtrorum, quemadmodum Agricola terræ naturam; A wiſe man aſſiſteth the work of the Stars, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the ſoyl.* And *Ptolemy* himſelf confeſſeth thus much, *Sapiens, & omina ſapientis Medici, dominabuntur Aſtris; A wiſe man, and the ominous art of a wiſe Phyſician ſhall prevail againſt the Stars.* Laſtly, we ought all to know, that God created the Stars, as he did the reſt of the Univerſal; whoſe influences may be called his reſerved and unwritten Laws. But let us conſider how they bind: even as the Laws of men do; for although the Kings and Princes of the World have by their Laws decreed, that a Thief and a Murderer ſhall ſuffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Judges and Magiſtrates (the Stars of Kings) executed accordingly; yet theſe Laws do not deprive Kings of their natural or religious compaſſion, or bind them without prerogative, to ſuch a ſevere execution, as that there ſhould be nothing left of liberty to judgment, power, or conſcience: the Law in his own nature, being no other then a deaf Tyrant. But ſeeing that it is otherwiſe, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) do ſometimes for cauſes to themſelves known, and by mediation, pardon offences both againſt others and themſelves; it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himſelf, which his Subſtitutes enjoy; God being mercy, goodneſs, and charity it ſelf. Otherwiſe that example of Prayer by our Saviour taught; *And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil,* had been no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his own creatures truly) hath aſſured us, that there is no inclination or temptation ſo forcible, which our humble Prayers and Deſires may not make fruſtrate and break aſunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Deſtiny, though depending upon eternal power, yet being once ordered and diſpoſed, had ſuch a connexion and immutable dependency, that God himſelf ſhould in a kind have ſhut up himſelf therein; *How miſerable then were the condition of men* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *left altogether without hope.* Mat. 6. 13.

And if this ſtrength of the Stars were ſo transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his creatures; be he Pagan or Chriſtian that ſo believeth, *the only true God* of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other, would thereby be deſpoiled of all worſhip, reverence, or reſpect. John 17 4.

And certainly, God which hath promiſed us the reward of well-doing, which Chriſt himſelf claimed at the hands of the Father, (*I have finiſhed the work which thou gaveſt me to do:*) and the ſame God, who hath threatned unto us the ſorrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be ſo unjuſt, as to bind us inevitably to the Deſtinies or Influences of the Stars, or ſubject our ſouls to any impoſed neceſſity. But it was well ſaid of *Plotinus*, that the Stars were ſignificant, but not efficient, giving them yet ſomething leſs then their due: and therefore as I do not conſent with them, who would make thoſe glorious creatures of God virtueleſs: ſo I think that we derogate from His eternal and abſolute power and providence, to aſcribe to them the ſame dominion over our immortal ſouls, which they have over all bodily ſubſtances, and periſhable natures: for the Souls of men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it ſelf, whereof the Suns clarity, and that

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of the Stars, is by *Plato* called but a ſhadow. *Lumen eſt umbra Dei, Deus eſt lumen luminis*; *Light is the ſhadow of Gods brightneſs, who is the light of light:* But to end this queſtion, becauſe this Deſtiny, together with Providence, Preſcience, and Predeſtination, are often confounded, I think it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every man hath not obſerved it, though all learned men have.

Plat. pol 6. Ficin. in l. 7. pol.

§. XII.

Of Preſcience.

PReſcience, or fore-knowledg (which the Greeks call *Prognoſis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *præſcientia*) conſidered in order and nature (if we may ſpeak of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Preſcience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledg. For whatſoever our ſelves fore-know, except the ſame be to ſucceed accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Preſcience of God (as it is Preſcience onely) is not the cauſe of any thing futurely ſucceeding: neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impoſe any neceſſity, or bind. For in that we fore-know that the Sun will riſe, and ſet; that all men born in the World ſhall die again; that after Winter, the Spring ſhall come; after the Spring, Sommer, and Harveſt; and that according to the ſeveral ſeeds that we ſow, we ſhall reap ſeveral ſorts of grain; yet is not our fore-knowledg the cauſe of this, or any of theſe: neither doth the knowledg in us bind or conſtrain the Sun to riſe and ſet, or men to die; for the cauſes (as men perſwade themſelves) are otherwiſe manifeſt and known to all. *The eye of man* (ſaith *Boetius*) *beholdeth thoſe things ſubject to ſenſe, as they are; the eye ſeeth that ſuch a beaſt is an horſe, it ſeeth men, trees, and houſes,* &c. *but our ſeeing of them (as they are) is not the cauſe of their ſo being, for ſuch they be in their own natures.* And again out of the ſame Author; *Divina providentia rebus generandis non imponit neceſſitatem, quia ſi omnia evenirent ex neceſſitate, præmia bonorum, & pœna malorum periret; Divine Providence* (ſaith he) *impoſeth no neceſſity upon things that are to exiſt; for if all come to paſs of neceſſity, there ſhould neither be reward of good, nor puniſhment of evil.*

Boetius de conſol.

§. XIII.

Of Providence.

NOw Providence (which the *Greeks* call *Pronoia*) is an intellectual knowledg, both fore-ſeeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all paſt, all preſent, and all to come, but is the cauſe of their ſo being, which Preſcience (ſimply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philoſophers (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) is divided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the paſt; Knowledg of the preſent; and Care of the future: and we our ſelves account ſuch a man for provident, as, remembring things paſt, and obſerving things preſent, can by judgment, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times ſucceeding. That ſuch a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures every where teach us; *Moſes* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions, Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles aſſure us hereof; and beſides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledg the Providence of God; yea the *Turks* themſelves are ſo confident therein, as they refuſe not to accompany and viſit each other in the moſt peſtilent diſeaſes, nor ſhun any peril whatſoever, though death therein do manifeſtly preſent it ſelf.

The places of Scripture proving Providence, are ſo many, both in general and particular, as I ſhall need to repeat but a few of them in this place: *Sing unto God* (ſaith *David*) *which covereth the Heavens with clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth, and maketh the graſs to grow upon the Mountains, which giveth the beaſts their food, and feedeth the young Raven that cries: All theſe wait upon thee, that thou mayeſt give them food in due ſeaſon: And thou ſhalt drink of the River Chearеth* (ſaith God to *Eliah*) *and I have commanded the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowls of the Air, they ſow not, nor reap, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them:* Again, *Are not two Sparrows ſold for a farthing? and one of them ſhall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea, all the hairs of your head are numbred:* And S. Peter, *Caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you: And his judgments are written,* ſaith *David.*

Pſal. 147. 8. *Pſal. 104. 27, 9. & 145. 15.* *1 Reg. 17. 4. Matth. 6. 26.* *Luke 12. 6, 7.* *1 Pet. 5. 7.* *Pſal. 36. 6.*

God therefore, who is every where preſent, *Who filleth the Heavens and the Earth, whoſe eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance againſt them that do evil,* was therefore by *Orpheus* called *oculus infinitus, an infinite eye,* beholding all things; and cannot therefore be eſteemed as an idle looker on, as

Jer. 23. 24.

as if he had transferred his power to any other; for it is contrary to his own word, *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo, I will not give my glory to another.* No man commandeth in the Kings preſence, but by the Kings direction; but God is every where preſent, and King of Kings. The example of Gods univerſal Providence is ſeen in his creatures. The Father provideth for his children: beaſts and birds and all livings, for their young ones. If Providence be found in ſecond Fathers, much more in the firſt and Univerſal: and if there be a natural loving care in men, and beaſts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whoſe Divine love was the beginning, and is the bond of the Univerſal: *Amor divinus rerum omnium eſt principium, & vinculum univerſi* (ſaith *Plato:*) *Amor Dei eſt nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque ejus immobile ſuſtentaculum, ac univerſæ machinæ fundamentum; The love of God is the perpetual knot, and link or chain of the world, and the immovable pillar of every part thereof, and the Baſis and foundation of the Univerſal.* God therefore who could onely be the cauſe of all, can onely provide for all, and ſuſtain all; ſo as, to abſolute power; to every where preſence; to perfect goodneſs; to pure and divine love; this attribute tranſcendent hability of Providence is onely proper and belonging.

Iſay 42. 8.

1 Joh. 4. 1. God is love.

§. XIV.

Of Predeſtination.

NOw for Predeſtination, we can difference it no otherwiſe, from Providence and Preſcience, then in this; that Preſcience onely fore-ſeeth; Providence fore-ſeeth and careth for, and hath reſpect to all creatures, even from the brighteſt Angels of Heaven to the unworthieſt Worms of the Earth: and Predeſtination (as it is uſed ſpecially by Divines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their ſalvation properly, in the common uſe of Divines; or perdition, as ſome have uſed it. Yet *Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernenſis Theologus*, and others, take the word Predeſtination more ſtrictly, and for a preparation to felicity. Divers of the Fathers take it more largely ſometimes: among whom Saint *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of two Cities, and two Societies, uſeth theſe words, *Quarum eſt una, quæ prædeſtinata eſt in æternum regnare cum Deo, altera æternum ſupplicium ſubire cum Diabolo; Whereof one is it, which is predeſtinated to reign for ever with God, but the other is to undergo everlaſting torment with the Devil*; for according to *Nonius Marcellus, Deſtinare, eſt præparare*; and of the ſame opinion are many Proteſtant Writers, as *Calvin, Beza, Bucanus, Danæus*, and ſuch like: and as for the manifold queſtions hereof ariſing, I leave them to the Divines; and why it hath pleaſed God to create ſome veſſels of honour, and ſome of diſhonour, I will anſwer with *Gregory*, who ſaith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem ſuam conſiderans, cur non videat, rationem videt*; *He that ſeeth no reaſon in the actions of God, by conſideration of his own infirmity, perceiveth the reaſon of his blindneſs.* And again, with S. *Auguſtine, Occulta eſſe cauſa poteſt, injuſta eſſe non poteſt*; *Hidden the cauſe of his Predeſtination may be, unjuſt it cannot be.*

Rom. 8. & 9.

Lomb. l. 1. diſt. 39. Thom part. 1. diſt. 23. Bern. de Probl. de p. d. Aug. l. 15. c. 1. de Civit. Dei.

Cal. in c 9. ad Rom. v. 11. Bez in magn anot. in cap 9. ad Rom. Danæus l. 3. de Salut. Greg Mag. Joh. 9.

Aug. ad Polin. ep. 59.

§. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reaſon of ſome things that ſeem to be by Fortune, and againſt Reaſon and Providence.

LAſtly, ſeeing Deſtiny or Neceſſity is ſubſequent to Gods Providence, and ſeeing that the Starrs have no other dominion, then is before ſpoken, and that Nature is nothing, but, as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificioſum Dei Organum, The art, or artificial Organ of God:* and *Cuſanus, Divini præcepti inſtrumentum*; *The inſtrument of the divine precept:* we may then with better reaſon reject that kind of Idolatry, or God of fools, called, *Fortune* or *Chance*; a Goddeſs, the moſt reverenced, and the moſt reviled of all other, but not antient: for *Homer* maketh her the Daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pauſanias* witneſſeth in his *Meſſeniacks*. The *Greeks* call her Τυχὴ, ſignifying a relative being, or betiding, ſo as before *Homers* time this great Lady was ſcarce heard of; and *Heſiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all theſe counterfeit gods, hath not a word of *Fortune*; yet afterward ſhe grew ſo great and omnipotent, as from Kings and Kingdoms, to Beggars and Cottages, ſhe ordered all things; reſiſting the wiſdom of the wiſeſt, by making the Poſſeſſor thereof miſerable; valuing the folly of the moſt fooliſh, by making the ſucceſs proſperous: inſomuch as the actions of men were ſaid to be but the ſports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens lives, but her paſtimes: of which *Palladius, Vita hominum ludus fortunæ eſt*; *The life of man is the play of Fortune:* and becauſe it often falleth out, that enterpriſes guided by ill counſels, have equal ſucceſs to thoſe by the beſt judgment conducted, therefore had Fortune the ſame external figure with Sapience; whereof *Athenæus:*

Sen. ep. 91. Aur. vict. de Pertinace. Sen ep 74. Demetrius Poliorcetes in the great and often changes of his Fortune, is ſaid to have uſed to cry out upon *Fortune*, applying to her a Verſe of Æſchilus, *Tu me exſtuliſti eodem meis (ſenſio) perditum.*

Longiſſimè

Longissimè à Sapientia Fors dissidet,
Sed multa perficit tamen similima:

From Wisedom Fortune differs far,
And yet in works most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is nothing else but a power imaginary, to which the successes of human actions and endevours were for their variety ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be given, then was it attributed to Fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of *Plato*, *Nihil est ortum sub Sole, cujus causa legitima non præcesserit*; *Nothing ever came to pass under the Sun, of which there was not a just preceding cause.* But *Aquinas* hath herein answered in one distinction, whatsoever may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which happen, *besides the intention of the Inferior, but not besides the intention of the Superior*; *Præter intentionem Inferioris, sed non præter intentionem Superioris* (to wit, the ordinance of God;) and therefore (saith *Melanchthon*) *Quod poetæ Fortunam, nos Deum appellamus*; *whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God.* And that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth us; as in the Law of Murther, *He that smiteth a man, and he die, shall die the death*; *and if a man hath not laid wait, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee.* Now, where the Scripture hath these words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we say, If he hurt him by Chance: and in *Deuteronomy* the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Ax from the helve, whereby another is slain, was the work of God himself; we in our phrase attribute this accident, to Chance or Fortune: and in *Proverbs* the sixteenth, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord:* so as that which seemeth most casual and subject to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of *Aristotle* and his Sectators, with those of *Plato*, and the *Academicks*, to this effect, That the same power which they called *Animam mundi*; *The soul of the World*, was no other then that incomprehensible Wisdom, which we express by the name of God, governing every Being aswell in heaven as in earth; to which Wisdom and Power they sometime gave the title of Necessity or Fate, because it bindeth by inevitable ordinance: sometime, the style of Fortune, because of many effects there appear unto us no certain causes. To this effect speaketh S. *Augustine* in his questions upon *Genesis* the first Book: the same hath *Seneca* in his fourth of *Benefits*; which was also the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, of which Sect he was: *For whatsoever* (saith he) *thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differenced by divers terms, according as he useth, and exerciseth his power diversly.*

But it may be objected, That if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the causes of good and evil in men, but an idle voice, whereby we express success; how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend upon so many unworthy and empty-headed fools? that riches and honour are given to external men, and without kernel; and so many learned, virtuous, and valiant men wear out their lives in poor and dejected estates? In a word, there is no other inferiour, or apparent cause, beside the partiality of mans affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our selves according to the nature of the times wherein we live: for whosoever is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withal an honest and open heart and loving truth; if Princes, or those that govern, endure no other discourse then their own flatteries: then, I say, such an one, whose virtue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheel; which kind of deserving well and receiving ill, we alwayes falsly charge Fortune withal. For whosoever shall tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is not Just; the General of an Army, that he is not valiant; and great Ladies that they are not fair; shall never be made a Counseller, a Captain, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wise Prince, valiant with a valiant, and just with him that is just, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperity; but he must also change with the successor, if he be of contrary qualities; sail with the tyde of the time, and alter form and condition, as the Estate or the Estate's Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attain to honour and riches, but by such an observant slavish course? These men having nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kind of wondering at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are virtues, and all their dusty actions crystalline, have yet in all ages prospered equally with the most virtuous, if not exceeded them. For, according to Menander, *Omnis insipiens, arrogantiâ & plausibus capitur*; *Every fool is wonne*

Te facimus Fortuna Deam, cæloq; locamus. Sat. 10. 366.

Exod. 21. 12, 13.

Vers. 5.

Vers. 33.

Cic. ac quasi, l. 1.

Senec. l. c. 7.

wonne with his own pride, and others flattering applauſe: ſo as whoſoever will live altogether out of himſelfe, and ſtudy other mens humours, and obſerve them, ſhall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and virtue (except the ſeaſon wherein he liveth be of all theſe, and of all ſorts of goodneſs, fruitful) ſhall never proſper by the poſſeſſion or profeſſion thereof. It is alſo a token of a worldly wiſe man, not to war or contend in vain againſt the nature of times wherein he liveth: for ſuch a one is often the author of his own miſery; but beſt it were to follow the advice, which the Pope gave the Biſhop of that age, out of *Ovid*, while the Arian Hereſie raged:

Ovid. Met. lib. 1. *Dum furor in curſu eſt, currenti cede furori.*
While fury gallops on the way,
Let no man furie's gallop ſtay.

And if *Cicero* (then whom that world begat not a man of more reputed Judgment) had followed the counſel of his Brother *Quintus*, *Potuiſſet* (ſaith *Petrarch*) *in lectulo ſuo mori, potuiſſet integro cadavere ſepeliri*; *He might then have died the death of nature, and been with an untorn and undiſſevered body buried*; for, as *Petrarch* in the ſame place noteth *Quid ſtultius quàm deſperantem, (præſertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari? What more fooliſh then for him that deſpairs (eſpecially of the effect) to be entangled with endleſs contentions?* Whoſoever therefore will ſet before him Machiavel's *two marks to ſhoot at* (to wit) Riches, and Glory, muſt ſet on and take off a back of yron to a weak wooden Bow, that it may fit both the ſtrong and the feeble; for as he who firſt deviſed to add ſayls to rowing veſſels, did either ſo proportion them as being faſtened aloft, and towards the head of his Maſt, he might abide all winds and ſtorms, or elſe he ſometime or other periſhed by his own invention: ſo that man which prizeth virtue for it ſelfe, and cannot endure to hoyſe and ſtrike his ſayls, as the divers natures of calmes and ſtormes require, muſt cut his ſayls and his cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himſelf with a ſlow and ſure navigation, (to wit) a mean and free eſtate. But of this diſpute of Fortune, and the reſt, or whatſoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or cauſes, the wit (or rather fooliſhneſs) of man hath found out: let us reſolve with S. *Paul*, who hath taught us, that there is *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him*; *and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him*; there are diverſities of operations, but God is the ſame which worketh all in all. 1 Cor. c. 8. v. 6. c. 12. v. 6.

CHAP. II.

Of Man's eſtate in his firſt Creation, and of God's reſt.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was firſt created.

THE creation of all other creatures being finiſhed, the heavens adorned, and the earth repleniſhed, God ſaid, *Let us make man in our own Image, according to our likeneſs.* Gen. 1. 26.

Man is the laſt and moſt admirable of Gods works to us known: *Ingens miraculum homo*; *Man is the greateſt wonder* (ſaith *Plato* out of *Mercurius:*) *Naturæ ardentiſſimæ artificium, The artificial work of the moſt ardent or fire-like nature* (as ſaith *Zoroaſter*) though the ſame be meant, not for any excellency external, but in reſpect of his internal form, both in the Nature, Qualities, and other Attributes thereof: in nature, becauſe it hath an eſſence, immortal, and ſpiritual; in qualities, becauſe the ſame was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, becauſe man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein. Trif. Aſel. 2. & de volunt Dei. Plat. leg. l. 1.

Sanctius his animal, mentiſq; capacius altæ,
Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cætera poſſet:
Natus homo eſt.

More holy then the reſt, and underſtanding more,
A living creature wants, to rule all made before:
So man began to be.

Sanctum, quia pars prior immortalis, anima, quia in mortali. In locum Ovid. Met. l. 1. 76.

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much diſpute among the Fathers, Schoolmen, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceive, that man was made after the Image of God, in reſpect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as S. *Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe*, and ſome others: which S. *Ambroſe* denieth to the woman in theſe words, *Ut ſicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus*; *& quomodo ex Deo uno omnia,*

omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus esset super faciem totius terræ: unus igitur, unum fecit, qui unitatis ejus haberet imaginem; *That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kind should be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one, made one, that should have the Image of his unity.* But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the same Verse, that man was after the Image of God in respect of rule and power; it is written *Dominamini* in the plural number; *and let them rule over the fish in the Sea, &c.* and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that Man is said to be after the Image of God in respect of his immortal soul onely: because as God is invisible, so the soul of man is invisible; as God is immortal and incorporal, so is the soul of Man immortal and incorporal; and as there is but one God which governeth the world, so but one soul which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, so is the soul of man wholly in every part of the body: *Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte*; *The soul is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof*, according to *Aristotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men deny that doctrine; which that it is otherwise then potentially true, all the Aristotelians in the world shall never prove. These and the like arguments do the *Jews* make (saith *Tostatus*) and these resemblances, between the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The School-men resemble the Mind or Soul of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Mind there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memory, Understanding, and Will; and yet all these, being of real differences, are but one Mind: so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similitude diverse; and again, they distinguish between *Imaginem Dei*, and *ad Imaginem Dei*; and spin into small threds with subtile distinctions, many times the plainness and sincerity of the Scriptures: their wits being like that strong water, that eateth thorow and dissolveth the purest gold. *Victorinus* also maketh the Image of God to be substantial, but not the similitude: *Sed in substantia nomen qualitatis declarativum*; *A word declaring quality in the substance.* Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the Image and Similitude do greatly differ, so the sinful soul doth not therefore leave to be the Image of God; but it hath not his Similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. *Augustine* also against *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by sin, the perfection of this image is lost in man; and in his Retractations maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howsoever the School-men and others distinguish, or whatsoever the Fathers conceive; sure I am, that S. *Paul* maketh the same sense of the Image, which *Victorinus* doth of the similitude, who saith: *As we have born the image of the earthy, so shall we bear the image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scripture, that the words *Image* and *Similitude* were used but in one sense, and in this place the better to express each other; whatsoever *Lombard* hath said to the contrary. For God knows, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himself in the Scriptures, which neither *Moses*, the *Prophets*, or *Apostles*, ever conceived. Now as S. *Paul* useth the word (Image) for both: so Saint *James* useth the word (Similitude) for both, in these words: *Therewith bless we God even the Father, and therewith curse we Men, which are made after the similitude of God.* Howsoever therefore S. *Augustine* seemeth, out of a kind of elegancy in writing, to make some difference: as where he writeth, *Confitemur imaginem in æternitate, similitudinem in moribus inveniri*; *we confess that this image is found in eternity, but his similitude in manners*, that is in the spiritual dispositions and qualities of the mind; yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainly: *Quasi verò possit esse imago aliqua, in qua similitudo non sit: si enim omnino similis non est, procul dubio nec imago est*; *As if* (saith he) *there could be any image, where the similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is no image.* The very words of the Text make this most manifest, as, *Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness:* which is, Let us make man in our image, that he may be like us: and in the next Verse following, God himself maketh it plain; for there he useth the word (Image) only as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him.* And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the first Verse of the fifth Chapter, the word (Similitude) is used again by it self, as, *In the day that God created* Adam, *in the likeness of God made he him.* And this similitude S. *Paul, Colos.* the third, calleth the Image; *Put on* (saith he) *the new man which is renewed in knowledg after the image of him that created him.* And in *Syracides* it is written, *He made them according*

1 Cor. 15. 49.

Jam. 3. 9.

Vi supra.

Aug. ut supra.

Vers. 10.

to

to his image. Now if we may believe S. *Paul* before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoolmen, then it is as manifeſt as words can make it, that the image and ſimilitude is but the ſame; for S. *Paul* uſeth both the words directly in one ſenſe. *For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the ſimilitude of the image of a corruptible man.*

Rom. 1. 23.

Zanchius laboureth to prove, that Man was formed after the image of God, both in body and mind: *Nulla pars in homine, quæ non fuerit hujuſce imaginis particeps; No part in a man* (ſaith he) *which was not participating God image; for God ſaid, Let us make man according to our own image.* But the ſoul alone is not man, but the *Hypoſtaſis* or whole Man compounded of body and ſoul. *The body of man* (ſaith he) *is the image of the world, and called therefore Microcoſmus*; but the *Idea* and exemplar of the world was firſt in God, ſo that man, according to his body, muſt needs be the image of God. Againſt which opinion of this learned man, his own objection ſeemeth to me ſufficient, where he allegeth that it may be ſaid, that *Moſes* ſpake by the figure *Synechdoche*, As when a man is called a mortal man, yet is not the whole man mortal, but the body onely: ſo when God ſaid, *Let us make man after our image*, he meant the ſoul of man, and not the body of earth and duſt: *Maledictus qui Deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine:*) *Curſed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of mans body: Deus enim non eſt humanæ formæ particeps, neque corpus humanum divinæ* (ſaith *Philo*;) *God is not partaker of humane form, nor humane body of the form divine.* The *Hebrew* word for image, is *Tſelem*, which ſignifieth a ſhadow or obſcure reſemblance: *In imagine pertranſit homo*; *Man paſſeth away in a ſhadow:* Let us then know and conſider, that God, who is eternal and infinite, hath not any bodily ſhape or compoſition; for it is both againſt his Nature and his Word; an errour of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, againſt the very eſſence and Majeſty of God.

Zanch. de oper. Dei. l. 3. c. 1.

In Gen.

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more divine underſtanding then theſe groſs Hereticks: *Ad ſimilitudinem Dei propiùs accedebat humana virtus, quàm figura*; *The virtue which is in man* (ſaith he) *came nearer the ſimilitude of God then the figure.* For God is a ſpiritual ſubſtance, inviſible, and moſt ſimple; God is a juſt God, God is Merciful, God is Charity it ſelf, and (in a word) Goodneſs it ſelf, and none elſe ſimply good. And thus much it hath pleaſed God himſelf to teach us, and to make us know of himſelf. What then can be the ſhadow of ſuch a ſubſtance, the image of ſuch a nature, or wherein can man be ſaid to reſemble his unexcogitable power and perfectneſs? Certainly, not in Dominion alone; for the Devil is ſaid to be the Prince of this World, and the Kingdom of Chriſt was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father: Neither becauſe man hath an immortal ſoul, and therein the faculties of Memory, Underſtanding, and Will; for the Devils are alſo immortal, and participate thoſe faculties, being called *Dæmones*, becauſe *ſcientes* of knowledg and ſubtilty: Neither becauſe we are reaſonable creatures, by which we are diſtinguiſhed from beaſts: For who have rebelled againſt God? Who have made gods of the vileſt beaſts, of Serpents, of Catts, of Owls, yea, even of ſhameful parts, of luſts and pleaſures, but reaſonable men? Yet do I not condemn the opinion of S. *Chryſoſtom* and *Ambroſe*, as touching Dominion, but that, in reſpect thereof, man was in ſome ſort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, ſuch as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Juſtice and Piety; for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Governour over the Fiſhes of the Sea, the Fowls of Heaven (or of the air) and over the Beaſts of the Field; But God gave unto man a dominion over men, he appointed Kings to govern them, and Judges to judge them in equity. Neither do I exclude Reaſon, as it is the ability of Underſtanding. For I do not conceive, that *Irenæus* did therefore call Man, the image of God, becauſe he was *animal rationale* onely; but that he underſtood it better, with *Sybilla*; *Imago mea eſt homo, rectam rationem habens, Man that is endued with right reaſon is ſaid to reſemble God* (that is) by right reaſon to know and confeſs God his Creatour, and the ſame God to ſerve, love, and obey: and therefore ſaid S. *Auguſtine* (who herein came nearer the Truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem ſuam in mente*; *God made man in reſpect of the intellect after his own image and ſimilitude*; and *Reynerius*, *Homo, quod habet mentem, factus eſt ad imaginem Dei*; *Man was made after the image of God, in mind,* or, *in that he hath a mind,*

Iob 6 12. Ioh. 12. 36.

Plat. in Cratol.

Oſorius de Juſt. l. 1. 5.

Reyn. de ment.

§. II.

Of the Intellectual mind of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sin.

BUt *Mens* is not taken here for *anima phyſica*, according to *Ariſtotle*, which is, *forma vel natura hominis, The form or nature of man*; but this faculty or gift of God, called *Mens*,

is taken for *prima vis animi, the principal strength of the mind*, or soul, *cujus actus est perpetua veritatis contemplatio; whose act*, exercise, or office, *is the perpetual contemplation of truth*; and therefore it is also called *Intellectus divinus, intellectus contemplativus, &* Pœmand. *anima contemplativa, A divine understanding, and an intellect or mind contemplative. Est au-* De mente Idiot. l. 3. *tem mens nostra* (saith *Cusanus*) *vis comprehendendi; & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectual mind* (saith he) *is a power of comprehending; even the whole, that is in this kind powerful, compounded of all the powers of comprehension:* unto which *Mercurius* attributeth so much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he esteemeth it to be the very essence of God (which was also the errour of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwise separate from God (saith he) then the light from the Sun: for this *Mens* or understanding (saith *Mercurius*) Sen. ep. 65. f. & 31. f. *est Deus in hominibus, Is God in men*; or rather (and which I take to Lib 9. c. 5. be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For, as the Sun is not of the same essence or nature with the divine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; so is this *Mens* or understanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite understanding, but a power and faculty of our souls the purest; or, the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternal light illightned. And this *Mens*, others call *Animam animæ, The soul of the soul*, or, with S. *Augustine*, the eye of the soul, or receptacle of Sapience and divine Knowledg, *Quæ amorem sapientiæ tanquam ducem sequitur, Which followeth after the love of sapience as her guide* (saith *Philo*;) between which and reason; between which and the mind, called *anima*; between which and that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference: Reason, is that faculty by which we judge and discourse; *Anima*, by which we live. Hereof it is said, *Anima corpus animat, id est, vivificat*; or, *The soul is that which doth animate the body, that is, giveth it life*; for death is the separation of body and soul: and the same strength (saith *Philo*) which God the great Director hath in the World, the same hath this *Anima*, or mind, or, soul in Man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Basil* agreeth, which called this *Mens*, or divine understanding, *Perspicacem animæ partem, The perceiving part of the mind*, or, The light by which the soul discerneth: *Dormientum mens, non anima, sopitur; & in furiosis mens extinguitur, anima manet: In men that sleep it is this* (mens, or) *understanding, and not the mind or soul, which resteth*, during which time it is but habitual in wise men, *and in mad men this* (mens) *is extinguished, and not the soul*; for mad men do live, though distract.

Therefore this word being often used for the Soul giving life, is attributed abusively to mad men, when we say that they are of a distract mind, in stead of a broken understanding: which word (Mind) we use also for Opinion, as, I am of this mind, or, that mind: and sometimes for mens conditions or virtues, as, He is of an honest mind, or, a man of a just mind: sometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mind's sake: and *Aristotle* sometimes useth this word (*Mens*) for the phantasie, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledg of principles, which we have without discourse: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels, and Intelligences: but as it is used in the proper signification, including both the understanding agent and possible, it is described to be, A pure, simple, substantial act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large, thus; A part or particle of the Soul, whereby it doth understand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion coming from without, and apt to be dissevered, as, eternal from that which is mortal. Hereof excellently *Mercurius*; *Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti præest, mens animæ, anima corpori*; *The Soul* (meaning that which giveth life) *is the image of this understanding*, or *Mens*; *and this* (*Mens*) or *understanding is the Image of God. God is President or Ruler over this understanding, this understanding over the Soul, and this Soul over the body.* This division and distinction out of the *Platonicks* and *Peripateticks*, I leave to the Reader to judge of. That *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, Zanch. de oper. Dei, part. 3. l. 1. cap. 2. *Marsilius Ficinus* in his ninth Book of the Soul's immortality, laboureth to prove. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words; for (saith he) *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam, non eget Mens organo; tanquam medio, per quod intelligat: quanquam eget objecto in quod intuatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat. Hoc autem objectum sunt phantasmata, seu rerum à sensibus perceptarum simulachra ad phantasiam prolata: To exercise the faculty of understanding, the mind of man* (saith he) *needeth no instrument, as a mean, by which it may understand: but it needeth an object, whereon to look, and whence to conceive the act of understanding. This object are the phantasms, or the resemblances of things received from the sense, and carried to the phantasie.* But in effect, his conclusion seemeth to carry a contrary sense, when he maketh the Phantasie,

ſie, in repreſenting the object to the underſtanding, to be a corporal *Organum*; neither can it be underſtood to be an *Organum* of any thing, but of the underſtanding. And he addeth, that the reſemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his underſtanding and mind, as colours are to the ſight; whence it ſo followeth, that the imagination or phantaſy it ſelf is to the faculty of underſtanding, as the eye is to the faculty of ſeeing: and as this is an *Organum*, ſo that. Of this queſtion, How the mind in all her actions maketh uſe of the body, and hath communion with the body, I refer the Reader to a moſt grave and learned Diſcourſe in the laſt Reply of M. D. *Bilſon*, late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, unto *Henry Jacob*. Howſoever the Truth be determined, we muſt conclude, that it is neither in reſpect of reaſon alone, by which we diſcourſe, nor in reſpect of the mind it ſelf, by which we live, nor in reſpect of our ſouls ſimply, by which we are immortal, that we are made after the Image of God. But moſt ſafely may we reſemble our ſelves to God *in mente*, and in reſpect of that pure faculty, which is never ſeparate from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is not all; For Saint *Bernard* maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the Mind or Soul, and between the infuſion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, eſſence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God: whoſe words are theſe, *Non propterea imago Dei eſt, quia ſui meminit Mens, ſeque intelligit & diligit* (which alſo was the opinion of S. *Auguſtine*;) *ſed quia poteſt meminiſſe, intelligere, ac diligere cum à quo facta eſt*, (that is) *The Mind* (or *Mens*) *was not therefore the Image of God, becauſe it remembreth, underſtandeth, and loveth it ſelf; but becauſe it can remember, underſtand, and love God, who created it.* And that this Image may be deformed and made unprofitable, hear *Baſil*; *Homo ad Imaginem & Similitudinem Dei factus eſt. Peccatum verò Imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit, & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiſcentiæ affectibus immerſit: Man was made after the Image and Similitude of God, but Sin hath deformed the beauty of this Image, and made it unprofitable, by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiſcence.*

Pag. 185. & ſequent. *Ad imaginem. Dei creavit illum. id eſt, ſapientiæ, virtutis, ac bonitatis compotem, qui ſeſe intuitus Creatorem agnoſceret ſuum; atque imitari, pro ingenii, proq. auctoritatis, ſibi conceſſa ratione, ſtuderet. Exam.*

It is not therefore (as aforeſaid) by reaſon of Immortality, nor in Reaſon, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of theſe by it ſelf, nor in all theſe joyned, by any of which, or by all which we reſemble, or may be called the ſhadow of God, though by reaſon and underſtanding, with the other faculties of the Soul, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in reſpect of the habit of Original righteouſneſs, moſt perfectly infuſed by God into the Mind and Soul of man in his firſt Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the ſeal of Gods Image (though Reaſon may be ſaid to be of her gift, which, joyned to the Soul, is a part of the Eſſential Conſtitution of our proper *Species*) but from the bountiful grace of the Lord of all goodneſs, who breathed life into Earth, and contrived within the Trunk of Duſt and Clay, the inimitable hability of his own Piety and Righteouſneſs.

So long therefore (for that reſemblance which Dominion hath) do thoſe that are powerful retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandments they exerciſe the Office or Magiſtracy to which they are called, and ſincerely walk in the ways of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men ſo long retain this Image, as they fear, love, and ſerve God truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and do not bruiſe and deface his Seal by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obſtinate ſins. For the unjuſt mind cannot be after the Image of God, ſeeing God is Juſtice it ſelf; The bloud-thirſty hath it not, for God is Charity and Mercy it ſelf; Falſhood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Satan; and therefore cannot dwell in one ſoul, together with God: and to be ſhort, there is no likelihood between pure light and black darkneſs, between beauty and deformity, or between righteouſneſs and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common underſtanding, have made us capable by the power of reaſon, and apt enough to receive this Image of Gods goodneſs, which the ſenſual ſouls of Beaſts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude natural more inclinable to follow and imbrace the falſe and dure-leſs pleaſures of this Stage-play World, then to become the ſhadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanſhip of God's Wiſdom, and the liberality of his Mercy, formed eyes to our ſouls, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our fleſh, behold the higheſt Heavens, and thence bring Knowledg and Object to the Mind and Soul, to contemplate the ever-during Glory, and term-leſs Joy, prepared for thoſe which retain the Image and Similitude of their Creatour, preſerving undefiled and unrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteouſneſs, and Holineſs, as ſaith S. *Paul*. Now whereas it is thought by ſome of the Fathers, as by S. *Auguſtine*,

Gen. 5. 22.

2 Cor. 6. 14.

S. *Ambrose* *Augustine*, with whom S. *Ambrose* joyneth, that by sin, the perfection of the Image is lost, and not the Image it self: both opinions by this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for, either it is considered according to natural gifts, and consisteth therein; namely, to have a reasonable and understanding nature, &c. and in this sense, the Image of God is more lost by sin, then the very reasonable or understanding nature, *&c.* is lost, (or sin doth not abolish and take away these natural gifts:) or, the Image of God is considered, according to supernatural gifts, namely, of divine Grace and heavenly Glory, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the natural Image; and this manner of similitude and Image of God is wholly blotted out, and destroyed by Sin.

§. III.

Of our base and frail Bodies: and that the care thereof should yield to the immortal Soul.

THE external man God formed out of the dust of the Earth, or (according to the signification of the word, *Adam*) of *Adamath*, of red Earth, or *ex limo terræ*, out of the slime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghaphar adamath (id est) ex pinguissima & mollissima: Not that God made an Image or Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth, or Dust, God formed and made flesh, bloud, and bone, with all parts of man.*

Arias Mont. de nat. f. 156.

That, man was formed of Earth and Dust did *Abraham* acknowledg, when in humble fear he called unto God, to save *Sodom: Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speak, I that am but dust and ashes:* And, *In these Houses of Clay, whose foundation is in the dust,* do our souls inhabit, according to *Job.* And though our own eyes do every where behold the sudden and resistless assaults of Death, and Nature assureth us by never-failing experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times upon the Earth have neither certainty nor durability; that our Bodies are but the Anvils of pain and diseases, and our Minds the Hives of unnumbred cares, sorrows, and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, against which Envy and Fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappiness of our condition, and the dark ignorance which covereth the eyes of our understanding, that we onely prize, pamper, and exalt this Vassal and Slave of death, and forget altogether (or onely remember at our cast-away leisure) the imprisoned immortal Soul, which can neither dye with the Reprobate, nor perish with the mortal parts of virtuous men: seeing Gods justice in the one, and his goodness in the other, is exercised for evermore, as the ever-living subjects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great account? Never while we have one vanity left us to spend: we plead for Titles, till our breath fail us; dig for Riches, while our strength enableth us; exercise Malice, while we can revenge; and then when time hath beaten from us both youth, pleasure, and health, and that Nature it self hateth the house of old age, we remember with *Job*, that *we must go the way from whence we shall not return, and that our bed is made ready for us in the dark*; And then, I say, looking over-late into the bottom of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked up from us all our lives,) we behold therein the fearful Images of our actions past, and withal this terrible Inscription: *That God will bring every work into judgment, that man hath done under the Sun.*

Gen 18. 27.

Job 4. 27.

Job. 10. 21. & 17. 13.

Eccl. 12. 14.

But what examples have ever moved us? what perswasions reformed us? or what threatnings made us afraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before us, we hear what is promised and threatned: but the World's bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds, and these betraying lights, (with which we onely see) do neither look up towards term-less joyes, nor down towards endless sorrows, till we neither know, nor can look for any thing else at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor:*

Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil denique morbi
Egerunt, fnimus, qui nunc sumus; iisque periclis
Tentati: nihilo meliores reddimur unquam;
Sub vitiis nullo culparum fine manentes.

Diseases, famine, enemies, in us no change have wrought,
What er'st we were, we are; still in the same snare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend;
In Vice we dwell, in Sin that hath no end.

But let us not flatter our immortal Souls herein; for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him; to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace, which we trust to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) even a contemptuous laughing to scorn, and deriding of God, his Laws and Precepts. *Frustra sperant qui sic de misericordia*

cordia Dei sibi blandiuntur; *They hope in vain,* saith *Bernard, which in this sort flatter themselves with Gods mercy.*

Bern. in Psal qui habitat.

§. IV.

Of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his creation.

IN this frame and carcasGod breathed the breath of life; and the man was a living Soul: (that is) God gave a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soul spiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodily instruments as men use, but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortality into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into such as love and fear him. *The Spirit of God* (saith *Elihu in Job*) *hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life: In qua sententia* (saith *Rabanus*) *vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne fortè putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formâsse corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labiis suis inspirâsse in faciem formati, ut vivere posset & spiraculum vitæ habere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tuæ fecerunt me, &c. tropica hac locutione magis quàm propria, (id est, juxta consuetudinem, qua solent homines operari) loquutus est: In which sentence* (saith he) *the beggarliness of carnal sense is to be avoided, lest perhaps we should think, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with jaws or lips upon his face (being formed) that he might live, and have the Spirit of life: for the Prophet also when he saith; Thy hands have made me, speak this Tropically, rather then properly (that is) according to the custom which men use in working. Quantum est periculi his, qui Scripturas sensu corporeo legunt? In what danger are they that read the Scriptures in a carnal sense?* By this breath was infused into man, both life and soul, and therefore this (Soul) the Philosophers call *Animam, quæ vivificat corpus, & animat*; *Which doth animate and give life to the body. The inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding*, saith *Job*; and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soul of man, returneth again to God that gave it, as the body returneth unto the Earth, out of which it was taken; according to *Ecclesiastes: And dust shall return to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall return to God that gave it.* Neither is this word (Spirit) usually otherwise taken in the Scriptures, then for the soul; as when *Stephen* cried unto God: *Domine, suscipe spiritum meum*; *Lord Jesus receive my spirit:* and in S. *John, And Jesus bowed his head and gave up the Ghost*, or Spirit; (which was) that his life and soul left his body dead. And that the immortal soul of man differeth from the souls of beasts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, *Let the waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing, and let the earth bring forth the living thing according to his kind, the beast of the Earth*, &c. But of man it is written, *Let us make man in our own Image*, &c. and further, that *the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life.* Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life; so shal they again be dissolved into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath everlasting, which God breathed into Man, shall, according to *Ecclesiastes, return again to God that gave it.*

Job 33. 4.

Eccles 12. 7.

Gen. 1. 20. 24. 26.

Gen. 2. 7.

Eccl. 12. 7.

§. V.

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digression touching our mortality.

MAn, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or model or brief Story in the Universal: in whom God concluded the Creation, and work of the World, and whom he made the last, and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a divine understanding, by which he might contemplate, and serve his Creatour, after whose Image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of Reason and other abilities, that thereby also he might govern and rule the World, and all other God's Creatures therein. And whereas God created three sorts of living natures, (to wit) Angelical, Rational, and Brutal; giving to Angels an intellectual, and to Beasts a sensual nature, he vouchsafed unto Man, both the intellectual of Angels, the sensitive of Beasts, and the proper rational belonging unto man: and therefore (saith *Gregory Nazianzene*) *Homo est utriusque naturæ vinculum, Man is the bond and chain which tieth together both Natures:* and because in the little frame of man's body there is a representation of the Universal, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all the pars there, therefore was man called *Microcosmos*, or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum, in brevi magnum, atque exiguo totum, in terris statuit*; *God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another World; the great and large World in the small and little World:* for out of the Earth and Dust, was formed the flesh of man, and therefore heavy and lumpish: the bones

Ar. Phys. l. 8. c. 2. l. 17. f. Greg. Naz. Epist. Omnis in hominе creatura, & cælum & terre.

Aug. l. qu. 83. 84. 67. retr l. 1. c. 2.

bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rocks and Stones, and therefore ſtrong and durable; of which *Ovid:*

Ovid. Met. l. 1. *Inde genus durum ſumus, experienſque laborum,*
Et documenta damus qua ſimus origine nati:

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is,
enduring pain and care,
Approving, that our bodies of
a ſtony nature are.

His bloud, which diſperſeth it ſelf by the branches of veins through all the body, may be reſembled to thoſe waters, which are carried by Brooks and Rivers over all the earth; his breath to the Air, his natural heat to the incloſed warmth which the Earth hath in it ſelf, which, ſtirred up by the heat of the Sun, aſſiſteth Nature in the ſpeedier procreation of thoſe varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radical Moiſture, Oyl, or Balſamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained) is reſembled to the fat and fertility of the Earth; the hairs of mans body, which adorns, or overſhadows it, to the graſs, which covereth the upper face and ſkin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the leight, wandring, and unſtable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eyes to the light of the Sun and Moon; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very ſhort time, or with the Sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the ſtalks; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure underſtanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which always looketh upwards) to thoſe intellectual Natures, which are always preſent with God; and laſtly, our immortal ſouls (while they are righteous) are by God himſelf beautified with the title of his own Image and Similitude. And although, in reſpect of God, there is no man juſt, or good, or righteous (for, *In Angelis deprehenſa eſt ſtultitia, Behold, He found folly in his Angels*, ſaith *Job*); yet, with ſuch a kind of difference, as there is between the ſubſtance and the ſhadow, there may be found a goodneſs in men: which God being pleaſed to accept, hath therefore called Man, the Image and Similitude of his own Righteouſneſs. In this alſo is the little World of man compared, and made more like the Univerſal (man being the meaſure of all things; *Homo eſt menſura omnium rerum*, ſaith *Ariſtotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the four Complexions reſemble the four Elements, and the ſeven Ages of man the ſeven Planets; Whereof, our infancie is compared to the *Moon*, in which we ſeem onely to live and grow, as Plants; the ſecond Age to *Mercurie*, wherein we are taught and inſtructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the days of Love, Deſire, and Vanity; the fourth to the *Sun*, the ſtrong, flouriſhing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we ſeek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the ſixth Age is aſcribed to *Jupiter*, in which we begin to take accompt of our times, judge of our ſelves, and grow to the perfection of our underſtanding; the laſt and ſeventh, to *Saturn*, wherein our days are ſad, and over-caſt, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loſs which can never be repaired, that of all our vain paſſions and affections paſt, the ſorrow onely abideth: Our attendants are ſickneſſes, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by ſo much the more greedily is our end deſired, whom when *Time* hath made unſociable to others, we become a burthen to our ſelves: being of no other uſe, then to hold the riches we have from our Succeſſors. In this time it is, when (as aforeſaid) we, for the moſt part, and never before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we paſs on unto with many ſighs, grones, and ſad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanſhip of death, finiſh the ſorrowfull buſineſs of a wretched life; towards which we always travel both ſleeping and waking: neither have thoſe beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promiſe of entertainments; but by what crooked path ſoever we walk, the ſame leadeth on directly to the houſe of death, whoſe doors lie open at all hours, and to all perſons. For this Tide of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual Ebb and falling Stream, but never floweth again: our Leaf once fallen, ſpringeth no more; neither doth the Sun or the Summer adorn us again, with the garments of new Leaves and Flowers.

Job 14. 18.

Ariſt. 10. Met. c. 1. f.

Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus ætas,
Ergo non homini, quod fuit antè, redit.

To which I give this ſenſe.

The Plants and Trees made poor and old
By Winter envious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Covers again from ſhame and cold:
But never man repair'd again
His youth and beauty loſt,
Though Art, and care, and coſt,
Do promiſe Nature's help in vain.

And

And of which,

CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53.

Soles occidere & redire poſſunt:
Nobis cùm ſemel occidit brevis lux,
Nox eſt perpetua una dormienda.

The Sun may ſet and riſe:
But we contrariwiſe
Sleep after our ſhort light
One everlaſting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or reſt, in the courſe or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the ſame might alſo perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the ſap and juyce, wherein the life of Plants is preſerved, doth evermore aſcend or deſcend; ſo is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either increaſing towards ripeneſs and perfection, or declining and decreaſing towards rottenneſs and diſſolution.

§. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his firſt Creation, to diſpoſe of himſelf.

THeſe be the miſeries which our firſt Parents brought on all Mankind, unto whom God in his creation gave a free and unconſtrained will, and on whom he beſtowed the liberal choice of all things, with one onely Prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God ſet before him, a mortal and immortal Life, a nature celeſtial and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himſelf, to be his own Guide, his own Workman, and his own Painter, that he might frame or deſcribe unto himſelf what he pleaſed, and make election of his own form. Eccleſ. 15. 14. *God made man in the beginning* (ſaith *Siracides*) *and left him in the hands of his own counſel.* Such was the liberality of God, and man's felicity: whereas beaſts, and all other creatures reaſonleſs, brought with them into the World (ſaith *Lucilius*), and that even when they firſt fell from the bodies of their Dams, the Nature, which they could not change; and the ſupernal Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or ſoon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetual eternity. But (as aforeſaid) God gave unto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the ſenſual of Beaſts, the rational of Man, and the intellectual of Angels; whereof which ſoever he took pleaſure to plant and cultive, the ſame ſhould futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the firſt man *Adam*, and our firſt Father, was ænigmatically deſcribed by *Aſclepius Athenienſis* (ſaith *Mirandula*) in the perſon and Fable of *Proteus*, who was ſaid, as often as he pleaſed, to change his ſhape. To the ſame end were all thoſe celebrated *Metamorphoſes* among the Pythagoreans, and antient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into divers ſhapes of beaſts, thereby to ſhew the change of mens conditions, from Reaſon to Brutality, from Virtue to Vice, from Meekneſs to Cruelty, and from Juſtice to Oppreſſion. For by the lively Image of other creatures did thoſe *Antients* repreſent the variable paſſions, and affections of mortal men; as by Serpents were ſignified Deceivers; by Lyons, Oppreſſors, and cruel men; by Swine, Men given over to luſt and ſenſuality; by Wolves, ravening, and greedy men; which alſo S. *Matthew* reſembleth to falſe Prophets, Matth. 7. 15. *which come to you in ſheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves:* by the images of ſtones and ſtocks, fooliſh and ignorant Men; by Vipers, ungrateful Men: of which S. *John Baptiſt*, *O ye generation of Vipers*, &c. Matth. 3 7.

§. VII.

Of God's ceaſing to create any more: and of the cauſe thereof, becauſe the Univerſal created was exceeding good.

IN this work of Man, God finiſhed the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore reſted: for God commanded, and it was finiſhed, *Cui voluiſſe eſt feciſſe*; *With whom, to will is to make*, ſaith *Beda*. Neither did God ſo reſt, that he left the World made, and the Creatures therein to themſelves: for *my Father worketh to this day* (ſaith *Chriſt*) *and I work*; but God reſted (that is) he created no new *ſpecies* or kinds of creatures, but (as aforeſaid) gave unto man a power generative, and ſo to the reſt of living creatures, to Plants and Flowers, their ſeeds in themſelves; and commanded Man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their ſeveral kinds: all which being finiſhed, God ſaw that his works were good; not that he foreknew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth; but he gave to all things which he had created the name of Good, thereby to teach men, that from ſo good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whoſe John 5. 17. Gen. 1. 28. 22. 24.

simple purity and from so excellent a cause there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberal choice, purchased by disobedience his own death and mortality; and for the cruelty of mans heart, was the Earth afterward cursed, and all creatures of the first Age destroyed, but the righteous man *Noah* and his Family, with those creatures which the Ark contained, reserved by God to repleniſh the Earth.

CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradiſe.

§. I.

That the ſeat of Paradiſe is greatly miſtaken: and that it is no marvel that men ſhould erre.

CONcerning the first Habitation of man, we read, that *the Lord God planted a Garden Eaſtward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made*, Gen. 2. 6. Of this ſeat and place of *Paradiſe*, all Ages have held diſpute; and the opinions and judgments have been in effect, as divers, among thoſe that have written upon this part of *Geneſis*, as upon any one place therein, ſeeming moſt obſcure: Some there are, that have conceived the being of the terreſtrial *Paradiſe*, without all regard of the Worlds Geography, and without any reſpect of the Eaſt and Weſt, or any conſideration of the place where *Moſes* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) the way how to find out and judg, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding reſpective and preciſe. Others, by being themſelves ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the firſt Interpretation; or, truſting to their own judgments, underſtood one place for another; and one Errour is ſo fruitful, as it begetteth a thouſand Children, if the licentiouſneſs thereof be not timely reſtrained. And thirdly, thoſe Writers which gave themſelves to follow and imitate others, were in all things ſo obſervant Sectators of thoſe Maſters, whom they admired and believed in, as they thought it ſafer to condemn their own underſtanding, then to examine theirs. For (ſaith *Vadianus* in his Epiſtle of *Paradiſe*) *Magnos errores, magnorum virorum authoritate perſuaſi, tranſmittimus*; *We paſs over many groſs errours, by the authority of great men led and perſwaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were far wide from the underſtanding of this place. I ſpeak it not, that I my ſelf dare preſume to cenſure them, for I reverence both their Learning and their Piety, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum eſt errare.* And to the end that no man ſhould be proud of himſelf, *GOD* hath diſtributed unto men ſuch a proportion of Knowledg, as the wiſeſt may behold in themſelves their own weakneſs: *Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus*; *God never gave the knowledg of all things to any one.* Saint *Paul* confeſs'd that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third Heaven in the fleſh, or out of the fleſh; and Chriſt himſelf acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, ſeeing knowledg is infinite, it is God (according to S. *Jude*) who is only wiſe. *Sapientia ubi invenitur*, (ſaith *Job*) *But where is wiſdom found? and where is the place of underſtanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the living.* And therefore ſeeing God found folly in his Angels, mens judgments (which inhabit in houſes of Clay) cannot be without their miſtakings: and ſo the Fathers, and other learned men, excuſable in particulars, eſpecially in thoſe whereupon our ſalvation depended not.

2 Cor. 12. 2.

Mat. 24. 36.

Jude. Ep. v. 2. Job. 28. 12, 13. 4. 18.

§. II.

A recital of ſtrange Opinions touching Paradiſe.

NOw touching *Paradiſe*, firſt it is to be enquired, Whether there were a *Paradiſe*, or no? or whether *Moſes* deſcription were altogether myſtical, and allegorical? as *Origen*, *Philo*, *Fran. Georgius*, with others, have affirmed; and that under the names of thoſe four Rivers *Piſon*, *Gehon*, *Hiddekel*, and *Perath*, *the Tree of Life*, *and the Tree of Knowledg*, there were delivered unto us other myſteries and ſignifications; as, that by the four Rivers were meant the four Cardinal Virtues, *Juſtice*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Prudence*; or (by other) *Oyle*, *Wine*, *Milk*, and

Bariaſ. ſem. 2. l. 1. 143.

and *Honey*. This Allegorical understanding of *Paradise* by *Origen* divulged, was again by *Franciscus Georgius* received (saith *Sixtus Senensis*;) whose frivolous imaginations *Sixtus* himself doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34. Annotation of his fift Book, *fol.* 338. the last Edition.

S. *Ambrose* also leaned wholly to the Allegorical construction, and set *Paradise* in the third Heaven, and in the virtues of the mind, *& in nostro principali*, which is, as I conceive it, *in mente*, or in our souls: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or garden of *Paradise*, was meant the Soul or Mind; by *Adam*, *Mens*, or, Understanding; by *Eve*, the Sense; by the *Serpent*, Delectation; by the *Tree* of good and evil, Sapience; and by the rest of the Trees, the virtues of the mind, or in the mind planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, upon the first of the *Corinth. c.* 6. he in direct words alloweth both of a celestial and terrestrial *Paradise*; the one into which S. *Paul* was wrapt; the other, into which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug. Chrysamensis* was of opinion, that a *Paradise* had been; but that there was not now any mark thereof on the earth: the same being not onely defaced, but withall the places now not so much as existing. To which *Luther* seemeth to adhere.

Amb. de Parad.

The *Manichees* also understood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion, *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceive his words, in two several places. First, upon this; *Fill the earth*, Gen. 10. Of which he gives this judgment. *Hoc ipso etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini universis animantibus, subjicite terram, clarissimè docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (ut tum erat) fructibus consitam, sedem & hortum illum* Adæ, *& posteritatis futuræ fuisse*; *These words* (saith he) *in which God said, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule over every creature, do clearly shew, that the Universal earth, set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was,) was the garden and seat of* Adam, *and of his future posterity.* And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the *Acts*, Cap. 17. *Apostolus ex uno sanguine omne genus humanum ideò factum docet, ut habitarent super universam faciem terræ: tota igitur terra Paradisus ille erat*; *The Apostle* (saith he) *teacheth, that God hath made of one bloud all mankind, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth* (saith he) *was that Paradise.* Which conjectures I will answer in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam* was first planted by God in one certain place, and peculiar Garden; which place *Goropius* findeth near the River of *Acesines*, in the Confines of *India*.

Vers. 26.

Tertullian, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*, make *Paradise* under the Equinoctial; and *Postellus*, quite contrary, under the North-pole: the Chaldeans also for the most part, and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs, who would either make *Paradise* a figure, or Sacrament onely, or else would have it seated out of this sensible world, or raised into some high and remote Region of the Air. *Strabus*, and *Rabanus*, were both sick of this vanity, with *Origen*, and *Philo*: so was our venerable *Beda*, and *Peter Comestor*, and *Moses Barcephas* the Syrian, translated by *Masius*. But as *Hopkins* sayes of *Philo Judæus*, that he wondred, *Quo malo genio afflatus, By what evil Angel he was blown up into this errour*; so can I but greatly marvel at the learned men, who so grosly and blindly wandred; seeing *Moses*, and after him the Prophets, do so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the Kingdoms and Provinces bordering it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the points of the Compass upon which it lay, in respect of *Judea*, or *Canaan*.

Bart. ubi. 126.

Bed. in Gen. *Pet. Comest. l. 1. cap. 3.* *Moses Bart. de Par.*

Noviomagus also upon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, believeth that all the Earth was taken for *Paradise*, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (saith he) hath the same beauty ascribed to *Paradise*. He addeth, that the Ocean was that Fountain from whence the four Rivers, *Pison*, *Gehon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning; for he could not think it possible, that these Rivers, of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, (whereof the one ran through *India*, the other through *Egypt*, and the other through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*) could rise out of one Fountain, were it not out of the Fountain of the Ocean.

§. III.

That there was a true local Paradise Eastward, in the Countrey of Eden.

TO the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the earth, the words of *Moses* make it manifest, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the Man whom he had made:* and howsoever the vulgar translation, called *Jerom*'s translation, hath converted this place thus, *Plantaverit Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis à principio, The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning*; putting the word (*pleasure*) for *Eden*,

Gen. 2

and (*from the beginning*) for *Eastward*: it is manifest, that in this place *Eden* is the proper name of a Region. For, What sense hath this translation (saith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatise of *Paradise*) that he planted a Garden in Pleasure, or, that a River went out of pleasure to water the Garden? But the Seventy Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis*, *The Paradise of Eden*; and so doth the *Chaldean* Paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a Place, and for a Noun appellative; which Region, in respect of the fertility of the Soil, of the many beautiful Rivers and goodly Woods, and that the Trees (as in the *Indies*) do always keep their leaves, was called *Eden*, which signifieth in the *Hebrew*, Pleasantness, or delicacy; as the *Spaniards* call the Country, opposite to the Isle of *Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, That as *Florida* was a Country, so called for the flourishing beauty thereof; so was *Eden* a Region, called Pleasure, or Delicacy, for its pleasure or delicacy: and as *Florida* signifieth Flourishing; so *Eden* signifieth Pleasure: and yet both are the proper names of Countries; for *Eden* being the proper name of a Region (called Pleasure in the *Hebrew*) and *Paradise* being the choise seat of all that Region, *Paradise* was truely the Garden of *Eden*, and truely the Garden of Pleasure.

Now, for *Eastward*, to translate it, *from the beginning*, it is also contrary to the translation of the Seventy; to the ancient Greek Fathers, as *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Gregory*; and to the *Rabines*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Solomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the Latines, *Severinus*, *Damascenus*, *&c.* who plainly take *Eden* for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (*Eastward*) for *ab initio*; for *Damascene*'s own words are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter consitus*; *Paradise is a place marvellously planted by the hands of God in Eden, toward the East.*

And after all these Fathers, *Guilhelmus Parisiensis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of latter times, do both understand these words of *Eden* and of the *East*, contrary to the vulgar Translation; *Parisiensis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senensis*, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their own words: *After this I will begin to speak of Paradise terrestrial, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. Post hæc incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantâsse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem &c.* And then *Senensis*; Moses *enim clarissimè prodit, Paradisum à Deo consitum in regione terræ Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen, apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legimus*, Cham *habitâsse ad Orientalem plagam Heden*; For *Moses* (saith he) *doth shew most clearly, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Country, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we read, that* Cham *dwelt on the East border of Heden.* *Pererius* endeavoureth to qualifie this Translation; for this particle (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the Creation, and not to the very first day; alledging this place of Christ, that although the Devil was said to be a *Man-slayer from the beginning*, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I think (referring my self to better judgment) the Devil was from the instant of his fall a Manslayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till mans Creation. And for conclusion, S. *Hierom* (if that be his translation) adviseth himself better in the end of the third Chapter of *Genesis*, converting the word (*Eden*) by (*ante*) and not (*à principio*) as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden*; *Collocavit Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis, Cherubin*; and *Pererius* himself acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew, *Posuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin*; *He set on the East-side of the Garden of Heden, a Cherubin.* *Becanus* affirmeth, that the *Hebrew* word (*Be*) signifieth (with) as well as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But *Becanus* followeth this construction, onely to the end to find *Paradise* upon the River of *Ascoines*; for there he hath heard of the *Indian* Fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to be the Tree of knowledg of good and evil, and would therefore draw *Paradise* to the Fig-Tree: which Conceit of his I will answer hereafter.

Verse 16. *Joh. 8. 44.* *Gen. 3. 24.*

Now, because *Paradise* was seated by *Moses* toward the East, thence came the custom of praying toward the East, and not by imitation of the *Chaldeans*: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sun riseth in *March*, which is directly over *Paradise* (saith *Damascenus*:) affirming, that we always pray towards the East, as looking towards *Paradise*, whence we were cast out; and yet the Temple of *Solomon* had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselves in their service and divine ceremonies, always towards the West, thereby to avoid the superstition of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

But

But becauſe Eaſt and Weſt are but in reſpect of places; (for although *Paradiſe* were Eaſt from *Judea*, yet it was Weſt from *Perſia*) and the ſerving of God is every where in the world; the matter is not great, which way we turn our faces, ſo our hearts ſtand right, other then this, that we who dwell Weſt from *Paradiſe*, and pray turning our ſelves towards the Eaſt, may remember thereby to beſeech God, that as by *Adams* fall we have loſt the *Paradiſe* on earth; ſo by Chriſts death and paſſion we may be made partakers of the *Paradiſe* celeſtial, and the Kingdom of Heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other myſtery in adding the word (Eaſt) to *Eden* by *Moſes*, then to ſhew, that the Region of *Eden*, in which *Paradiſe* was, lay Eaſtward from *Judea* and *Canaan*: for the Scriptures alwayes called the people of thoſe Nations, the Sons of the Eaſt which inhabited *Arabia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Perſia*: of which *Ovid.*

Eurus ad Auroram, Nabathæaq; regna receſſit,
Perſidaque, & radiis juga ſubdita matutinis.

The Eaſt wind with *Aurora* hath a biding
Among th' *Arabian* and the *Perſian* Hills,
Whom *Phœbus* firſt ſalutes at his firſt riſing.

And if it be objected, that *Jeremy* the Prophet, threatning the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, doth often make mention of *Northern* Nations, it is to be noted, that the *North* is there named, in reſpect of thoſe Nations that followed *Nabuchodonozer*, and of whom the greateſt part of his Army was compounded; not that *Babylon* it ſelf ſtood *North* from *Jeruſalem*, though inclining from the *Eaſt* towards the *North.*

Now to the difference of this Tranſlation, *Peter Comeſtor* giveth beſt ſatisfaction: for he uſeth the word *From the beginning, that is, from the firſt part of the World, (à principio) id eſt*, (ſaith he) *à prima orbis parte*; and afterward he affirmeth, that *à principio*, and *ad Orientem*, have the ſame ſignification: *From the beginning and Eaſt-ward is all one*; *à principio idem eſt quod ad Orientem.*

But to return to the proof of this place, and that this ſtory of Mankind was not Allegorical, it followeth in the Text of the 2. Chap. and 9. Verſe, in theſe words: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree pleaſant to the ſight, and good for meat, &c.* ſo as firſt it appeared that God created *Adam* elſe-where as in the World at large, and then *put him into the Garden*: and the end why, is expreſs'd: *that he might dreſs it and keep it*; *Paradiſe* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the moſt excellent kinds, pleaſant to behold, and (withal) good for meat: which proveth that *Paradiſe* was a terreſtrial Garden, garniſhed with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taſte. And to make it more plain, and to take away all opinion of Allegorical conſtruction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a River; expreſſing alſo the Region, out of which this River ſprang, which he calleth *Heden*; and that *Heden* is alſo a Country neer unto *Charon* in *Meſopotamia*, *Ezekiel* witneſſeth.

Verſ 18.

Verſ. 10.

Ezek. 27. 23.

But to all theſe Cabaliſts, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* anſwereth in theſe words; *Si Paradiſus non eſt ſenſibilis, non eſt etiam fons; ſi non eſt fons, non eſt flumen; ſi non eſt flumen, non ſunt quatuor principia, non Piſon, non Gehon, non Trigis, nec Euphrates; non eſt ficus, non folia, non comedit* Eva *de arbore, non eſt* Adam, *non ſunt homines, ſed veritas jam fabula eſt, & omnia ad Allegorias revocantur*; *If Paradiſe be not ſenſible, then there was no fountain, and then no river; if no river, then no ſuch four heads or branches, and then not any ſuch river, as Piſon, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates; no ſuch fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves;* Eve *then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any* Adam, *or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things eſteemed are called back into Allegories.* Words to the ſame effect hath S. *Hierome* upon *Daniel*: *Contiteſcant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate ſequentes, ipſam conantur evertere veritatem, ut Paradiſum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegoriæ Legibus ſe debere ſubruere: Let the dotage of them be ſilent, who following ſhadows and images in the Truth, endeavour to ſubvert the Truth it ſelf, and think that they ought to bring Paradiſe, and the Rivers, and the Trees, under the Rules of Allegory.*

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Story, is the place made more manifeſt. For, God gave *Adam* free liberty to eat of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledg excepted) which Trees *Moſes* in the ninth Verſe ſaith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Beſides, God left all beaſts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and theſe beaſts were neither in the third heaven, nor neer the circle of the Moon, nor beaſts in imagination: for if all theſe things were Enigmatical or myſtical, the ſame might alſo be ſaid of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel*, ſpeaking of the glory of the Aſſyrian Kings, uſeth this ſpeech: *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, envied him*; which proveth both *Eden*, and *Paradiſe* therein ſeated, to be terreſtrial: for the Pro-

Ezek 31 9.

phets

phets made no imaginary compariſons. But *Moſes* wrote plainly, and in a ſimple ſtyle, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and preciſe in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, than in any other place of Scripture; of purpoſe, to take away all ſcruple from the incredulity of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecy) to be apt to fabulous inventions; and that if he had not deſcribed both the Region and the Rivers, and how it ſtood from *Canaan*, many of the unbelieving Iſraelites, and others after them, would have miſconſtrued this Story of Man-kind. And, is it likely, there would have been ſo often mention made of *Paradiſe* in the Scriptures, if the ſame had been an *Utopia*? For we find that the Valley, wherein *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* ſtood, (ſometimes called Pentapolis, of the five principal Cities therein) was before the deſtruction (which their unnatural ſin purchaſed) compared to the *Paradiſe* of the Lord, and like to the Land of Egypt toward Zoar: In like manner was Iſrael reſembled to the *Paradiſe* of God, before the Babylonians waſted it: which proveth plainly, that *Paradiſe* it ſelf, exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that theſe places had but a reſemblance thereof: being compared to a ſeat and ſoil of far exceeding excellency.

Gen 13.10

Beſides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Alcinous* Gardens, as *Juſtin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moſes* his deſcription of *Paradiſe*? *Gen.* 2. And whence are their praiſes of the Elizian fields, but out of the Story of *Paradiſe*? To which alſo appertain thoſe Verſes of the Golden Age in *Ovid*:

Ovid. Met. l. 1.

Ver erat æternum; placidique tepentibus auris,
Mulcebant Zephyri natos ſine ſemine flores.

The joyfull Spring did ever laſt,
And Zephyrus did breed
Sweet flowers by his gentle blaſt,
Without the help of Seed.

And it is manifeſt, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Heſiodus*, and *Homer*, and, after him, *Ovid*, one out of another, and all theſe together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their Sectators, did greatly enrich their Inventions, by venting the ſtoln Treaſures of Divine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and diſguiſed by poetical converſions, as if they had been conceived out of their own ſpeculations and contemplations.

But beſides all theſe teſtimonies, if we find what Region *Heden*, or *Eden* was; if we prove the River that ran out of it, and that the ſame afterwards was divided into four Branches; together with the kingdoms of *Havila*, and *Cuſh*; and that all theſe are Eaſtward from *Canaan*, or the Deſarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moſes* wrote; I then conceive that there is no man that will doubt, but that ſuch a place there was. And yet I do not exclude the Allegorical ſenſe of the Scripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Chriſt, as in all the old Teſtament throughout: the Story being directly true notwithſtanding. And to this purpoſe (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *Tres ſunt de Paradiſo generales ſententiæ: una eſt eorum, qui tantummodò corporaliter Paradiſum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui ſpiritualiter tantùm (id eſt) Eccleſiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradiſum accipiunt*; (that is) *There are three opinions of Paradiſe: the one of thoſe men, which will have it altogether corporal: a ſecond of thoſe, which conceive it altogether ſpiritual, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of thoſe, which take it in both ſenſes*; which third Opinion, S. *Auguſtine* approveth, and of which *Suidas* giveth this allowable judgment: *Quemadmodum homo ſenſibilis, & intelligibilis ſimul conditus erat: ſic & hujus ſanctiſſimum nemus ſenſibile ſimul & intelligibile, & duplici ſpecie eſt præditum*; (that is) *As man was created at one time, both ſenſible, and intelligible; ſo was this holy Grove, or Garden, to be taken both ways, and endued with a double form.*

Aug. de Civit. De. l. 13. c. 21. Suidas in verbo Paradiſus.

§. IV.

Why it ſhould be needfull to intreat diligently of the place of Paradiſe.

BUt it may be objected, that it is needleſs, and a kind of curioſity to enquire ſo diligently after this place of *Paradiſe*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no uſe. To which I anſwer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our inſtruction; and if the truth of the Story be neceſſary, then by the place proved, the ſame is alſo made more apparent. For if we ſhould conceive that *Paradiſe* were not on the Earth, but lifted up as high as the Moon; or that it were beyond all the *Ocean*, and in no part of the known World; from whence, *Adam* was ſaid to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into *Judea*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would give any credit unto it. For what could ſeem more ridiculous than the report of ſuch a place? and beſides, what maketh this ſeat of *Paradiſe* ſo much diſputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Piſhon* ſhould be *Ganges*, which watereth the Eaſt *India*; and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*: and theſe two Rivers ſo far diſtant, as (except

(except all the World were *Paradiſe*) theſe ſtreams can no way be compriſed therein?

Secondly, if the birth and works, and death of our Saviour, were ſaid to have been in ſome ſuch Countrey, of which no man ever heard tell, and that his Miracles had been performed in the Air, or no place certainly known: I aſſure my ſelf, that the Chriſtian Religion would have taken but a ſlender root in the minds of men: for times and places are approved witneſſes of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we ſhould relie, or give place to the judgment of ſome Writers upon this place of *Geneſis* (though otherwiſe for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I ſay that there is no Fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a piece of the World ſo ſet by it ſelf, and ſeparated, as to hang in the Air under the circle of the Moon? or who ſo doltiſh to conceive, that from thence the four Rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, ſhould fall down, and run under all the Ocean, and riſe up again in this our habitable world, and in thoſe places where they are now found? Which leſt any man think that I enforce, or ſtrain to the worſt, theſe are *Peter Comeſtor's* own words. *Eſt autem locus amæniſſimus, longo terræ & maris tractu à noſtra habitabili Zona ſecretus, adeò elevatus, ut uſque ad lunarem globum attingat*, &c. (that is) *It is a moſt pleaſant place, ſevered from our habitable Zone, by a long tract of Land and Sea, elevated ſo, that it reacheth to the globe of the Moon.*

Barc. converted by Maſius.

And *Moſes Barcephas* upon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoque reſponſum volumus, Paradiſum multò ſublimiore poſitum eſſe regione, atque hæc noſtra extet terra, eòque fieri ut illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluvii tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non poſſis; eóque impetu impulſi preſſtque ſub Oceani vado rapiuntur, unde rurſus proſiliant ebulliántque in hoc à nobis culto orbe:* which have this ſenſe: *Furthermore* (ſaith he) *we give this for an anſwer, that Paradiſe is ſet in a Region far raiſed above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to paſs, that from thence theſe Rivers fall down with ſuch a headlong violence, as words cannot expreſs; and with that force ſo impulſed and preſt, they are carried under the deep Ocean, and do again riſe and boil up in this our habitable World:* and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this: *Ephram dicit, Paradiſum ambire terram, atque ultra Oceanum ita poſitum eſſe, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet Regione, non aliter atque Lunæ orbis Lunam cingit*; (which is) *That Paradiſe doth compaſs or embrace the whole Earth, and is ſo ſet beyond the Ocean Sea, as it environeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on every ſide, as the Orbe of the Moon doth embrace the Moon.* To the end therefore that theſe ridiculous Expoſitions and Opinions do not bring queſtion unto Truth it ſelf, or make the ſame ſubject to doubts or diſputes, it is neceſſary to diſcover the true place of *Paradiſe*, *which God in his wiſdom* appointed in the very Navel of this our World, and (as *Melanchthon* ſaies) *in parte Terræ meliore, in the beſt part thereof*, that from thence, as from a Center, the Univerſal might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we ſhall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the Worlds inhabitation: for near unto this did the Sons of *Noah* alſo diſperſe themſelves after the Floud, into all other remote Regions and Countreys. And if it be a generous deſire in men, to know from whence their own forefathers have come, and out of what Regions and Nations; it cannot be diſpleaſing to underſtand the place of our firſt Anceſtor, from whence all the ſtreams and branches of Mankind have followed and been deduced. If then it do appear by the former, that ſuch a place there was as *Paradiſe*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine ſeveral Opinions before remembred, by the Truth it ſelf; and to ſee how they agree with the ſenſe of the Scripture, and with common Reaſon; and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the Region in which God firſt planted this delightfull Garden.

§. V.

That the Floud hath not utterly defaced the marks of Paradiſe, nor cauſed Hills in the Earth.

AND firſt, whereas it is ſuppoſed by *Aug. Chyſamenſis*, that the Floud hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in ſuch ſort, as no man can find any mark or memory thereof (of which opinion there were others alſo, aſcribing to the Floud the cauſe of thoſe high Mountains, which are found on all the Earth over, with many other ſtrange effects:) for mine own opinion, I think neither the one, nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradiſe* was after the Floud withered, and grown old, in reſpect of the firſt beauty (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed:) yet if there had been no ſign of any ſuch place, or if the ſoil and ſeat had not remained, then would

would not *Moſes*, who wrote of *Paradiſe* about 850 years after the Floud, have deſcribed it ſo particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moſes*, would not have made ſo often mention thereof. And though the very Garden it ſelf were not ther to be found, but that the Floud, and other accidents of time made it one common field and paſture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is ſtill the ſame, and the Rivers ſtill remain the ſame Rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit, *Tygris*, and *Euphrates*, we are ſure to find in what longitude *Paradiſe* lay; and learning out one of theſe Rivers, which afterward doth divide it ſelf into four branches, we are ſure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it ſelf. For it
Gen. 2. 10. is written, that out of *Eden* went a River to water the Garden, and from thence it was divided, and became into four heads; Now, whether the word in the Latine Tranſlation (*Inde*) *from thence*, be referred to *Eden* it ſelf, or to *Paradiſe*; yet the diviſion, and branching of thoſe Rivers, muſt be in the North, or South ſide of the very Garden (if the Rivers run as they do, North and South) and therefore theſe Rivers yet remaining, and *Eden* manifeſtly known, there could be no ſuch defacing by the Floud, as is ſuppoſed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be ſo altered, as future ages knew it not, ſo is there no probability that either theſe Rivers were turned out of their courſes, or new Rivers created by the Floud which were not, or that the Floud (as aforeſaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decreaſe, was the cauſe of high Hills, or deep Valleys. For what deſcent of waters could there be in a Spherical and round body, wherein there is nor high nor low? ſeeing that all violent force of waters is either by the ſtrength of wind, by deſcent from a higher to a lower, or by the Ebb or Floud of the Sea. But that there was any wind (whereby the Seas are moſt enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a wind*
Gen. 8. 1. *to paſs upon the Earth, and the waters ceaſed.* So as it appeareth not, that, untill the waters ſank, there was any wind at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodneſs, cauſed the wind to blow, to drie up the abundant ſlime and mud of the Earth, and make the Land more firm, and to cleanſe the Air of thick vapours, and unwholſome miſts: and this we know by experience, that all downright rains do evermore diſſever the violence of outragious winds, and beat down, and level the ſwelling and mountainous billows of the Sea: for any Ebbs and Flouds there could be none, when the waters were equal, and of one height over all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bays, or Gulfs to receive a Floud, or any deſcent, or violent falling of waters in the round form of the Earth and Waters, as aforeſaid: and therefore it ſeemeth moſt agreeable to reaſon, that the Waters rather ſtood in a quiet calm, than that they moved with any raging or overbearing violence. And for a more direct proof that the Floud made no ſuch deſtroying alteration, *Joſephus* avoweth that one of thoſe pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be ſeen in his days; which pillars were ſet up above 1426 years before the Floud, counting *Seth* to be an hundred years old at the erection of them; and *Joſeph* himſelf to have lived ſome fourty or fifty years after Chriſt: of whom, although there be no cauſe to believe all that he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his own time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in queſtion. And therefore it may be poſſible, that ſome foundation or ruine thereof might then be ſeen. Now, that ſuch pillars were raiſed by *Seth*, all Antiquity hath avowed. It is alſo written in *Beroſus* (to whom, although I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the City of Enoch, built by *Cain* about the mountains of *Libanus* was not defaced by length of time: yea, the ruines thereof, *Annius* (who commented upon that invented fragment) ſaith, were to be ſeen in his days, who lived in the reign of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* of *Caſtile*. And if theſe his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, ſpeaking of this City of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this ſort: *Cujus maximæ & ingentis molis fundamenta viſuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Civitas Cain, ut noſtri mercatores, & peregrini referunt; The foundation of which huge maſs is now to be ſeen, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the City of Cain, as both our ſtrangers and Merchants report.* It is alſo avowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I give more credit in theſe things) that the City of *Joppa* was built before the Floud, over which *Cepha* was King: whoſe name, with his brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found graven upon certain Altars of ſtone. And it is not impoſſible, that the ruines of this other City, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be ſeen, though founded in the firſt age: but it could not be of the firſt City of the World, built by *Cain*; the place rather than the time denying it.

And to prove directly that the Floud was not the cauſe of mountains, but that there were

were mountains from the Creation, it is written, that *the waters of the Floud overflowed by fifteen Cubits the higheſt Mountains.* And *Maſius Damaſcenus*, ſpeaking of the Floud, writeth in this manner: *Eſt ſupra Minyadam excelſus Mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos, ſermo eſt, Diluvii tempore liberatos. And upon Minyada there is an high Mountain in Armenia (called Baris) unto which it is ſaid, that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they ſaved themſelves thereon.* Now, although it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were ſaved than eight perſons (which *Maſius* doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a teſtimony, that ſuch Mountains were before the Floud, which were afterward, and ever ſince, known by the ſame names; and on which Mountains it is generally received, that the Ark reſted: but untruly, as I ſhall prove hereafter. And again it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was known before the Floud; on which the Thalmudiſts report, that many Giants ſaved themſelves alſo; but, as *Annius* ſaith, without all authority, either divine or humane.

Gen. 4. 17.

Laſtly, it appeareth that the Floud did not ſo turn upſide down the face of the earth, as thereby it was made paſt knowledge, after the waters were decreaſed, by this, that *when Noah ſent out the Dove the ſecond time, ſhe returned with an Olive leaf in her mouth*, which ſhe had pluckt, and which (until the Trees were diſcovered) ſhe found not: for otherwiſe ſhe might have found them floting on the water; a manifeſt proof, that the Trees were not torn up by the roots, nor ſwam upon the waters, for it is written: *folium, olivæ raptum*, or *decerptum, a leaf pluckt*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to tear off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Floud made no ſuch alteration, as was ſuppoſed, but that the place of *Paradiſe* might be ſeen to ſucceeding Ages, eſpecially unto *Moſes*, by whom it pleaſed God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and unto the Prophets which ſucceeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Diſcovery.

Gen. 8. 11.

§. VI.

That Paradiſe was not the whole Earth, as ſome have thought: making the Ocean to be the fountain of thoſe four Rivers.

THis conceit of *Aug. Chyſamenſis* being anſwered, who onely giveth *his opinion* for reaſon, I will in a few words examine that of the Manichees, of *Noviomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius*, *Becanus*, and all thoſe that underſtood, that by *Paradiſe* was meant the whole Earth. But in this I ſhall not trouble the Reader with many words, becauſe by thoſe places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Univerſality will appear altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alledgeth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, Fill the Earth, and ſubdue it, Rule over every Creature*, &c. with this of the *Acts*, *And hath made of one bloud all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth*, do no way prove ſuch a generality: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his uſe. Now, although all men were of one and the ſame fountain of bloud originally; and *Adam*'s Poſterity inhabited in proceſs of time over all the face of the Earth: yet it diſproveth in nothing the particular Garden, aſſigned to *Adam*, to dreſs and cultive, in which he lived in ſo bleſſed an eſtate before his tranſgreſſion. For if there had been no other choice, but that *Adam* had been left to the Univerſal, *Moſes* would not then have ſaid, *Eaſtward in Eden*, ſeeing the World hath not Eaſt nor Weſt but reſpectively. And to what end had the Angel of God been ſet to keep the Eaſt-ſide, and entrance into *Paradiſe* after *Adam*'s expulſion, if the Univerſal had been *Paradiſe*? for then muſt *Adam* have been chaſed alſo out of the World. For if all the Earth were *Paradiſe*, that place can receive no better conſtruction than this, That *Adam* was driven out of the World into the World, and out of *Paradiſe* into *Paradiſe*, except we ſhould believe with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one, as to affirm, *That in ſo large a field, as the Univerſal, there ſhould grow but one Thiſtle.* *Noviomagus* upon *Beda*, ſeemeth to be led by this, that it was impoſſible for thoſe three Rivers, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates* (which water three portions of the World ſo far diſtant) to riſe out of one Fountain, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

Gen. 1. 28. Acts 17. 26.

Gen. 2. 8.

Gen. 3. 24.

And it is true, that thoſe four Rivers, being ſo underſtood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it ſhall plainly appear, that *Piſon* was falſly taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* falſly for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a River by *Havila* in *India*, and *Nilus* run through *Ethiopia*. The *Seventy* write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the Manichees, and the miſtakings of *Noviomagus*, *Goropius*, and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifeſt. Yet was their conjecture far more

probable, than that of *Ephrem*, *Cyrillus*, and *Athanasius*, That *Paradise* was seated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the Countrey in which he was created, and was buried at Mount *Calvary* in *Hierusalem*. And certainly, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many years after the Floud, yet *Adam*'s shinbones must have contained a thousand fathome, and much more, it he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disprove it.

§. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the Moon: and of others which make it higher than the Middle Region of the Air.

THirdly, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the School-men affirm, *Paradise* to be a Place altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (*locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephas* conceived, that *Paradise* was far in the East, but mounted above the Ocean, and all the Earth, and near the Orbe of the Moon (which opinion, though the School-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* lays it off from *Beda*, upon *Strabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*:) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his Geographie of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but finds it seated next or neareſt Heaven; It may seem, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood; who (undoubtedly) took this place for Heaven it self, into which the Souls of the blessed were carried after death.

Diog. Laert. Soc. True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for fear of the Areopagites (in this, and many other divine apprehensions) set down what they believed in plain terms, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death for acknowledging one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the Devil himself do him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Justine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and S. *Augustine* gave this judgment of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Eusebius* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestial *Paradise*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull, and healthfull, upon the top of Mount *Atho* (called *Acrothonos*) which being above all Clouds of Rain, or other inconvenience, the people (by reason of their so many years) are called *Macrobici* (that is) *Long-liv'd*. A further Argument is used, for proof of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserved from the violence of the Floud: approved by *Isidore*, and *Peter Lombard*: in which place also *Tertullian* conceived, that the blessed Souls were preserved till the last Judgment; which *Irenæus* and *Justine Martyr* also believed. But this opinion was of all *Catholique Divines* reproved, and in the *Florentine Councel* damned; of which Saint *Augustine* more modestly gave this judgment: *Sicut certum est, Enoch & Eliam, nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc sint, an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) *As it is certain that Enoch and Elias do now live; so where they live, in Paradise, or elsewhere, it is uncertain.* But *Barcephas* gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and height, because the four Rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves under the great Ocean, and afterward have forced their passage through the Earth, and have risen again in the far distant Regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

These strange fancies and dreams have been answered by divers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: (for to use long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanity in the Answerer, not much inferiour to that of the Inventer.)

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being set so near the Moon, it had been too near the Sun, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have been too joynct a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the Air in that Region is so violently removed, and carried about with such swiftness, as nothing in that place can consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the space between the Earth and the Moon (according to *Ptolemie* and *Alfraganus*) is seventeen times the *Diameter* of the Earth, which makes in a gross account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this height, must have the compass of the whole Earth for a *Basis* and foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men, seeing it would deprive us of the

Just. Mart. adm. ad Gent. Aug.

the Sun's light, all the fore-part of the day, being ſeated in the Eaſt, as they ſuppoſe. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Toſtatus* addeth this, that thoſe people which dwell neer thoſe fals of waters, are deaf from their infancy, like thoſe that dwell neer the *Catadupæ*, or over-fals of Nilus. But this I hold as feigned. For I have ſeen in the Indies, far greater water-fals, then thoſe of Nilus, and yet the people dwelling neer them are not deaf at all. *Toſtatus* (the better to ſtrengthen himſelf) citeth *Baſil* and *Ambroſe* together: to which *Pererius, Sed ego hæc apud* Baſilium & Ambroſium *in eorum ſcriptis, quæ nunc extant, nuſquam me legere memini*; *But I do not remember* (ſaith he) *that I ever read thoſe things either in* Baſil *or* Ambroſe.

Cicero Somn. Scip.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath diſpoſed of them according to his wiſdom. Their taking up might be into the celeſtial *Paradiſe*, for ought we know. For although fleſh and bloud, ſubject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, and the ſeed muſt rot in the ground before it grow, yet we ſhall not all die (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *but all ſhall be changed*: which change in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was eaſie to him that is Almighty. But for the reſt, the Scriptures are manifeſt, that by the Floud all periſhed on the earth, ſaving eight perſons; and therefore in the terreſtrial *Paradiſe* they could not be.

1. Cor. 15. 36, 51.

1 Pet. 3. 20.

For *Toſtatus* his own opinion, who ſoared not altogether ſo high as the reſt, but believed that *Paradiſe* was raiſed above the middle Region of the Ayr, and twenty cubits above all Mountains, that the Floud did not therefore reach it (which *Scotus* and other latter School-men alſo believed; for, ſay they, there were no ſinners in *Paradiſe*, and therefore no cauſe to over-whelm it:) this is alſo contrary to the expreſs letter of the Scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any diſtinction, teacheth us, that *the waters over-flowed all the mountains under heaven*. And were it otherwiſe, then might we aſwell give credit to *Maſius Damaſcenus*, and the Thalmudiſts, who affirm, that there were of the Gyants that ſaved themſelves on the Mountain *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to help this, *Scotus* being (as the reſt of the School-men are) full of diſtinction, ſaith; That the waters ſtood at *Paradiſe*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at Jordan; and as the Floud was not natural, ſo was *Paradiſe* ſaved by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this ſuppoſition, That it was not believed, that *Paradiſe* was ſo ſeated, as *Beda* and others ſeem to affirm in words, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatively, for the delicacy and beauty ſo reſembled. But this I dare avow of all thoſe School-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their Followers to ſhift, then to reſolve, by their diſtinctions. Wherefore not to ſtay long in anſwering this opinion of *Toſtatus*, I confeſs that it is written, that the Mountains of Olympus, Atho, and Atlas, over-reach and ſurmount all winds and clouds, and that (notwithſtanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both ſprings and fruits; and the Pagan Prieſts, ſacrificing on theſe mountain-tops, do not find the aſhes (remaining of their ſacrifices) blown thence, nor thence waſh'd off by rains, when they return: yet experience hath reſolved us, that theſe reports are fabulous; and *Pliny* himſelf (who was not ſparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of theſe Mountains is far under the ſuppoſed place of *Paradiſe*; and on theſe ſelf-Hills the ayr is ſo thin (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, whom herein I miſtruſt) that it is not ſufficient to bear up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any ſenſible reſiſtance of ayr to mount her ſelf by.

Gen. 7. 19.

Exod. 14. 21.

§. VIII.

Of their opinion that ſeat Paradiſe under the Æquinoctial: and of the pleaſant habitation under thoſe Climats.

THoſe which come neerer unto Reaſon, find *Paradiſe* under the *Æquinoctial line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*: judging, that there-under might be found moſt pleaſure, and the greateſt fertility of ſoil: but againſt it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the diſtemperate heat, which he ſuppoſeth to be in all places ſo directly under the Sun. But this is (*non cauſa pro cauſa*,) for although *Paradiſe* could not be under the Line, becauſe Eden is far from it, in which *Paradiſe* was; and becauſe there is no part of Euphrates, Tygris, or Ganges under it (Ganges being one of the four rivers, as they ſuppoſe) yet this conceit of diſtemper (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to be condemned, conſidering the age when thoſe Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every Country, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and ſo toward the *Æquinoctial*, did ſo much the more exceed in heat; it was therefore a reaſonable conjecture, that thoſe Countries which were ſituated directly under it, were of a diſtemper uninhabitable: but it ſeemeth that *Tertullian* conceived bet-

ter, and ſo did *Avicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in thoſe days it might be thought a fantaſtical opinion (as all are which go againſt the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon the earth of that nature, beauty, and delight that *Paradiſe* had, the ſame muſt be found within that ſuppoſed uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neereſt to the Line it ſelf. For hereof Experience hath informed Reaſon, and Time hath made thoſe things apparent, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be diſcovered. Indeed, it hath ſo pleaſed God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that ſuch inconveniences which we contemplate a far off, are found by tryal and the witneſs of mens travails, to be ſo qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vain, or as a fruitleſs lump to faſhion out the reſt. For *God himſelf* (ſaith *Eſay*) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited.* Now we find that theſe hotteſt Regions of the world, ſeated under the *Æquinoctial line*, or neer it, are ſo refreſhed with a daily gale of Eaſterly wind (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*) that doth evermore blow ſtrongeſt in the heat of the day, as the down-right beams of the Sun cannot ſo much maſter it, that there is any inconvenience or diſtemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are ſo cold, freſh, and equal, by reaſon of the entire interpoſition of the earth, as (for thoſe places which my ſelf have ſeen, neer the Line and under it) I know no other part of the World of better, or equal temper: Only there are ſome tracts, which by accident of high Mountains are barr'd from this ayr and freſh wind, and ſome few ſandy parts without trees, which are not therefore ſo well inhabited as the reſt; and ſuch difference of ſoils we find alſo in all other parts of the world. But (for the greateſt part) thoſe Regions have ſo many goodly Rivers, Fountains, and little Brooks, aboundance of high Cedars, and other ſtately trees, caſting ſhade; ſo many ſorts of delicate fruits, ever bearing, and at all times beautified with bloſſom and fruit both green and ripe, as it may of all other parts be beſt compared to the *Paradiſe* of *Eden*: the boughs and branches are never unclothed and left naked, their ſap creepeth not under ground into the root, fearing the injury of the froſt: neither doth *Pomona* any time deſpiſe her withered Husband *Vertumnus*, in his winter quarters and cold age. Therefore are theſe Countries called *Terræ vitioſæ*, *Vicious Countries*: for Nature being liberal to all without labour, neceſſity impoſing no induſtry or travel, idleneſs bringeth forth no other fruits then vain thoughts, and licentious pleaſures. So that, to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and thoſe of his opinion, were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who miſliked this opinion, and followed a worſe; and (to ſay the truth) all the School-men were groſs in this particular.

Iſay 45. 1.

§. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that beſides that Eden in Cœloſyria, there is a Country in Babylon, once of this name, as is proved, out of Eſa. 37. *and* Ezek. 27.

THeſe opinions anſwered, and the region of *Eden* not found in any of thoſe imaginary worlds, nor under *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we diſcover and find out the ſeat thereof, for in it was *Paradiſe* by God planted. The difficulty of which ſearch reſteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations have often changed names with their Maſters; ſo are moſt of theſe places, by *Moſes* remembred, forgotten by thoſe names of all Hiſtorians and Geographers, as well antient as modern.

Beſides, we find that the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Perſians* (*Cyrus* only and a few other excepted) ſought to extinguiſh the *Hebrews*. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romans* deſpiſed, once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as thoſe three Monarchies ſucceeded each other: ſo did they tranſform the names of all thoſe principal Places and Cities in the Eaſt: And after them, the *Turk* hath ſought (what he could) to extinguiſh in all things, the antient memory of thoſe people, which he hath ſubjected and inthralled.

Now beſides thoſe notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the Country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides theſe two Conſiderations (to wit) That it lay Eaſtward from *Canaan* and *Judæa*; and, that it was of all other the moſt beautiful and fertile. Firſt then in reſpect of ſituation, the next Country to *Judea* Eaſtward was *Arabia Petræa*; but in this Region was *Moſes* himſelf when he wrote: and the next unto it Eaſtward alſo was *Arabia* the *Deſart*, both which in reſpect of the infertility could not be *Eden*; neither have any of the *Arabians* any ſuch Rivers, as are expreſs'd to run out of it: So as it followeth of neceſſity, that *Eden* muſt be Eaſtward, and

and beyond both *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deſerta*. But becauſe *Eden* is by *Moſes* named by it ſelf, and by the fertility, and the rivers only deſcribed, we muſt ſeek it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour-Nations better deſcribed. In the Prophet *Iſay*, I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in theſe words, ſpoken in the perſon of *Senacherib* by *Rabſakeh*: *Have the gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have deſtroyed, as* Goſan, *and* Haran, *and* Reſeph, *and the children of* Eden, *which were at Telaſſar?* and in *Ezechiel*, where he propheciеth againſt the *Tyrians*: *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Aſhur, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants*, &c.

Iſai. 37. v. 12.

Cap. 27. v. 23.

But to avoid confuſion, we muſt underſtand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he divideth *Syria* into three Provinces, whereof the firſt he maketh *Syria Damaſcene*, or *Decapolitan*: the ſecond part is that Valley called *Avenis*, otherwiſe *Convallis*, or the tract of *Chamath*, where *Aſſyria* is joyned to *Arabia* the *Deſart*, and where *Ptolemie* placeth the City of *Averia*: and the third is knowen by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Cœlo-Syria*, otherwiſe *Vallis cava*, or *the hollow Valley*, becauſe the mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*, take all the length of it on both ſides, and border it: for *Cœle* in *Greek* is *Cava* in *Latine*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we ſeek: neither doth this Province lie Eaſt from *Canaan*, but North, and ſo joyneth unto it, as it could not be unknown to the *Hebrews*. Yet, becauſe there is a little City therein called *Paradiſe*, the *Jews* believed this *Cœlo-Syria* to be the ſame which *Moſes* deſcribeth. For the ſame cauſe doth *Hopkins* in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradiſe*, though, to give *Beroaldus* his right, I conceive that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, ſaying, That he failed in diſtinguiſhing theſe two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether miſ-underſtood two of the four Rivers (to wit) *Piſon* and *Gehon*, as ſhall appear hereafter. Now to find out *Eden*, (which as *Moſes* teacheth us) lay Eaſtward from the Deſarts, where he wrote, after he had paſſed the Red-Sea; we muſt conſider where thoſe other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Iſaiah* and *Ezechiel* joyneth with it. For (ſaith *Iſaiah*) *Goſan, Haran, and Reſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar.* Alſo *Ezechiel* joyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who together with thoſe of *Sheba*, *Aſhur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the City of *Tyre*, which was then (ſaith *Ezechiel*) *The Mart of the people for many Iſles.* And it hath ever been the cuſtom, that the *Perſians* conveyed their Merchandiſe to *Babylon*, and to thoſe Cities upon *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, and from thence tranſported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterrane* Sea: as in ancient times to the City of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the *Bay* of *Iſicus*, now *Lajazzo*. *Ezechiel* in the deſcription of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the Eaſt, as the onely Mart-town of that part of the World, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and alſo what commodities every Country yielded; and having counted the ſeveral People and Countreys, he addeth the particular Trade, which each of them exerciſed: *They were thy Merchants* (ſaith the Prophet) *in all ſorts of things, in rayments of blue Silk, and of broydered works, fine Linnen, Coral, and Pearl:* and afterwards ſpeaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and what kinds they traded, he hath theſe words: *The Merchants of Sheba, and Raamah were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Fairs, with the chief of all Spices, and with all pretious Stones, and Gold.* Now, theſe be indeed the riches which *Perſia* and *Arabia Fœlix* yield: and becauſe *Sheba* and *Raamah* are thoſe parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Perſian Gulf*, therefore did thoſe Nations both vent ſuch Spice, ſweet Gumms, and Pearls, as their own Countries yielded: and (withall) having trade with their Neighbors of *India*, had from them alſo all ſorts of Spices, & plenty of Gold. The better to convey theſe commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebans*, or *Arabians* entred by the mouth of *Tygris*, and from the City of *Terredon*, (built or enlarged by *Nebuchodonozor*, now called *Balſara*) thence ſent up all theſe rich Merchandizes by Boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as far as it bended Weſtward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reached within three days journey of *Aleppo*, and then over Land they paſt to *Tyre*, as they did afterward to *Tripoly*, (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforeſaid. Now, the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezechiel* joyneth with *Eden*, inhabited far up the River, and received this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, beſides thoſe proper commodities which themſelves had, and which they received out of *Perſia*, which bordered them. Saint *Hierome* underſtandeth by *Canneh*, *Selencia*, which is ſeated upon *Euphrates*,

Cap. 1. v. 1.

Strabo.

Ezek. 27. v. 23.

Verſe 24.

Euphrates, where it breaketh into four heads, and which took that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent City. *Hierosolymitanus* thinks it to be *Ctesiphon:* but *Ctesiphon* is seated down low upon *Tygris*, and *Canneh* cannot be on that side. I mean, on the East-side of *Tygris*; for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar*. *Plinie* placeth the *Schenitæ* upon *Euphrates*, where the same beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaveth to be the bound of *Arabia* the Desart, and where the River of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the Desart of *Palmirena:* for these people of *Canneh* (afterward *Schenitæ*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselves, from their own City of *Canneh* in *Shinar*, Westward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as far as the City of *Thapsacus*, where *Ptolemy* appointed the Foords of *Euphrates:* which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenitæ* by *Strabo*, whose words are these: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam, & Babyloniam euntibus iter est per Schenitas; The Merchants which travel from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites.* Therefore those that take *Canneh* for *Charran*, do much mistake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* in *Chaldea* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*; not upon *Euphrates* it self, but upon the River of *Chaboras*, which falleth into *Euphrates:* and the Merchants of *Charran* are distinctly named with those of *Canneh* in *Ezechiel* (as) *They of Haran and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Asher, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants.* Wherefore *Charran*, which is sometimes called *Charre*, and *Haran*, and *Aran*, is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the Region of *Mesopotamia*; or *Aran fluviorum*, the Greek word (*Mesopotamia*) importing, A countrey between Rivers: for *Mesos* in Greek, is *medius* in Latine, and *Potamos, fluvius*. And when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the City it self, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforesaid.) For *Strabo* in the description of *Arabia*, giveth that tract of Land from the borders of *Cœlosyria*, to the edge of *Mesopotamia*, to the *Schenitæ*, who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates*, and were in after-ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabit *Batanea*, and the North part of the Desarts, stretching themselves toward the inhabited solitude of *Palmirena*, which lieth between *Syria*, and *Arabia* the Desart. So as these of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran*, and to *Eden:* and therfore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden*, &c. But S. *Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneh*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia:* for *Seleucia* was antiently called *Chalanne* (witness *Appian*) and so *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries upon *Genesis*; the name by time and mixture of Languages being changed from *Chalne*, or *Canneh*, to *Chalanne:* of which name there are two other Cities, standing in Triangle with *Seleucia*, and almost the next unto it (as) *Thelbe-Canne*, and *Mann-Canne*, the one a little to the West of *Seleucia*, and the other opposite unto it; where these Rivers of *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are ready to joyn. Therefore, which of these the ancient *Canne* was (being all three within the bound of the Valley *Shinar*) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain seat thereof, that so many other Cities did retain a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that these additions of *Thelbe* and *Man* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference between the East and the West, or the greater and the less *Canne*, or between *Canne* the old and the new: which additions to distinguish Cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Plin. l. 8. c. 26.

Strabo. l. 16

Gen. 11. 31.

Now of the other City joyned with Eden, as Haran, or Charran, S. *Hierome* on the *Judges* speaketh thereof in these words: *Cumque reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, quæ est in medio itinere contra Ninevem, undecimo die; When they returned, they came to Charran (which is the mid-way against Nineveh) the eleventh day.*

Judg. 1.

This City is by the Martyr *Stephen*, named Charran (speaking to the High-Priest:) *Ye Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: the God of glory appeared to our Father Abraham, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran.* But the seat of this City is not doubted of: for it is not only remembred in many Scriptures, but withall exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Crassus* the Romane, who for his unsatiable greediness, was called *Gurges avaritiæ; the Gulf of avarice.* Whereof *Lucan:*

Act. 7. 1.

Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras. Lucan. l. 1. 105.

With Roman bloud th'Assyrian Carre he defil'd.

But this City Canne, or Chalne, is made manifest by *Moses* himself, where it is written of *Nimrod: And the beginning of his Kingdoms was Babel, & Erech, and Acad, and Chaln, in the Land of Sinaar*, or *Shinar:* where *Moses* sheweth the first composition of the Babylonian Empire, and what Cities and People were subject unto *Nimrod*; all which lay in the

Gen. 10. 10.

the ſaid Valley of Shinar, or near it; and this Valley of Shinar is that Tract afterwards called Babylonia and Chaldea, into which alſo Eden ſtretcheth it ſelf, *Chaldæa, Babylonia, Sinar, idem ſunt* (ſaith *Comeſtor.*) *Three names of one Countrey:* which Region of Babylonia, took name of the Tower Babel; and the Tower of the confuſion of Tongues. And that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proved in the eleventh Chapter of *Geneſis*, in theſe words: *And as they went from the Eaſt, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar, and there they* verſe 2. *abode:* in which Plain Babylon was built (as aforeſaid.)

Now Shinar being Babylonia, and Canneh, in the firſt beginning of *Nimrod*'s greatneſs, and before he had ſubdued any ſtrange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and alſo named by *Moſes* to be in Shinar, it proveth that Canneh joyneth to Babylonia; which alſo *Ezechiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth that thoſe of *Eden* were alſo the Merchants which traded with the Tyrians: and *Iſaiah* in the threats of *Senacherib* againſt Jeruſalem (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his Fathers had deſtroyed) nameth the children of verſe 7. Eden which were at Telaſſar. But before I conclude where Eden it ſelf lyeth, it is neceſſary to deſcribe thoſe other Countreys, which *Ezechiel* joyneth therewith, in the places before remembred, as, thoſe of Sheba and Raamah. It is written in *Geneſis* the tenth: *Moreover the Sons of Ham were Cuſh*, &c. *And the Sons of Cuſh were Seba, and Havila and Sabtah, and Raamah*, &c. *And the Sons of Raamah were Sheba*, &c. and anon after; *Cuſh begat Nimrod:* ſo as *Sheba* was the grand-child of *Cuſh*, and *Nimrod* the Son of *Cuſh*, whoſe elder brother was *Sebah:* though ſome there are that conceive to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and underſtanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* took that part adjoyning to Shinar, toward the Sea ſide and Perſian gulf (called afterwards *Raama* and *Sheba*, by the Father and his Sons, which poſſeſſed it.) *For* (ſaith *Ezechiel*) *the Merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy fairs with the chief of all Spices, and all precious Stones, and Gold.* So as Sheba was that Tract of Countrey, which parteth *Arabia Deſerta* from *Arabia Fœlix*, and which joyneth to the Sea where Tygris and Euphrates fall out, and render themſelves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countrey, *Strabo* calleth *Catabria*, where the beſt Myrrhe and Frankincenſe is gathered: which people have an interchange or trade with *Elana*, lying on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Perſian* gulf. By this it appeareth who were the *Shebeans*, ſpoken of by *Ezechiel*, and ſaid to have been the Merchants of *Tyre*, for Gold, Spices, and precious Stones: of which they had not onely plenty of their own, but were alſo furniſhed from that part of *India* (called *Elana*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromatiques, and other proper commodities. For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of *Eratoſthenes*, *In Perſicæ oræ initio Inſula eſt, in qua multi & pretioſi uniones gignantur: in aliis verò, clari & perlucidi lapilli. Eraſtothenes* (ſaith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that, *In the beginning of the Perſian gulf, there is an Iſland, in which there are many precious Pearls bred: and in other, very clear and ſhining Stones.* Now, the difference between *Sheba* the Son of *Raamah*, and *Seba* the Son of *Cuſh*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (*Samech*;) and *Sheba* with (*Schin:*) but whatſoever the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countreys and Habitations are diverſe. For *Sheba* is that which bordereth the *Perſian* Sea, and *Saba* (whence the Queen of *Saba*) neighboured the Red-Sea; and ſo that place of the 72 *Pſalm* expounded *Reges Arabum & Sabæ*, hath in the Hebrew this ſenſe: *Reges Shebæ & Sabæ.*

The *Shebans*, *Ezechiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, becauſe they inhabited upon the Out-let of the ſame River, upon which the *Edenites* were ſeated: and ſo thoſe of *Sheba*, towards the Sea-coaſt, and upon it, paſt up the Countrey, by *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, being joyned in one main ſtream, and ſo through the Region of *Eden*, which *Tygris* boundeth, thereby the better to convey their merchandiſe toward *Tyre*. And as the Cities of *Charran*, and *Channeh*, border *Eden* on the Weſt and North-weſt: ſo doth *Sheba* on the South, and *Chilmad* on the North-eaſt: *Chilmad* being a Region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldean* Paraphraſt; which Countrey, by the Geographers is called *Coromitena*, (*L*) placed by exchange for (*R*) which change the *Hebrews* alſo often uſe.

Strabo. l. 16.

Thus much of thoſe Counnries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians:* of which, the chief were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telaſſar:* for theſe *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had deſtroyed; and this place of *Telaſſar* lay moſt convenient, both to receive the Trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and alſo to convey it over into *Syria*, and to *Tyrus*. Now, to make theſe things the more plain, we muſt remember, that

that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the *Babylonian* Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were utterly dis-joyned.

For it appeareth both in *Esay* the 37. and in the second of *Kings*, by the threats of *Rabsache*, the while the Army of *Assyria* lay before *Jerusalem*, that the Cities of *Gosan*, *Haran*, *Reseph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telassar*, had resisted the *Assyrians*: though by them (in a sort) mastered and recovered. *Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have destroyed as Gosan, and Haran, Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar?* But it appeared manifestly after *Senacherib's* death, that these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subjection: for *Esar-Haddon* held *Assyria*; and *Merodach Baladan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the Army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabsache* which lay before *Jerusalem* (*Hezekias* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in *Egypt*, was by the Angel of God destroyed; the King of *Babel* sent to *Hezekias*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the *Assyrians*. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himself was slain by his own sons in the Temple of his Idols, *Esar-Haddon* succeeding him in *Assyria*. To the *Babylonian* Ambassadours sent by *Merodach*, *Hezekias* shewed all his treasures as well proper as consecrate, which invited the Kings of *Babylon* afterward to undertake their conquest and subversion. So as, the suspition of war encreasing between *Babylon* and *Assyria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the North, and towards *Assyria*, were employed to bear off the incursions of the *Assyrians*; and their Garrison-place was at *Telassar*: and the very word (*Telassar*) saith *Junius*, signifying as much as a Bulwork against the *Assyrians*. This place *Hierosolymitanus* takes for *Resem*, others for *Seleucia*: but this *Telassar* is the same, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the History of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprize of *Persia*) calleth *Thilutha* in stead of *Telassar*, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Book: It is seated in an Island of *Euphrates* upon a steep and unassaultable Rock, in so much as the Emperour *Julian* durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garrison against the *Assyrians*, being also a passage out of *Mesopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the Country adjoyning were lodged to defend the same. This place *Ptolemy* calleth *Teridata*, having *Reseph* (which he calleth *Resepha*) on the left hand; and *Canneh*, (which he calleth *Thelbe-Canne*) on the right hand; not far from whence, is also found the City of *Mann-Canne*, upon *Tygris*; and all these seated together, as *Esay* and *Ezechiel* have sorted them. But the understanding of these places is the more difficult, because *Assyria* (which the *Chaldeans* call *Atturia*,) and *Mesopotamia*, were so often confounded; the one taken for the other by interchanging of Dominion. *Assyria & Mesopotamia in Babyloniæ nomen transierunt* (saith *Niger*,) *Assyria and Mesopotamia took the name of Babylonia.* Lastly, it appeareth by those adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World *Eden* is seated, as, by *Charran* or *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*: also by *Canneh* and *Reseph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in these words translateth this place: *Plantaverat autem JEHOVAH Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente*; *The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden Eastward*: that is (saith he in his Annotations) *Jusserat nasci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabiæ & Mesopotamiæ*; *He commanded Trees to grow in Eden, an Eastern Region in the borders of Arabia and Mesopotamia.*

Esay 37. v. 12.

2 Kings 19. 35. 20. 12.

Esay 39. 1. Esay 37. 38.

Esay 39. 1.

Asiæ Tab. 4.

Cosmog. Asiæ.

§. X.

Of divers other testimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradise.

AND for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it seemes by the two Epistles of the Nestorian Christians, that inhabit *Mesopotamia*: which Epistles in the year 1552. they sent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and *Andræas Masius* hath published them, translated out of *Syriac* into *Latine*. By these Epistles (I say) it seemes we may have some farther light for the proof of that, which we have said about the Region of *Eden* in those parts. For in them both, there is mention of the Island of *Eden* in the River *Tygris*, or at least, *Tygris* in both these Epistles is called the River of *Eden*. This Island, as *Masius* in his Preface to these Epistles saith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, The Island, by an eminency.) It hath (saith he) ten miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island *Eden* may (doubtless) remain to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called, this name be swallowed up with the fame of those flourishing Kingdoms of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This Island of *Eden* hath up the River, and not far beyond it, the City of *Hasan-Cepha*, otherwise *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Mosal* or *Mosel*, from which (as in that which

which followeth it ſhall appear out of *Maſius*) it is not above twelve miles diſtant. Neither is it to trouble us, That *Moſal* or *Moſel*, by *Marius Niger* is remembred among the Cities higher up *Tygris*, in theſe words, *Juxta autem Tygrim, Civitates ſunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quæ nunc Moſel dicitur; magna ſanè*, &c. (that is) *By Tygris are theſe Cities, Dorbeta neer unto mount Taurus (which is now called Moſel) which is a great one*, &c. This opinion of *Niger*, diſplacing *Moſel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I ſay) needs not here to trouble us: ſeeing for this matter, the teſtimony of *Maſius*, informed by the Chriſtians that dwelt there (the Seat of whoſe Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, avowing that this *Moſal* (or *Mozal*) is in the Confines of *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*, ſeated upon *Tygris*, and in the neighbour-hood of *Nineve*; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The Neſtorian Chriſtians in their former Epiſtle, call it *Attur* in theſe words: *Ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis quæ ſunt circum Civitatem Moſel (hoc eſt) Attur, in vicinia Nineves; Of all the Cities and Townes which are about the City of Moſal (that is) Attur in the neighbour-hood of Nineve.* As alſo *Niger* acknowledgeth *Cteſiphon* a City thereabout to be called *Aſſur*, (which is the ſame as *Attur*, after the Dialect of thoſe Nations, which change *Sh* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he ſhould miſtake *Cteſiphon*, (which is not far off *Seleucia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Aſſur*. By this then we may come ſomewhat near the end of our purpoſe. For the Iſle of *Eden*, which lieth in the breſt of *Tygris*, is but twelve miles from *Moſal*, and that antient City, which *Ptolemy* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the Scriptures *Nineve*; *Philoſtratus*, and *Simeon Sethi*, *Moſula*, and *John Lean*, *Moſal*, others *Moſſe*, (though it be not the ſame with *Moſal*) is ſet but a little higher upon the ſame River of *Tygris*, near *Moſal*: ſo that we are like to find this Iſle of *Eden* hereabout. For the ſame *Andræas Maſius*, which placeth it above *Moſal*, makes it to be below *Haſan-Cepha*, which is upon the ſame River of *Tygris*.

vi ſupra.

The only difficulty is this, that ſome perhaps may think, that the words of the *Neſtorians* in both their Epiſtles, ſpeak not of any Iſle in *Tygris*, called the Iſle of *Eden*, but of an Iſle in *Tygris*, a River of *Eden*. But this ſenſe of their words in my opinion ſeemeth the more unprobable. And yet, if this were the meaning here, we have a teſtimony from the Learned of thoſe parts, that not only *Euphrates*, but alſo *Tygris* was a River of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in thoſe parts is not yet quite worn out, though the Region hath been ſubject to the ſame change, that all other Kingdoms of the world have been, and hath by conqueſt and corruption of other Languages, received new and differing names. For the South part of *Eden*, which ſtretcheth over *Euphrates*, was after the Floud called *Shinar*, and then, of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, and *Armenia*, which imbraceth both the banks of *Tygris* between Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that antient *Æthicus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Æthicus*, Diſciple of *Gallimicus*, otherwiſe by *Plutarch* and *Athæneus* called *Iſtri*, who lived in *Egypt* in the Reign of *Philadelphus*; but another of a far higher and remote time) the ſame being made *Latine* out of the *Greek* by Saint *Hierom*. And though by corruption of the antient Copie it be written, in *Æthicus*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*: yet *Adonis* being a River of *Phœnicia*, cannot be underſtood to be the Region named by *Æthicus*. For *Æthicus* makes it a Country, and not a River, and joyneth it with *Meſopotamia* and *Æthiopia*, calling the land of *Chus Æthiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And laſtly, the River which watereth the Regions (ſaith *Æthicus*) falleth into the Gulf of *Perſia*: which River he called *Armodius* for *Tygris*; *Tygris* being but a name impoſed for the ſwiftneſs thereof. And out of *Armenia*, both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* have their original: for out of *Eden* came a River, or Rivers, to water the Garden, both which Rivers (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traverſe *Meſopotamia*, Regions firſt of all known by the name of *Eden*, for their beauty and fertility. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained alſo ſome part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertility thereof in divers places is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in ſome part thereof (ſaith *Strabo*) the leaves are alway green, and therefore therein a perpetual Spring. Alſo *Stephanus*, *de Urbibus*, mentioneth the City of *Adana* upon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in uſe in *Amos*'s time, though he ſpake not of *Eden* in the Eaſt, but of *Eden* in *Cælo-Syria*. But to the end I may not burthen the Readers patience with too long a Diſcourſe, it may ſuffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tygris* (once joyned together, and afterward ſeparate) are two of thoſe four heads, into which theſe Rivers which are ſaid to water the Garden of *Paradiſe*, were divided: whoſe courſes being known, *Eden* (out of which they are ſaid to come) cannot be unknown. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath*, were *Tygris* and *Euphra-*

tes, it is agreed by all: for the Seventy and all others convert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: *& Hiddekel, Tygrim omnes exponunt*; *And all men understand Hiddekel by Tygris* (saith *Vatablus.*) And because that which I have said of the Isle of *Eden* shall not be subject to the censure of self-invention, I have here-under set down the words out of the two general Epistles of the *Nestorians*, as *Masius* (*ad verbum*) hath converted them into *Latine*. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, That the *Nestorian* Christians, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, *Babylonia*, and have to this day (at least in Queen *Marys* time they had) fifteen Churches in one City called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Mosel* upon the River of *Tygris*; having no sufficient authority to choose themselves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without four or three Metropolitan Bishops at the least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, in the year of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to obtain allowance unto such an Election, as themselves had made: having three hundred year before that, upon the like defect, sent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made known to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for, upon the death of their Patriarch (who of a covetous desire to enrich himself, had forborn to institute Metropolitan Bishops, when the places fell void) they all assembled themselves together to consult of the Church-government. And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred years had been of one House and Family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stock and Kindred, who aspired to the same dignity which his Predecessors had held; the rest of the professors refused to allow him. Upon which occasion, and for the choice of a Governour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselves. The words of the general Epistle to the Pope are these, about the middle of the said Epistle; *Verùm nos non acceptavimus, neq; proclamavimus ipsum; sed subitò convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & Pagis quæ sunt circum civitatem Mosel* (*hoc est, Attur*) *in vicini â Nineves, ex Babyloniâ, ex Charrâ, ex Arbelâ, ex Insulâ quæ est in medio Tygris, fluminis* Eden, &c. i. e. *But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selves out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Mosel* (*or Attur*) *neighbouring upon Nineve; and out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbella; and out of the Island which lyeth in the middle of Tygris, a River of Eden*, or rather *out of the Isle of Eden, which lyeth in the River Tygris.* And in a second Epistle at the same time sent, they used these words: *Neq; supersunt apud nos Metropolitæ, quorum est ordinare Catholicum: sed soli panci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbelæ, Episcopus Salmasti, Episcopus Adurbeigan; en è vestigio convenimus in Insulam, quæ est intra Tygrim flumen, Eden; fecimusq; compactum inter nos*, &c. (which is) *Neither are there remaining among us any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it belongs to ordain a Patriarch, but only a few Bishops, as the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salmastus, and the Bishop of Adurbeigan: but lo, we assembled speedily in the Island of Eden, which is in Tygris, and agreed between our selves*, &c.

Now this Island of *Eden*, *Masius* describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Nestorian* Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (saith he) the better understood. And after he hath distinguished the four sorts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which he calleth *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, *Maronitæ*, and *Cophti*, he goeth on in these words: *Mox, audita illius morte, concurrisse aiebant tumultuariò in illam quam modò dixi Tygris Insulam, quæ duodecim circiter passuum millibus supra Mosal posita, decem fere millia passuum suo ambitu continet, muris undiq; cincta, & à paucis aliis quàm Christianis hominibus habitata*: which is, *Now hearing of the death of the Patriarck*, (as those that came to *Rome* reported) *they ran tumultuously together into that Island of Tygris* or *Eden before spoken of, which Island is situated about twelve miles above Mosal, containing very neer ten miles in compass, and every where invironed with a wall, inhabited by few other men then Christians.* And afterward, he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest he addeth the Isle of *Eden* by the name of *Geserta*, *Insula Tygris*; *sive Geserta.* Furthermore, describing the City of *Hosan-Cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra prædictam Tygris Insulam, rupi asperæ impositam*; *Above the aforesaid Island of Tygris, being seated on a steep Rock.* Of this Island of *Geserta*, *Andrew Thevet* maketh mention in his tenth Book of his general Cosmography, in these words: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la Riviere du Tygre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie*; *Geserta or Gesire is in the middle of Tygris, the soyle the most fertile of all Asia.*

By this we see that the antient name of *Eden* liveth; and of that *Eden* which lyeth Eastward from *Arabia Petræa*, and the Desart where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Carran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that

that *Eden* which is ſeated according to the aſſertion of the ſaid Prophet, and joyned with thoſe Nations of *Reſeph*, *Canneh*, and *Charran*, and the reſt which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Aſſyria* and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelaſſar* were garriſoned to reſiſt the *Aſſyrians*, whoſe diſplantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above written;) and laſtly, the ſame *Eden*, which embraceth *Tygris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the known Rivers of thoſe four, which are by all men aſcribed to *Paradiſe*.

§. XI.

Of the difficulty in the Text, which ſeemeth to make the four Rivers to riſe from one ſtream.

BUt it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, *That a River went out of Eden*, and not Rivers in the plural: which ſcruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus anſwered in his Chronologie: The *Latine* Tranſlation, ſaith he, hath theſe words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradiſum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: Quæ verba melius conſentient cum rei narratione, & ejuſdem explicatione, ſi ita reddantur; Et fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene (hoc eſt) fluvii procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita:* which is, *And a River went out of the place of pleaſure to water Paradiſe, and thence was divided into four heads*: Which words (ſaith *Beroaldus*) do better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus tranſlated; *And a River was going forth of Eden* (that is) *Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became four heads.* The *Tygurine* differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it converts it thus, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de deliciis; And a River went out of pleaſure*, in ſtead of *Eden*; and the Latine addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a River went out of the place of pleaſure:* and ſo the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a Region moſt delightful and fertile; and ſo alſo the word (*inde*) and *thence*, was divided, hath reference to the Country of *Eden*, and not to the Garden it ſelf.

And for the word (*River*) for Rivers, it is uſual among the *Hebrews:* for it is written: *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herb that ſeedeth Seed, the fruitful Tree*, &c. Here the *Hebrew* uſeth the Singular for the Plural, *Herb and Tree, for Herbs and Trees*; and again, We eat of the fruit of the Tree, in ſtead of (Trees:) And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themſelves from the preſence of God; In medio ligni Paradiſi; In the middle of the tree of the Garden*, for (*Trees.*) And of this opinion is *David Kimchi*, and *Vatablus*, who upon this place of *Geneſis* ſay, that the *Hebrews* do often put the Singular for the Plural, as *illud*, for *unumquodq; illorum*; and he giveth an inſtance in this queſtion it ſelf, as, *A River* (for *Rivers*) *went out of Eden.*

And this anſwer out of divers of the Learned, may, not without good reaſon, be given to the objection, That *Moſes* ſpeaketh but of one River, from which the heads ſhould divide themſelves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reaſon, we may expound the four heads, to be four notable paſſages into famous Countries. And ſo we may take the word (River) Verſe the tenth for one River, (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River (after he is paſt the place, where we ſuppoſe *Paradiſe* to have been) divides it ſelf, and ere long yieldeth four notable paſſages into ſeveral Countries, though not all the way down ſtream (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the River downward, there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to Aſſyria) were up *Tygris*.

To this end the Text ſpeaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riſeth from the River of *Eden*, doth not ſay, it compaſſeth or waſheth the whole Region of *Aſſyria* (as it had uſed this phraſe of *Piſon* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth towards *Aſſyria*. The firſt branch *Piſon*, is *Nahar-malcha* (by interpretation) *Baſilius*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tygris* under *Apamia*; whence riſeth the name of *Paſi-Tygris*, as it were *Piſo-Tygris*. This leadeth to the Land of *Havila* or *Suſiana*. The ſecond branch *Gehon*, is that which in Hiſtorians is *Nabarſares* or *Narragas*; for *Nahar-ragas:* both which names ſignifie *flumen derivatum* (a River derived,) alſo *Acracanus*, *quaſi Ranoſus*, by reaſon of the Froggie Fens which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the firſt ſeat of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldea* and *Arabia*, and it is loſt at length in the Lakes of *Chaldea*. The third branch *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the upper ſtream of *Piſon*, or *Baſilius*, which runneth into *Hiddekel*, properly ſo called (that is, into *Tygris*) above *Seleucia*, where it ſheweth a paſſage up *Tygris* into *Aſſyria:* where, becauſe at length it is called *Hiddekel* or *Tygris*, having before no known proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The

fourth *Perath*, or *Euphrates*, so called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the River *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*. But be it a River or Rivers, that come out of *Eden*, seeing that *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradise* was not far from these Rivers: for that *Perath* in *Moses* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeed) as plain it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tygris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (saith *Moses*) Eastward towards *Assur*, as we find, that *Tygris* is the River of *Assyria propriè dicta*, whose chief City was *Nineveh*, as in *Genesis* the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Assur*, and builded *Nineveh*, which was the chief City of *Assyria*.

And as for the kind of speech here used in the Text, speaking of four heads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly) their Fountains, yet here are they to be understood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the first stream. *Caput aquæ* (saith *Ulpianus*) *illud est unde aqua noscitur; si ex fonte nascatur, fons; si ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia*, &c. *If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountain, then is the Fountain taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake*; and if from a main River any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth first bound it self with new banks, there is that part of the River, where the branch forsaketh the main stream, called the head of the River.

§. XII.

Of the strange fertility and happiness of the Babylonian Soyl, as it is certain that Eden was such.

IT may also be demanded, whether this Region of *Eden*, by us described, be of such fertility and beauty, as *Eden* the seat of *Paradise* was: which, if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertility and pleasure, that it had before the Curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the Earth, nor the same virtue to any Plant thereon growing, that they had before the Floud; and therefore this Region of *Eden* may be now no such flourishing Countrey, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I find written of it: First, in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witness, and speaketh of the very place it self; for the Isle of *Eden* is but twelve miles, or thereabout, from *Nineveh*, and so from *Mosal*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tygrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod Urbs Nini sita erat. Hæc Regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est*, &c. *Where* Euphrates *runneth out into* Tygris, *not far from the place where* Ninus *is seated. This Region, of all that we have seen, is most excellent:* and he addeth afterward; *Cereris autem fructu procreando adeò ferax est, ut nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat*, &c. (that is) *It is so fruitfull in bringing forth Corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold: The leaves of Wheat and Barley, being almost four fingers broad. As for the height of Millet and Sesame, they are even in length like unto Trees; which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to speak hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seem very incredible to those, which never were in the Countrey of* Babylon. *They have commonly in all the Countrey Palm-Trees growing of their own accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meats and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Fig-Trees.* Thus far *Herodotus*.

To this Palm-Tree, so much admired in the *East-India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* add a fourth excellency, which is, that *it yieldeth bread*; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*; *Of which these people make Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vineger.* But *Antonius* the Eremite findeth a fifth commodity, not inferiour to any of those four, which is, that from this self-same Tree, there is drawn a kind of fine Flax, of which people make their garments, and with which in *East India* they prepare the cordage for their Ships. And that this is true, *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the Eremite, confesseth, saying: *That he received a garment made thereof from the* Eremite *himself, which he brought with him out this Region.* So therefore those Trees which the *East Indies* so highly esteem and so much admire (as indeed the Earth yielded no plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this upper *Babylon*, or Region of *Eden*, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (saith *Strabo*) *passim per omnem Regionem palmæ sua sponte nascentes*; *There are of Palms over all the whole Region, growing of their own accord.* Of this place, *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Euntibus à parte læva Arabiæ (odorum fertilitate nobilis) regio campestris interest inter Tygrim & Euphratem jacens, tam ubere & pingui solo, ut à pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat*; (that is) *As you travel on the left hand of* Arabia (*famous for plenty of sweet Odours*) *there lieth a Champain Countrey placed between* Tygris *and* Euphrates, *of so fruitfull and fat a soil, that they are said to drive their*

Herod. Clia. l. 1.

Plin. Hist. c. 17.

their Cattel from paſture, leſt they ſhould periſh by ſatiety. Bis in anno ſegetes Babylonii *ſecant*; *The* Babylonians *cut their Corn twice a year* (ſaith *Niger.*) And as Countreys generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, than in the Northern parts: ſo we may judge the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South parts of *America*, which is the North border of *Eden*, or a part thereof. His words be theſe in the Latine: *Tota enim hæc regio frugibus & arboribus abundat manſuetis, itemque ſemper virentibus*; *This Region aboundeth with pleaſant fruits, and Trees always green:* which witneſſeth a perpetual Spring, not found elſewhere but in the *Indies* onely, by reaſon of the Sun's neighbourhood, the life and ſtirrer up of Nature in a perpetual activity. In brief, ſo great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are conſtrained twice to mow down their Corn-fields, and a third time to eat them up with Sheep: which huſbandry the *Spaniards* wanting in the Valley of *Mexico*, for the firſt fourty years, could not make our kind of Wheat bear ſeed, but it grew up as high as the Trees, and was fruitleſs. Beſides, thoſe fields are altogether without weeds (ſaith *Pliny*) who addeth this ſingularity to that ſoil, That the ſecond year, the very ſtubble (or rather falling down of the ſeeds again) yieldeth them a harveſt of Corn without any further labour: his words are theſe, *Ubertatis tantæ ſunt, ut ſequenti anno ſponte reſtibilis fiat ſeges.*

Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 18. c. 17.

§. XIII.

Of the River Piſon, and the Land of Havilah.

AFter the diſcovery of *Eden*, and the teſtimonies of the fertility thereof, it reſteth to prove that *Piſon* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tygris* and *Euphrates:* For, that the knowledge and certainty of theſe two Rivers ſhould trouble ſo many wiſe men, it is ſtrange to me; ſeeing neceſſity it ſelf (*Tygris* and *Euphrates* being known) findeth them out: for *Euphrates*, or *Tygris*, or both, be that River or Rivers of *Eden*, which water *Paradiſe*; which River or Rivers, *Moſes* witneſſeth afterward divided into four heads, whereof the one is called *Piſon*, the other *Gehon*, &c. Could there be a ſtranger fancy in the world, than when we find both theſe (namely) *Tygris* and *Euphrates* in *Aſſyria* and *Meſopotamia*, to ſeek the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus?* Two Rivers as far diſtant as any of fame known or diſcovered in the world: the Scriptures making it ſo plain, that theſe Rivers were divided into four branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reaſon, and Experience bearing witneſs. There is no errour which hath not ſome ſlippery and bad foundation, or ſome appearance of probability, reſembling truth, which when men (who ſtudy to be ſingular) find out (ſtraining Reaſon according to their fancies) they then publiſh to the world matter of contention and jangling; not doubting, but in the variable deformity of mens minds, to find ſome partakers or ſectators, the better by their help to nurſe and cheriſh ſuch weak Babes, as their own inventions have begotten.

But this miſtaking (and firſt for the River of *Piſon*) ſeemeth to have grown out of the not-diſtinguiſhing of that Region in *India*, called *Havilah*, from *Havilah* which adjoyneth to *Babylonia*, afterward known by the name of *Suſiana*. For *Havilah* upon *Tygris*, took name from *Havilah* the Son of *Cuſh*; and *Havilah* in *India*, from *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*; the one remembred by *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, the other where *Moſes* ſetteth down the generations of *Noah*, and his Sons after the Floud. For the Sons of *Cuſh* were *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*; and the Sons of *Joctan* were *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Havilah* the Sons of *Joctan*, that Iſland of *Ophir*, (whence *Solomon* had Gold) and *Havilah* adjoyning, had their names. Now, becauſe *Ganges* is a great and a famous River of the *Eaſt India*, and *Havilah* a Country of the ſame, and is ſituated upon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Piſon*, which River is ſaid by *Moſes*, to water the Land of *Havilah*. Or perhaps, it was ſuppoſed, that thoſe four Rivers named by *Moſes*, muſt of neceſſity be four of the greateſt in the World; whence (ſuppoſing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous River after *Tygris* and *Euphrates*) they choſe out this River to make one of the four. And yet certainly there is another River, whom in theſe reſpects they ſhould rather have choſen than *Ganges:* for the River *Indus* on this ſide *India*, for beauty, for nearneſs, and for ability, giveth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reaſonable man conceive, that *Ganges* can be of the four heads, ſeeing *Indus* cometh between it and *Tygris?* and between *Tygris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Perſia*, conſiſting of many Kingdoms. And again, farther towards the Eaſt, and beyond *Indus*, are all thoſe ample Dominions of *India intra Gangem*, which lie between thoſe two proud Rivers

Gen. 10. 7.

Gen. 10. 29.

Gen. 2. 11.

Rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdom of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the four, becauſe it is removed from *Tygris* by all the breadth of *Perſia*, then how much leſs *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little leſs than fourty degrees to the Eaſtward of *Indus*? Surely, whoſoever readeth the Story of *Alexander*, ſhall find that there is no River in *Aſia*, that can exceed *Indus*. For *Hydaſpis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great *Gallies* tranſported himſelf, and the greateſt part of his Army, and in ſailing down that branch of *Indus*, found it ſo large and deep, and by reaſon thereof ſo great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet, which was ready to be ſwallowed up therein: *Hydaſpis* (as aforeſaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, having beſides this, the Rivers of *Coas*, of *Suaſtus*, *Acceſines*, *Adris* (otherwiſe *Hirotis*,) *Hiſpalis*, and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are ſwallowed up with all their children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one ſtream, it croſſeth athwart *Aſia*, and then at *Cambaia* viſiteth the Ocean Sea.

But becauſe *Piſon*, which compaſſeth *Havilah*, as alſo *Gehon*, which watereth *Cuſh*, must ſomewhere be joyned with the reſt in one body, or at leaſt be found to proceed out of the ſame Country of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads do proceed; out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: For *Nilus* riſeth in the uttermoſt of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterran* Sea; and the River *Ganges* riſeth out of the Mountain *Imaus*, or (as others will have it) *Caucaſus*, which divides the Northern *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tygris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, near *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other is not far off in the ſame *Armenia*, by the *Georgian* Mountains; ſo as *Ganges*, who only travaileth in her own *India*, and *Nilus* through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, never ſaw the land of *Eden*, or joyned themſelves in one channel, either with themſelves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be ſeparated, or divided into four heads or branches, according to *Moſes*.

Gen. 2.15.

Therefore the River *Piſon*, which inricheth *Havilah*, is the ſame which by joyning it ſelf with *Tygris*, was therefore called *Piſi-Tygris* or *Piſo-Tygris*, of *Piſon* and *Tygris*, which River watereth that *Havilah*, which

Gen. 2. v. 12.

Havilah the ſon of *Cuſh* gave name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, ſo called of *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*, who inhabited with his brother *Opkir* in the Eaſt. And this *Havilah* of the *Cuſhites* had alſo Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx ſtone. This Bdellium is a Tree of the bigneſs of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yieldeth a certain Gum ſweet to ſmell to, but bitter in taſte, called alſo Bdellium. The *Hebrews* take the Loadſtone for Bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in *Hebrew* ſignifieth Pearl: ſo doth *Fugubinus*; and *Hierom* calls it *Oleaſter*: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearl, *Havilah* or *Suſiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Country of *Suſiana* or *Havilah*, ſtretcheth it ſelf towards the North as far as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as far as the *Perſian Gulfe*, on the Eaſt ſide thereof: from which Eaſt ſide had the *Shebans* (which traded with the City of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of Gold; which *Strabo* alſo witneſſeth, as was ſhewed before.

The *Greeks* had a conceit, that *Piſon* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbins* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-Ezra* (ſaith *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, tranſlateth *Piſon* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the ſame impoſſibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Helleſpont*, and all *Aſia* the leſs between it and *Tygris*. Now *Piſon*, which runneth through *Havilah* or *Suſiana*, doth to this day retain ſome ſigne of this name; for where it and *Tygris* embraceth each other under the City of *Apamia*, there do they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called *Piſo-Tygris*. And it is ſtrange unto me, that from ſo great antiquity there ſhould be found remaining any reſembling ſound of the firſt name: for *Babylon* it ſelf, which dwelleth ſo near theſe Rivers, is by ſome writers known by the name of *Bandas*, as, by *Poſtellus*: by *Caſtaldus*, of *Balduch*: by *Barius*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Boughedor*, by *Andrew Thevet*; and yet all thoſe that have lately ſeen it, call it *Bagdet*. To this River of *Piſon Ptolemy* indeed with many others give the name of *Baſilius* or *Regius*, and *Gelon* they term *Maharſares*, and *Marſias*, and *Baarſares*. So is *Euphrates*, near the Spring and Fountain, by *Strabo* and *Pliny* called *Pixirates*: by *Junius*, *Puck-perah*, out of the *Hebrew* (that is) The profuſion, or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the Mountain *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the *Hebrews* *Parath* (ſaith *Ar. Montanus*:) *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Joſephus*, *Phorah*; *Euſebius*, *Zozimus*: *Ammianus*,

Steuch. Hopk. de Par.

Poſt. Coſmog.

Thevet. Coſmog. Aſiæ lib. 4.

Plin. lib. 5. c. 24.

Ammianus, *Chalymicus*: *Giſtilianus* and *Colinutius*, term it *Cobar*: which *Ezechiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Aſſyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The ſame confuſion of names hath *Tygris*, as *Diglito* and *Diglath*, *Scilax* and *Sollax*: of the *Hebrews* it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants, *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* upon *Geneſis* conceiveth rightly of theſe Rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tygris* (ſaith he) ſtream into four branches; two of which keep their antient names, and the other two are called *Piſon* and *Gehon*. The reaſon why theſe two Rivers, joyned in one (below *Apamia*,) loſe their names and are called *Piſi-Tigris*, and the memory of *Euphrates* extinguiſhed, is, becauſe the beſt part of *Euphrates* running through the channel of *Gehon*, ſinketh into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, not far from *Ur*, the City of *Abraham*, and fall not entirely into the *Perſian* Sea, as *Tygris*, accompanied with *Piſon*, doth.

This errour, That *Piſon* was *Ganges*, was firſt broached by *Joſephus*, (whoſe fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authority to be ſufficient in matter of deſcription, whereupon depended no other important conſequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For, *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, and *Hierom*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as *Piſon* was tranſported into the *Eaſt India* to find out *Havilah*: ſo was *Gehon* drawn into *Africa* to compaſs *Æthiopia*. But if *Havilah*, whereof *Moſes* ſpeaketh in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, be found to be a Region, adjoyning to *Babylon* on the one ſide, and *Cuſh* (which is falſly interpreted *Æthiopia*) faſtned to it on the other ſide, we ſhall not need then to work wonders (that is) to impoſe upon men the tranſportation of Rivers, from one end of the World to the other, which (among other uſes) were made to tranſport men. Now it was in the Vally of *Shinar*, where *Cuſh* the Son of *Ham* firſt ſate down with his Sons *Shebah*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Havilah*, the Son of *Cuſh* did that Region take name, which *Piſon* compaſſeth; and the Land (called *Cuſh*) which *Gehon* watereth, took name of *Cuſh* himſelf. For as the Sons of *Joctan*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, ſeated themſelves as near together as they could in *India*, ſo did the Sons of *Cuſh* in *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Havilah*, or *Chavilah*, was firſt *Chuſea*, of *Cuſh*; then *Chuſa*, *Suſa*, and *Suſiana*.

From this *Havilah* unto the Deſarts of *Sur*, did the *Iſraelites* and *Amalekites* poſſeſs all the interjacent Countries: for *Saul* ſmote the *Amalekites* from *Havilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur*, the *Chaldean* Paraphraſt converteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the Red-Sea. But this was not meant from *Sur* upon the Red-Sea, to *Havilah* in the *Eaſt India*, for *Saul* was no ſuch Travailer or Conquerour, and therefore *Havilah* muſt be found nearer home, where the Sons of *Iſmael* inhabited, and which Country *Saul* waſted: for *Amalek* and the *Amalekites* poſſeſs'd that neck of Country, between the *Perſian* Sea, and the Red Sea; *Havilah* being the extream of the one, towards the Eaſt, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the Weſt, leaving that great body of *Arabia fœlix* towards the South, and they ſpread themſelves with the *Midianites* and *Edumæans*, from the Eaſt-part, or backſide of the Holy Land, to the banks of *Euphrates*, compriſing the beſt part of *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deſerta*. 1 Sam. 15. 7.

§. XIV.

Of the River Gehon, and the Land of Cuſh, and of the ill tranſlating of Ethiopia for Cuſh, 2 Chron. 21. 16.

NOw as *Havilah* in the *Eaſt India* drew *Piſon* ſo far out of his way thither, ſo I ſay did *Cuſh* (being by the Seventy tranſlated *Ethiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cuſh* being taken for *Ethiopia* by the *Greeks*, whom the *Latines* followed, *Gehon* conſequently was eſteemed for *Nilus*. But *Ethiopians* are, as much as *black or burnt faces*, whoſe proper Country called *Thebaides*, lyeth to the Southward of all *Egypt*. And although there be many other Regions of *Ethiopians*, and far South in *Africa*; yet thoſe of *Thebaides* are thoſe ſo often remembred in the *Egyptian* ſtories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopians* are very near, or elſe directly under the *Equinoctial line*, which is very far from that Land inhabited by the *Chuſites*, who are neither black of colour, nor in any ſort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this tranſlation of the Septuagint, *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner: There are (ſaith he) two *Ethiopia*'s, the Eaſt, and Weſt: and this diviſion he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now becauſe there is no colour to make *Chus Ethiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Chuſh* and the land of the *Chuſites* (which is *Arabia Petræa*, and part of *Arabia the Happy*, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the Eaſt *Ethiopia*. See more of this point c. 7. Sect. 10.

Now, if it be granted, that *Chuſh*, and the Land

Land of the *Chuſhites* be that Tract from *Sur* to *Havilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habitavit Iſhmael ab Havilah uſque Sur, quæ reſpicit Ægyptum introeuntibus Aſſyrios*, Iſmael *dwelt from* Havilah *unto* Sur, *that is, towards* Egypt, *as thou goeſt toward* Aſſyria. The ſame ſufficeth to prove that *Gehon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a River that watereth *Cuſh*, and not *Æthiopia*. But this place of Scripture, *Habitavit Iſmael*, &c. hath this ſenſe: *Iſmael* dwelt from *Havilah*, which is the way of *Aſſyria*, or the Countrey bordering *Aſſyria*; and *Sur*, which lieth toward *Egypt*, which is as much to ſay, as, The iſſues of *Iſhmael* (whereof there were twelve Princes) whom God had promiſed to make a great people, inhabited all thoſe Regions between the border of *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*. And that they were (according to the Word of God) ſo increaſed and multiplied, it well appeared, when *Zearah* the *Chuſite*, which others call *Tharantha*, brought an Armie of ten hundred thouſand againſt *Aſa* King of *Juda*. Which Armie came not out of *Æthiopia* beyond *Egypt*; for that had been a ſtrange progreſs for ſuch a multitude, as ten hundred thouſand, having ſo mighty a King as the King of *Egypt*, between *Paleſtina* and *Æthiopia*. But theſe were the *Chuſites*, *Amalekites*, *Madianites*, *Iſmaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Aſa* (ſtrengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his Victory took ſome of the Cities of King *Zearah* round about, as *Gerar*. Now, that *Gerar* is a City of the *Æthiopians*, it cannot be ſuſpected: for theſe be the words of the Scripture diſproving it: *And Abraham departed thence, toward the South Countrey, and dwelt between* Kadeſh *and ſojourned in* Gerar: Now *Sur* is that part upon which *Moſes* and the *Iſrelites* firſt ſet their feet after they paſſed the Red-Sea, where the *Amalekites* in *Rephidim* ſet on them, ſuppoſing that they had been weary, and unable to reſiſt. Again, in the Story of *Iſaac* it is written: *Wherefore* Iſaac *went to* Abimelech, *and the* Philiſtines *unto* Gerar: and I am ſure *Abimelech* and the *Philiſtines* were no *Æthiopians*. And laſtly, *Moſes* himſelf, where he deſcribeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath theſe words: *Then the border of the* Canaanites *was from* Sydon, *as thou comeſt to* Gerar: for *Sydon* was the frontier of *Canaan* towards the North, and *Gerar* by *Gaza* towards the South. But indeed, howſoever *Pererius* doth, with an honeſt excuſe, ſalve this Tranſlation of *Chus* for *Æthiopia*; yet it appeareth plainly, that the *Septuagint* and *Joſephus* did altogether miſ-underſtand this place. And firſt, for *Homer*'s Eaſt and Weſt *Æthiopia*, they are both found elſewhere: For *Pliny* in his fifth Book, and eighth Chapter, citeth *Homer* for an Authour of theſe two *Æthiopia*'s. But the Eaſt *Æthiopia* is that which compaſſeth *Nilus* to the South of *Egypt*, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the *Abiſſines* under *Preſter John*; And the Weſt *Æthiopia* is that which joyneth it ſelf with the River *Niger*, which we call *Senega* and *Gambra*: for thereabouts are theſe *Æthiopians* called *Perorſi*, *Dararites*, with divers other names, which *Pliny* numbreth. But all theſe are in *Africa*, and beyond the Deſarts thereof, ſaith *Pliny* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa* and *Juba*; which Regions indeed (I mean that of *Niger*, and that of *Preſter John*, and the *Troglodites*) lie due Eaſt and Weſt. But as for *Cuſh*, and the Region of the *Iſmaelites*, &c. they are extended directly North from that *Æthiopia*, which is beyond *Egypt*. Now, that *Joſephus* was exceeding groſs herein, it appeareth by that fiction which he hath of *Moſes* when he ſerved *Pharaoh*, in the Wars againſt the *Æthiopians*: for in that (to make *Chus*, *Æthiopia*) he tranſporteth *Madian* by miracle over the Red-Sea, and beyond all *Egypt*, and ſetteth it in *Æthiopia*, as ſhall be ſhewed more at large in the Chapter of the World's Plantation. Again, that *Gehon* was improperly tranſlated *Nilus*, *Pererius* confeſſeth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the *Greek* Copie, than otherwiſe. And whereas the *Septuagint* have converted this place of the Prophet *Hieremie*; *And what haſt thou now to do in the way of* Egypt, *to drink the water of* Nilus? *Quid tibi vis in via* Egypti, *ut bibas aquam* Gehon? To this ſaith *Pererius*, *profectò* Hebraicè *ibi non eſt vox* Gehon, *ſed* Sichor, *quæ ſignificat Nigrum & turbidum: Truly* (ſaith *Pererius*) *the word* Gehon *in this place, is not found in the* Hebrew, *but* Sichor; *which ſignifieth black and troubled water.*

Furthermore, this is a manifeſt and unanſwerable argument, that *Chus* was ill taken for *Æthiopia*. *Moſes* married the daughter of *Jethro*, Prince and Prieſt of *Madian*, whom both the *Greek* and *Latine* call a *Madianite*, and not *Æthiopiſſan*, as (with *Joſephus*) the *Geneva* converts it, though it help it a little with a marginal Note. Now it is without diſpute, that *Zipporah* was of the Countrey of *Madian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petræa*, bordering the Red-Sea; for it is written in the ſecond of *Exodus*, that *Moſes fled from* Pharaoh *into the Land of* Midian, *and ſate down by a Well*, &c. And again, in the third of *Exodus*; *When* Moſes *kept the Sheep of* Jethro, *his father-in-law, Prieſt of* Madian, &c. Indeed, theſe four Nations are every where mixt in the Scriptures, becauſe they

Gen. 25. 18.

Verſ. 16.

2 Chron. 14. 9.

Gen. 10. v. 11.

Exod. 17. 8.

Exod. 10. 19.

Pliu. l. 5. c. 8.

Exod. 2. 21. & 3. 1. Numb. 12. 1.

Verſe 15. Verſe 1.

they dwell confuſedly together (to wit) the *Madianites*, the *Iſmaelites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chuſites*, which were all, in one general word, *Arabians*; and in the Scriptures ſometimes called by one of theſe names, and ſometimes by another; as in *Gen.* 37. *v.* 25, 27, and 28. that *Joſeph* was ſold to the *Iſmaelites*; and in the ſame Chapter, *v.* 36. it is written, that the *Madianites* ſold *Joſeph* to *Potiphar*, *Pharaoh*'s Steward. The *Genevians*, in a marginal Note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) ſay, that *Moſes* wrote according to their opinon, who took the *Madianites* and *Iſmaelites* to be all one. But *Moſes* wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth; and theſe were all *Arabians:* and ſo in this very place it appeareth by their Merchandiſe, which they brought with them, when they bought *Joſeph:* for their Camels were loaden with Spiceric, and Balm, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of *Arabia fœlix:* from whence chiefly, and from the *Eaſt India*, all the World is ſerved with Myrrhe and Frankincenſe; and their Spices they received from the Eaſt ſide of the *Arabian* Gulf, as aforeſaid. And in the 39 Chapter, it is ſaid: That *Potiphar* bought *Joſeph* of the *Iſmaelites*, which the *Chaldean Paraphraſt* in the ſame place calleth *Arabians*. Now to make this the more manifeſt, it is written, *Judg.* 6. That when *Iſrael* had ſown, then came up the *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the Eaſt, and came upon them: they of the Eaſt were *Arabians* of the Deſart; ſo as where before in the buying of *Joſeph*, the *Madianites* and the *Iſmaelites* were confuſed, here the *Madianites* and *Amalekites* are made one Nation. For in the proſecution of the Story of *Gedeon*, the *Madianites* onely are named, as comprehending both Nations; and in the eighth Chapter, *v.* 24. theſe Nations are called *Iſmaelites*, and neither *Madianites*, nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gedeon* deſired that every man would give him the golden Ear-rings, which they had taken after the victory againſt *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of *Arabia*, amounting to 1700. ſhekels of Gold, it is written: *For they had golden Ear-rings, becauſe they were* Iſmaelites. And theſe *Iſmaelites* were a great and valiant Nation, and ever in action of War. *Manus ejus contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum; His hand* (ſaith God, of *Iſmael*) *ſhall be againſt all men, and every mans hand againſt him.* Of theſe *Iſmaelites* come the *Mahometan Arabians*, though ſome Writers think *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenitæ*. And theſe *Iſmaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Cedar*, and the Deſarts of *Sur* and *Pharan* (ſaith *Joſephus*) uſe poyſon upon their Arrows, as the *Indians* do. Toward the South-eaſt are the *Madianites*, and *Chuſites:* and beyond them towards the Deſarts of *Arabia*, the *Amalekites*, and all are one Nation, and all *Arabians*.

Gen. 37. 25.

Verſ. 10.

Verſe. 3.

Chap. 7. v. 8. v. 24.

Gen. 16. 12.

Laſtly, the ill Tranſlation of *Æthiopia* for *Chus*, is, among other places, made moſt apparent in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, in theſe words: *So the Lord ſtirred up againſt* Jehoram *the ſpirit of the* Philiſtines, *and the* Arabians, *which confine the* Æthiopians; ſo *Hierome* reads it: the *Geneva* Tranſlation hath it, *which were beſides the* Æthiopians. Now, how far it is off between the *Philiſtines* and the *Negro*'s or the *Æthiopians*, every man that looketh in a Map may judge. For the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians* do mixe and joyn with the Land of the *Chuſites*, and are diſtant from *Æthiopia* about two and thirty, or three and thirty degrees; and therefore not their next neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the Deſart of *Sur* and *Pharan* are between them. So as this place of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, ſhould have been tranſlated in theſe words: *So the Lord ſtirred up againſt* Jehoram, *the ſpirits of the* Philiſtines, *and the* Arabians, *which confine and border upon the* Chuſites, who indeed are their next neighbours. * *Nulla ſupereſt dubitatio quin* Æthiopia *in ſacris literis ſit* Arabia *propinqua*; *There remaineth no doubt* (ſaith *Steuchius*) *but* Æthiopia *in the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey which joyneth to* Arabia.

2 Chro. 21. 16.

* Steuch. Eugub. in Gen. c. 2.

Now, may we think, is it probable, or poſſible, that *Moſes* could be ignorant of *Nilus?* No, he knew it, no living man ſo well, and therefore would never have named *Gehon* for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gehon*. Surely, if *Moſes* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gehon*, he would have called the River (into which he was caſt upon Reeds, and preſerved by God, working compaſſion in the Daughter of *Pharaoh*) a River of *Egypt*, wherein he was born and bred, and wrought ſo many miracles. Beſides, the River of *Nilus* is often named in the Scriptures, but never by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moſes* had told the *Iſraelites*, that *Nilus* had been a River of *Paradiſe*, they might juſtly have thought, that he had derided them: for they had lived there all days of their lives, and found no ſuch *Paradiſe* at all, nor any memory, or ſpeech thereof, except we ſhall believe the *Paradiſe* of *Heſperides*, where (ſaith *Pliny*) there was nothing found in his time, but wilde Olives in ſtead of golden Apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Iſaiah*, and once in the Prophet *Jeremie*; and yet in thoſe places it is not ſaid to be a River of *Æthiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Iſraelites* had never any communion or affairs with

Exod. 2.

Plin. l. 5. c. 1. c. 27. v. 3. c. 2. v. 18.

the *Æthiopians*, nor any intelligence or trade beyond *Egypt*, to the South; but the enemies which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Madianites*: who being often governed by many little kings, or *Reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers or Heads of those Nations; but in one general name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Cœlo-Syrians*, with the *Magogians*, *Tubalites*, and others their adherents. And thirdly, within themselves, the Nations which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest Cities upon the Sea-coast, as *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many others; yea, *Jerusalem* it self was with-held from *Israel*, from the days of *Moses*, even unto the time of *David*, by the *Jebusites*.

That which now remaineth of most difficulty, is, that it doth not appear that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia* the stony, which the *Chusites* inhabited in the times of the Kings of *Israel*: and in this *Desart* it was, that *Matt. Beroaldus* lost himself in seeking out *Paradise*: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two Rivers, and call them *Gehon* and *Pison*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Havilah*; for I find none such *In rerum Natura*, as he hath described: by which Rivers he also includeth within *Paradise*, even *Arabia* the Desart.

And as he well proved that *Pison* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gehon Nilus*; so where to find them elsewhere, it seemeth he knew not. Certainly, this River of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at *Gaza*, and whose Springs he findeth far East in *Arabia*, is but imaginary; for the Current by *Gaza*, is but a small stream, rising between it and the Red-Sea, whose head from *Gaza* it self is little more than twenty *English* miles, as shall appear hereafter. But questionless, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the *Chusites*, as they were planted when the state of *Israel* stood, and when it flourished, being then their near neighbours, and never looked back to the first seats and plantation of *Chus*. For after the Floud, *Chus* and his children never rested, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and near which himself, with his Sons, first inhabited. *Havilah* took the River-side of *Tygris* chiefly on the East, which after his own name he called *Havilah*, (now *Susiana*:) *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther down the River, in the entrance of *Arabia-fœlix*. *Nimrod* seated himself in the best of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himself and his brother *Mizraim* first kept upon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of *Chaldæa*; and in process of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more Westerly towards the Red or *Arabian* Sea: from whence *Mizraim* past over into *Egypt*, in which Tract the *Chusites* remained for many years after. Now, because there could be no such River found in *Arabia* the stony, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus*, *Æthiopia*; and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if we do examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let us suppose, that *Brute*, or whosoever else that first peopled this Island, had arrived upon the River of *Thames*, and called the Island after his name *Britannia*, it might be said that *Thames* or *Tems* was a River that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards, in process of time, the same *Brute* had also discovered and conquered *Scotland*, which he also entituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after-ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, becuse the River of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let us suppose that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, gave the name to *Europe*, according to *Herodotus*, and that the first discoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of the River in *Thrace*, which then watered as much of *Europe*, as he first discovered; Shall we in like sort resolve that *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, &c. are no pars of *Europe*, becuse that River is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it said by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land which the *Chusites* should, or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit; seeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) have been Masters in time, (as the *Saracens*, which came of them, were) of a great part of the World. For, though the *Babylonian* Empire which took beginning in *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus*, consisted at the first but of four Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*; yet we find, that his Successours within a few years after, commanded all the whole World in effect: and the fame of *Babel* consumed the memory of *Chusea*. For of this *Tower of Confusion* did all that Land take the name of *Babylonia*: and the greatness of that Empire founded by *Nimrod* a younger Son, obscured the name and Nation of his Father *Cush* in those parts, until they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther

Herod. l. 1. cap. 4.

CAPADOCIÆ PARS
ARMENIÆ
CILICIÆ PARS
Edessa
Tarsus
Adana
Mallus
Mara
CYRRESTICA
Issus
Sinus Issicus
or Alexandretta
Alexandretta
Aleppo or Hierapolis
CYPRVS
Anticchia
CHALCIDICI
Laodicia
Apamia
Adada
THE
MEDITE
RAN
SEA
Arudus
Antaradus
Tripolis
Botris
Byblus
Berytus
Archis
CATANY
Palmyra
PALMYRENA
Sidon
Libanus
COELESYRIA
THE DESERT
PALMERINA
Alsadamus
Tyre
Antelibanum
Damascus
Cæsaria
philippi
Berathi
Saue or Saba
Machati
Syria
Soba
SACCEA
pto Acon
Gesuri
BATANEA
ARABIA
AGREI
Bassan
Cæsaria
Amorites
Sichem
Hai
Bethel
Ammonites
MARTENI
Aurana
Ioppe
IERVSALEM
Moabites
AGVBENI
ARABIA
Midianites
Idumites
PETREA
Pharan desart
Petra deserti
Amalekites
Ismalites
THE RED SEA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE

Dorbeta
DORBETA or MOSEL
Hasansepha
HASANSEPHA
NISIBIS
The Isle of EDEN or Gezerta
Tyrus fl.
Cyprus fl.
Gyndes fl.
Recheboth
SINGARVS M:
MESOPOTAMIA
Thelbe Mancane
or Baldac
Chaine or Selruia
SIPPHARA or SEPHAR
Hiddekel
TELASER or THILVTHA
Gehon
PARADISE
Achad after ward Auchanites
EVPHRATES
BABYLON
Ctesiphon
Apamia
Herculis Arx
PISON
GEHON
TIGRIS
RHESIPHA once RETSEPH
Serati
The Arabians called VCHABENI
The first plantation of Chus
EREC or ARACCA
HAVILA
Chuduca sumetime Chusca
The Arabians ÆSITÆ
CHALDEA
Themna
The lakes of Chaldea
VR or VRCHOA the habitation of Abraham
MASSANI
Teredon now Balsara
The auncient outlet of Gyon now desolate in the lakes of Chaldea
THE PERSIAN SEA
Calathua
The Arabians ORCHENI
Raama
Sheba
THE NORTH PART

ther from the *Babylonian* Empire, where the *Chuſites* retained their names, which alſo they faſtned to the Soil and Territory, by themſelves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not think, that *Chus*, or any of his, could in haſt creep through thoſe deſart Regions, which the length of 130. years after the Floud had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted every Buſh and Bryar, Reed and Tree, to joyn themſelves (as it were) into one main body and Forreſt. For if we look with judgment and reaſon into the Worlds Plantation, we ſhall find, that every Family ſeated themſelves as near together as poſſibly they could; and though neceſſity enforced them, after they grew full of people, to ſpread themſelves, and creep out of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*; yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times reſort and ſuccour one another by River, the fields being then (without all doubt) impaſſible. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and ſtrength uſurped dominion over the reſt, ſate down in the very confluence of all thoſe Rivers, which watered *Paradiſe*: for thither it was, to which the greateſt troups of *Noah*'s children repaired; and from the ſame place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they again their increaſe. The firſt Father of men, *Adam*, had therein his former habitation: The ſecond Father of Mankind, *Noah*, began from thence his diſperſion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngeſt, yet ſtrongeſt, made his choyce of *Babel* (as aforeſaid) which both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* cleanſed and enriched; ſo did *Havilah* place himſelf upon *Piſo-Tygris*; *Ramah* and his Son *Sheba* farther down upon the ſame River, on the Sea coaſt of *Arabia*: *Chuſh* himſelf upon *Gehon*, the faireſt branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to ſpread themſelves farther off, yet they alwaies faſtened themſelves to the Rivers ſides: for *Ninive*, *Charran*, *Reſeph*, *Canneh*, *Ur* in *Chaldea*, and the other firſt-peopled Cities, were all founded upon theſe navigable Rivers, or their branches; by which the one might give ſuccour and aſſiſtance to the other, as is already often remembred.

§. XV.

A concluſion, by way of repetition of ſomething ſpoken of before.

BUt now to conclude this Diſpute; It appeareth to me by the teſtimonies of the Scripture, that *Paradiſe* was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, ſeated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterward called *Aram fluviorum*, or *Meſopotamia*, which taketh into it alſo a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region ſtanding in the moſt excellent temper of all other (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Æquinoctial*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which Climate, the moſt excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Grain of all ſorts, are to this day found in aboundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this ſaid ſoil and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palm-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein ſoever the Earth, Nature, and the Sun can moſt vaunt that they have excelled; yet ſhall this Plant be the greateſt wonder of all their works: This Tree alone giveth unto man whatſoever his life beggeth at Nature's hand. And though it may be ſaid, that theſe Trees are found both in the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, which Countries are alſo bleſſed with a perpetual Spring and Summer; yet, lay down by thoſe pleaſures and benefits, the fearful and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diſeaſes, the multitude of venimous Beaſts and Worms, with other inconveniences; and then there will be found no compariſon between one and the other.

What other excellencies this Garden of *Paradiſe* had, before God (for man's ingratitude and cruelty) curſed the Earth, we cannot judg; but I may ſafely think, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanſhip of God, by ſo much did that choſen and particular Garden exceed all parts of the Univerſal World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees, of Life, and of Knowledg; Plants only proper and becomming the *Paradiſe*, and Garden of ſo grant a Lord.

The ſum of all this is; That whereas the eys of men in this Scripture have been dimſighted (ſome of them finding *Paradiſe* beyond our known World: ſome, above the middle region of the ayr: ſome, elevated near the Moon: others, as far South as the Line, or as far North as the Pole, *&c.*) I hope that the Reader will be ſufficiently ſatisfied, that theſe were but like Caſtles in the ayr, and in mens fancies vainly imagined. For it was Eaſtward in *Eden* (ſaith *Moſes*;) Eaſtward, in reſpect of *Judea*, that God planted this Garden; which *Eden* we find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in ſome part) remaineth to this day. A River went out of *Eden* to water this Garden, and

from thence divided it self into four branches; and we find that both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* swimming through *Eden* do joyn in one, and afterward taking waies apart, do water *Chus* and *Havilah*, according to *Moses*, the true seats of *Chus* and his Sons being then in the Vally of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Pison* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, reason, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joyned, cannot be divided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the Rivers of *Eden*; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibility; and this River is a greater stranger to *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, then *Ganges* is: for although there are between *Tygris* and *Ganges* above four thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountains of the Moon, almost as far off as the *Cape of good hope*, and falleth into the *Mediterrane* Sea: and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, and falleth into the *Gulf of Persia*: the one riseth in the South, and travaileth North; the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, threescore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leaf following, I have added a *Chorographical* description of this terrestrial *Paradise*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I look for, that my labour may but receive an allowance suspended, until such time as this description of mine be reproved by a better.

CHAP. IV.

Of the two chief Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

§. I.

That the Tree of Life was a material Tree; and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden Fruit, is made subject to death.

FOr eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of Knowledg, was *Adam* driven out of *Paradise*, *In exilium vitæ temporalis*, *Into the banishment of temporal life*, saith *Beda*. That these Trees of Life and Knowledg were material Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospel) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile as nothing can fix them, and so slippery as nothing can fasten them, have in this also delivered to the World, an imaginary doctrine.

The Tree of Life (say the *Hebrews*) hath a Plural construction, and is to be understood, *Lignum vitarum*, *The Tree of lives*, because the fruit thereof had a property, to preserve both the growing, sensitive, and rational life of man; and not only (but for *Adam*'s transgression) had prolonged his own daies, but also given a dureful continuance to all his posterity; and that, so long, as a body compounded of Elements could last.

Som. Sept. 2.*l.*1.174.

And although it is hard to think, that flesh and bloud could be immortal, but that it must once perish and rot, by the unchanged Law of God imposed on his creatures; Man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed thereby a long, beautiful, and ungrieved life: after which (according to the opinion of most Divines) he should have been translated, as *Enoch* was. And, as before the Floud, the days of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and soon after the Floud, of two hundred years and upwards, even to five hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandment, the lives of men on earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men have conceived. *Chrysostom*, *Rupertus*, *Tostatus*, and others were of belief, that (but for *Adams* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his Posterity had been immortal. But such is the infinite Wisdom of God, as he foresaw that the earth could not have contained Mankind; or else, that millions of Souls must have been ungenerated, and have had no being, if the first number wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for ever: And therefore that of *Chrysostom* must be understood of immortality of bodies, which should have been translated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in

in which reſpect many have conceived, that the ſame was not material, but a meer *Allegorie*; taking their ſtrength out of *Solomon*, where Wiſdom is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where alſo *Chriſt* is called the Tree of Life; as out of the *Apocalyps*, *I will give to him that overcometh, to eat of the Tree of life which is in the Paradiſe of God.* But to this place Saint *Auguſtine*'s anſwer may ſuffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terreſtrial *Paradiſe*, ſo there was a celeſtial. For although *Agar* and *Sarah* were Figures of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*; yet to think that they were not Women, and the Maid and Wife of *Abraham*, were meer fooliſhneſs. And ſo in this place, the ſenſe of the Scripture is manifeſt; For *God brought out of the Earth every Tree fair to the ſight, and ſweet to the taſte; the Tree alſo of Life in the midſt of the Garden:* which ſheweth, that among the Trees, which the Earth by God's commandment produced, the Tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was alſo to be eaten. The report of this Tree was alſo brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigeſted matter or *Chaos*, *Heſiod*, *Homer*, *Ovid*, and others, ſteal the invention of the created World; ſo from the Garden of *Paradiſe* they took the Platform of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Heſperides*: and from the Tree of *Life*, their *Nectar* and *Ambroſia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, ſignifieth *making young*; and *Ambroſia*, *immortality*; and therefore ſaid to be the meat and drink of the gods.

Apocal. c. 7.

§. II.

Of Becanus *his opinion, that the Tree of Knowledg was* Ficus Indica.

NOw, for the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, ſome men have preſumed farther, eſpecially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himſelf the honor to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could ever gueſs at, whereat *Goropius* much marvelled. But as he had an inventive brain, ſo there never lived any man, that believed better thereof, and of himſelf. Surely, howſoever his opinion may be valued, yet he uſurpeth the praiſe due to others, at leaſt if the invention be at that price at which he ſetteth it. For *Moſes Bar-Cephas* faſtened on this conjecture above ſix hundred years before *Becanus* was born: and *Bar-Cephas* himſelf referreth the invention to an antiquity more remote, citing for his Authour *Philoxenus Mabburgenſis*, and others, whoſe very words *Goropius* uſeth, both concerning the Tree, and the reaſons wherewith he would induce other men to that belief. For *Moſes Bar-Cephas* in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe* (the firſt Part and *fol.* 48) ſaith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*, *The Indian Fig-Tree*; of which the greateſt plenty (ſaith *Becanus*) are found upon the banks of *Aceſines*, one of the Rivers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies, in or near the Kingdom of *Porus*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bigneſs of a great Peaze, or (as *Pliny* reporteth) ſomewhat bigger; and that it is a Tree, *Se ſemper ſerens*, *Always planting it ſelf*; that it ſpreadeth it ſelf ſo far abroad, as that a troup of Horſe-men may hide themſelves under it. *Strabo* ſaith, that it hath branches bending downwards, and leaves no leſs than a ſhield. *Ariſtobulus* affirmeth, that fifty Horſe-men may ſhadow themſelves under one of theſe Trees. *Oneſicritus* raiſeth this number to four hundred. This Tree (ſaith *Theophraſtus*) exceeded all other in bigneſs, which alſo *Pliny* and *Oneſicritus* confirm: to the trunk of which, theſe Authours give ſuch a magnitude, as I ſhame to repeat. But it may be, they all ſpeak by an ill-underſtood report. For this *Indian* Fig-tree is not ſo rare a Plant as *Becanus* conceiveth, who, becauſe he found it no where elſe, would needs draw the Garden of *Paradiſe* to the Tree, and ſet it by the River *Aceſines*. But many parts of the world have them, and I my ſelf have ſeen twenty thouſand of them in one Valley, not far from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moiſt grounds, and in this manner: After they are firſt ſhot up ſome twenty or thirty foot in length (ſome more, ſome leſs, according to the ſoil) they ſpread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the trunk or ſtem: for from the utmoſt end of the head-branches, there iſſueth out a Gummy juyce which hangeth downward like a cord or ſinew, and within a few moneths reacheth the ground; which it no ſooner toucheth, but it taketh root, and then being filled both from the top-boughs, and from his own proper root, this cord maketh it ſelf a Tree exceeding haſtily. From the utmoſt boughs of theſe young Trees, there fall again the like cords, which in one year and leſs (in that World of a perpetual Spring) become alſo Trees of the bigneſs of the neather part of a Lance, and as ſtreight as Art or Nature can make any thing, caſting ſuch a ſhade, and making ſuch a kind of Grove, as no other Tree in the world can do. Now, one of theſe Trees conſidered, with all his young ones, may

Plin l. 17. *c.* 3.

Lib. 15. *cap.* 2.

may (indeed) ſhroud four hundred or four thouſand Horſ-men, if they pleaſe; for they cover whole Valleys of ground where theſe Trees grow near the Sea-bank, as they do by thouſands in the inner parts of *Trinidado*. The cords which fall down over the banks into the Sea, ſhooting alway downward to find root under water, are, in thoſe Seas of the *Indies* where Oyſters breed, intangled in their beds, ſo as by pulling up one of theſe cords out of the Sea, I have ſeen five hundred Oyſters hanging in a heap thereon; whereof the report came, That Oyſters grew on Trees in *India*. But that they bear any ſuch huge leaves, or any ſuch delicate fruit, I could never find, and yet I have travelled a dozen miles together under them. But to return to *Goropius Becanus:* This Tree (ſaith he) was good for meat, and pleaſing to the ſight, as the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil is deſcribed to be.

Secondly, This Tree having ſo huge a trunk (as the former Authours report, and *Becanus* believeth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themſelves from the preſence of God; for no other Tree (ſaith he) could contain them. But firſt it is certain, that this Tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the trunk or ſtem: for among ten thouſand of them, it is hard to find any one bigger than the reſt, and theſe are all but of a mean ſize. Secondly, the words of *Moſes* tranſlated, *In medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters underſtood in the plural number (that is) *In the midſt of the Trees.* But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moſes Bar-Cephas*) word for word,
Gen. 3. 7. is, That when *Adam* and *Eve* found themſelves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the Tree it ſelf was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew near it: becauſe *Adam* being poſſeſt with ſhame, did not run up and down the Garden to ſeek out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it ſelf; and theſe
Plin. l. 12. c. 5. leaves of all other were moſt commodious, by reaſon of their largeneſs; which *Pliny* avoweth in theſe words; *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazoniæ habet; The breadth of the leaves hath the ſhape of an Amazonian ſhield:* which alſo *Theophraſt* confirmeth; the form of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Virg. Æn. l. 1. 494. *Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis*
Pentheſilæa *furens.*

The *Amazons* with Creſcent-formed ſhield
Pentheſilæa leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* deſireth to be believed, or rather threatneth us all that read him, to give credit to this his borrowed diſcovery, uſing this confident (or rather cholerick) ſpeech: *Quis erit tam impudenter obſtinatus, ſi hæc à nobis, de ficu hac, ex antiquis ſcriptoribus cum* Moiſis *narratione comparet, ut audeat dicere, Aliam arborem inveniri poſſe, quæ cum illa magis quadret? Who will be ſo impudently obſtinate, if he compare theſe things which we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of* Moſes, *as to dare to avow, That any other Tree can be found, which doth more properly anſwer, or agree therewith?* But for my ſelf, becauſe I neither find this Tree, ſorting in body, in largeneſs of leaves, nor in fruit to this report; I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*. That the Earth never brought forth any of theſe Trees, neither before nor after. But I leave every man to his own belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kind; onely thereby, and by the eaſie Commandment by God given to *Adam*, to forbear to feed thereon, it pleaſed God to make trial of his obedience: *Prohibita non propter aliud quam ad commendandum puræ ac ſimplicis obedientiæ bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other reſpect, than thereby to commend the goodneſs of pure and ſimple Obedience.* Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, l. 13. c. 20.

§. III.

Of Becanus *his not-unwitty allegorizing of the Story of his* Ficus Indica.

BUt in this I muſt do *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his ſuppoſition of the Tree it ſelf to be true. The effects whereof, becauſe his diſcourſes are exceeding ample, I have gathered in theſe few words. As this Tree (ſaith he) ſo did Man grow ſtraight and upright towards God, until ſuch time as he had tranſgreſſed and broken the Commandment of his Creatour; and then like unto the boughs of this Tree, he began to bend downward, and ſtooped toward the Earth, which all the reſt of *Adam*'s Poſterity after him have done, rooting themſelves therein, and faſtning themſelves to this corrupt world. The exceeding umbragiouſneſs of this Tree, he compareth to the dark and ſhadowed life of man, through which the Sun of juſtice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the ſhadow of death, till it pleaſed *Chriſt* to climb the Tree of the Croſs for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among ſo many large leaves, may be compared (ſaith he) to the little virtue, and unperceived Knowledge among ſo

ſo large vanities, which obſcure and ſhadow it over. And as this fruit is exceeding ſweet, and delicate to the taſte and palate: ſo are the delights and pleaſures of the World moſt pleaſing, while they dure. But as all thoſe things which are moſt mellifluous, are ſooneſt changed into choler and bitterneſs: ſo are our vanities and pleaſures converted into the bittereſt ſorrows and repentances. That the leaves are ſo exceeding large, the fruit (for ſuch leaves) exceeding little; in this, by compariſon we behold (ſaith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their ſollicitude, their outward ſhews, and publick oſtentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we ſeek for the fruit, which ought to be their virtuous and pious actions, we finde it of the bigneſs of the ſmalleſt peaze; glory, to all the world apparent; goodneſs, to all the World inviſible. And furthermore, as the leaves, body and boughs of this Tree, by ſo much exceed all other Plants, as the greateſt men of power and worldly ability ſurpaſs the meaneſt: ſo is the little fruit of ſuch Men, and ſuch Trees, rather fitting and becoming the unworthieſt Shrub, and humbleſt Bryar, or the poreſt and baſeſt Man, then ſuch a flouriſhing ſtatelyneſs, and magnitude. Laſtly, whereas *Adam*, after he had diſobeyed God, and beheld his own nakedneſs and ſhame, ſought for leaves to cover himſelf withal: this may ſerve to put us in mind of his and our ſins, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorn our rotten and mortal bodies: to pamper and maintain which, we uſe ſo many uncharitable and cruel practices in this world.

§. IV.

Of the names of the tree of Knowledg of good and evil: with ſome other notes touching the ſtory of Adam's *ſin.*

NOw, as touching the ſenſe of this Tree of Knowledg of good and evil, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it ſelf, *Moſes Bar-Cephas*, an antient *Syrian*-Doctor (tranſlated by *Maſius*) giveth this judgment: That the fruit of this Tree had no ſuch virtue or quality, as that by the taſting thereof, there was any ſuch knowledg created in *Adam*, as if he had been ignorant before; but as *Junius* alſo noteth: *Arbor ſcientiæ boni & mali (id eſt) experientiæ boni & mali ab eventu. The Tree of Knowledge of good and evil (that is) the experience of good and evil by the event.* For thus much we may conceive, that *Adam* being made (according to the *Hebrew* phraſe) by the workmanſhip of Gods own hand, in greater perfection than ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whoſe ſeed all men living have grown up; and having received immortality from the breath or ſpirit of God; he could not (for theſe reſpects) be ignorant, that the diſobeying of Gods commandment was the fearfulleſt Evil, and the obſervation of his Precepts the happieſt Good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithſtanding) conceive, that ſickneſs is grievous, and yet in no ſuch degree of torment, as by the ſuffering and experience in themſelves they afterwards witneſs: ſo was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the puniſhments, due to neglect and diſobedience; and yet felt by the proof thereof in himſelf another terrour than he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glaſs of his own guilty ſoul, he beheld therein the horrour of Gods Judgments; ſo as he then knew, (he feelingly knew) and had trial of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchaſed evil, which could not be expreſs'd. He then ſaw himſelf naked both in Body and mind; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicity: and therefore was this Tree called the Tree of Knowledg, and not becauſe the fruit thereof had any ſuch operation by any ſelf quality or effect: for the ſame phraſe is uſed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signs and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In ſuch ſort, as this Tree was called the Tree of Knowledg, becauſe of the event, as is aforeſaid: ſo was the Well of contention therefore called *Eſek*, and the Well of hatred *Sitnath*, becauſe the Heardſmen of *Iſaac* and *Gerar* contended for them: and the heap of Stones called the *heap of witneſs*, between *Jacob* and *Laban*; not that the Stones bare witneſs, but for a memory of the Covenant. So *Jacob* called the houſe of God *Bethel*; and *Hagar*, the Well in the Deſart, *Viventis, & videntis.*

Num. 20. 13. *Gen.* 26. 20, 21. *Cap.* 31. 48. *Cap.* 28. 19. *Cap.* 16. 14.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and maſtered by his affection, ambitious of a farther knowledg then he had perceived in himſelf, and looking but ſlightly (as all his iſſue do) into the miſeries and ſorrows incident; and greatly affecting the ſuppoſed glory which he might obtain by taſting the fruit forbidden: he was tranſported and blown forward, by the gentle wind of pleaſing perſwaſions, unawares; his progreſſion being ſtrengthened by the ſubtile arguments of Sathan, who laboured to poyſon mankind

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in the very root, which he moistened with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himself perished for ever.

Ben. sem. 2. l. 2. But what means did the Devil find out, or what instruments did his own subtilty present him, as fittest and aptest to work this mischief by? even the unquiet vanity of the Woman; so as by *Adams* hearkning to the voice of his wife, contrary to the express commandement of the living God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comfort and companion, but not for a counsellor. *But because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy wife*, &c. (said God himself) *Cursed is the earth for thy sake,* *Gen. 3. 17.* *in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all thy life.* It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; even by the most ugly and unworthy of all beasts into whom the Devil entred and perswaded.

Secondly, what was the motive of her disobedience? even a desire to know what was most unfitting for her knowledg; an affection which hath ever since remained in all the posterity of her Sex. Thirdly, what was it that moved the man to yield to her perswasions? even the same cause which hath moved all men since to the like consent; namely, an unwillingness to grieve her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be overcome with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Solomon* the Son of *David*, Gods chosen servant, and himself a man endued with the greatest wisdom, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the perswasion and for the love they bare to a woman, it is not so wonderful as lamentable, that other men in succeeding ages have been allured to so many inconvenient and wicked practices by the perswasions of their wives, or other beloved darlings, who cover over and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit passion of dissimulate sorrow and unquietness.

CHAP. V.

Of divers memorable things, between the Fall of Adam, *and the Floud of* Noah.

§. I.

Of the cause and the revenge of Cains *sin: and of his going out from God.*

THe same Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possess'd *Adam*, *Cain* also inherited: for *Cain* (envious of the acceptation of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) slew him, making himself the first Manslayer, and his Brother the first Martyr: the revenge of which unnatural murther, although it pleased God to mitigate, when *Cain* cried out that his punishment was greater then he could bear. For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the Sons of *Adam*, as it were, urged and provoked God) he destroyed all Mankind, but *Noah* and his Family: for it is written, *The* *Gen. 6 v. 11, 13.* *Earth also was corrupt before God*: of which in the same place, *Moses* giveth a reason: for saith he, *The Earth was filled with cruelty*: and anon after, God himself made the cause known unto *Noah*, saying; *An end of all flesh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth, or from the Earth.* Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in taking away the lives of men onely, but in all sorts of Injustice and Oppression. After this Murther of *Abel*, Cain *went out from the* *Gen. 4. 16.* *presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the East-side of Eden:* in which words, The going out of *Cain* from the presence of the Lord, is not to be understood after the literal sense, God being wholly in all parts of the World: *Totus in cœlo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed utrumque simul*; God (saith S. *Augustine*) *is* *Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 22. c. 19.* *wholly in Heaven, and wholly in Earth, not by enterchanged times, but all at once*; And that this is true, *David* witnesseth: *If I be in Heaven* (saith *David*) *thou art there*; *if in Hell,* *Psal. 138. 8.* *thou art there also.* But what is meant thereby? *Exiit à facie Dei* (saith *Chrysostom*) Cain *went out from the presence of the Lord*; (that is) *he was left of God, disfavoured and bereaved of his protection.* *Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 21*

§. II.

Of Cains *dwelling in the Land of* Nod: *and of his City* Enoch.

THis word *Nod* or *Naid*, S. *Hierom* and many others understand to signifie *Hier. vid. Heb.* wan-

wandring, or uncertain habitation: vexation or agitation, ſaith *Junius*; but the Seventy convert it otherwiſe, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a Countrey, and ſo doth *Joſephus*. But it ſeemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing elſe; and that his thoughts and conſcience had no quiet or reſt, in regard of the Murther committed, juſtly fearing (by his own words) the like violence: *And whoſoever findeth me* (ſaith *Cain*) *ſhall ſlay me*. Now, that *Nod* or *Naid* was a Region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwelt*) for *dwelling* ſignifieth an Abiding: and we call thoſe people Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifeſt, *Moſes* teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was which he affirmeth towards the Eaſt-ſide of *Eden*. Secondly, it is ſaid by *Moſes*, that after *Cain* departed from the preſence or favour of God, he built a City, and called it by the name of his firſt-born, *Enoch*; which ſheweth that he feared to wander, and rather ſought to fortifie himſelf againſt revenge. *Cyrillus* ſaith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of *Chriſt*, and of the *Jews*; and that as *Cain* after that he had ſlain *Abel* unjuſtly, had thence-forth no certain abiding in the World: ſo the *Jews*, after they had crucified the Son of God, became Runnagates: and it is true, that the *Jews* had never ſince any certain Eſtate, Common-weal, or Prince of their own upon the Earth. Now, this Land of *Nod*, *Junius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deſerta*, a Region of the *Nomades*; but *Arabia* the Deſart is not Eaſtward, or on the Eaſt part of *Eden*, neither are theſe *Nomades* any particular People or Nation. For all theſe, in what part of the World ſoever, which in old time lived by Paſtorage, and fed (as we call it in *Ireland*) upon white meat, without tilling of the ground, are called by the *Greeks Nomades*, and by the *Latines*, *Paſtores vagi*, as the Northern *Tartarians*, the *Getulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Britains*, and the Northern *Iriſh*: yea, ſuch were the Inhabitants of *Italy* it ſelf, till ſuch time as *Italus* (who gave them that name) taught them the huſbandry of Tillage, uſed at this day. But the Region Eaſtward from *Eden* is that part of *Aſſyria*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Calena*; which alſo might be derived of *Carena*, the Countrey of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in thoſe parts, it may be gathered by the firſt poſſeſſion of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, *Geneſ.* 3. *Therefore the Lord God ſent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth whence he was taken:* and in the Verſe following: *Thus he caſt out man*, &c. *and at the Eaſt-ſide of the Garden of Eden he ſet the Cherubims:* which ſheweth that the entry into *Paradiſe* was from the Eaſt, by which entrance *Adam* was caſt out, and therefore inhabiting on that ſide of *Paradiſe* which was Eaſtward, according to the Text. *Cain* alſo in the ſame Region ſought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod*, or *Naid*, do ſignifie *profugus*, that is, a Fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertain habitation of *Cain*, then till he built the City of *Enoch*, the firſt of the World, which he encloſed, either for his own defence, or (as *Joſephus* writeth) to oppreſs others thereby. So as, for mine own opinion, I am reſolved with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (Vagabond) which *Cain* uſeth of himſelf, it ſeemeth by the cloſe of the ſame Verſe, that (Vagabond) is therein underſtood for ſuch an one as travelleth in fear of revengement: *For whoſoever findeth me* (ſaith *Cain*) *ſhall ſlay me*; or elſe (Vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and caſt out from the favour of God.

Joſ. l. 1. cap. 3. *Gen 4. 14.* *Gen 4. 16.* 17. *Verſe 23.* 24.

And becauſe theſe *Henochians*, ſo called of the City of *Enoch*, were the firſt ſociety and civil aſſembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of theſe People (either for cruelty, ſtrength, or other actions) lived in memory of *Noah* and his Sons: ſo that after the Floud (as there were of all ſorts of natures, ſome vertuouſly, ſome impiouſly diſpoſed, and every active mind ſetting before it whom to follow or imitate) thoſe People, which delighted in cruelty and oppreſſion, took on them their names whoſe natures they moſt liked and allowed; of whom theſe *Henochians* were not the leaſt. Perchance the place it ſelf, where *Henoch* ſtood before the Floud, and whereof Monuments might remain (as the pillars or foundation of *Joppe* did) gave occaſion to the Planters of that place, to call themſelves by the ſame name: for of thoſe *Henochians* there were many Nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Segdiana*, and *Bactria*; of the ſame name many mountains, as thoſe which are otherwiſe call'd *Coraxici*. And ſeeing that it is hard to find out the truth of theſe things, which the moſt aged Time hath covered over, or defaced, we may (according to the counſel of *Plato*) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith ſatisfie our ſelves, if of ſo great, and almoſt worn-out Antiquity, of the eldeſt Peoples names and nations, there remain any print or footſteps to Poſterity.

Quotidiè aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur: nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova Gentium nomina (extinctis nominibus prioribus) oriuntur. Senec. ad Albinum.

In * *Pliny*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we find thoſe *Henochei*, deſcribed, though diverſly written: as in *Pliny*,

* *Plin. l. 6. c. 9 11. & 16. Mel. l. 1. c. 8. Strab l. 11. Val. Flacc. l. 6. Lucan. l. 3. v. 37.*

Pliny, sometimes *Henochii*; in *Mela*, *Enochii*; in *Flaccus*, *Heniochi*; in *Lucan*, *Eniochi*: All which inhabit upon the Sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of these are on the East side of *Eden*, or (according to *Moses* words) Eastward from *Eden*. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding precise, as sometimes he useth the word East or South without borrowing or addition; at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward, or Southward, or towards the East or South. In the place of *Genesis* the eleventh, he writeth the word (East) simply and directly. *And as they went from the East, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar*; but in this of *Cain*, he addeth the word (towards) as, *in the land of Nod, towards the East-side of Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two, either to the North, or to the South of the East.

Verse 2.

But, as we may conjecture that these Nations took name of *Henoch* the City of *Cain*; or of the Region wherein it stood, when the same was re-peopled after the Floud: so it is probable that these *Henochii* of *Colchis*, and other parts adjoyning, were not the first of that name after the Sons of *Noah* began to fill the World again: because, had this *Henoch* the City of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then been seated North, and not East or Eastward from *Eden*. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For he calleth these of *Colchis* (now, *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Heniochi*; *Ptolemy*, *Zani*; beyond which an hundred & fifty mile Eastward, he findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond these he again discovereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest took beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the mountains of *Paro-panisus*; between them and the great River of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the North side; and these *Henochii* are due East from the Region of *Eden*, and Eastward from the very Garden it self.

Plin l 6. c. 4, 5. Ptol. tab. Asiæ. 3.

And although we cannot be assured that these *Henochii* took name from the memory of the City of *Enoch* directly; yet because they inhabited due East from *Paradise*, and afterwards spread themselves Westward (as all *Noah*'s Sons did that came into *Shinar*) the conjecture is far more probable than that of *Annias* the Frier, who sets *Henoch* in *Phœnicia*, quite contrary to *Moses* word: *Phœnicia* from all parts of *Eden*, being directly West.

And besides these several Nations of the *Henochii*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*, and the same also in the East, with divers mountains about *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, of the same name. Onely the Grecians (according to their fabulous inventions of all things else) out of the word (*Heniochi*) which signifieth Cart or Coach-men, make these Nations to have sprung from the Waggoners of *Castor* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the interprize of *Jason* into *Colchis*. And though I do not deny, but that *Jason*, with other *Greeks*, ranged the coasts of *Asia* the less, in an open Boat or kind of small Gally,* of whom I shall speak in his own time: yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the golden Fleece was for the most part Poetical; and withall, that in such an open Boat, which could hardly carry their own Rowers, being fifty four, there was no place, and less use, of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

Steph. de Urb.

Nat. Comes calleth them Rhœteas. Nat. com. l. 8 c 9. Strab l. 11.

* In the second Book of this first part, Cap. 13. Sect. 5.

§. III.

Of Moses *his omitting sundry things concerning* Cain's *Generation.*

BUt of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the City of *Henoch* in prophane Story, thus much may suffice: Now it followeth to answer some few Objections against certain particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Genesis*: against which, for the first, it is demanded, How it was possible for *Cain* (having no other assistance than his Son *Henoch*) to perform such a Work as the building of a City, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a mass of all sorts of materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of *Cain* (because he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moses* useth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his divine Reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the first Race, which lasted, by the least account, 1656. years, in five short Chapters: Yet thus much may every man borrow of his own weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens lives so long a measure as 800. and 900. years, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leisure and means to build many such Cities as *Henoch*, be the capacity answering to what other of the World soever: for in what Age of *Cain*'s life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whose times, and the times of his issues, *Moses* had the least care. And as it is said of *Cain*, that he built a City: so it was said of *Noah*, that his three Sons peopled all the World; but in both, the process of time required is to be understood: which advice, seeing *Moses* useth where the space less requireth

quireth it, as knowing that he writ the Scriptures to reaſonable men, we may eaſily underſtand, that ſuch was his meaning alſo in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference between the birth of *Abel*, and the oblation of *Cain*, he ſpake it in this ſort, *Fuit autem poſt dies multos*, or *à fine dierum* (that is) in proceſs of time, *it came to paſs that Cain brought an oblation.* And therefore it is in like ſort to be underſtood of *Cain*, that many years foregone, and when his people were increaſed, he built the City of *Enoch* or *Henoch.*

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, ſo of *Solomon*, that he built the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; yet it is well known of *Solomon*, that he imployed in that
1 King. 16. Work 150000. labourers: for this phraſe or ſpeech is common with our ſelves to ſay, the King invaded, when he cauſed an invaſion to be made: and he built, when he commanded ſuch a building. And therefore ſeeing that we find that *Moſes* had no regard to the ages, birth, or death of any of *Cain*'s iſſues, it is not to be marvelled at, why he alſo paſſeth over in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumſtance: for of *Cain*, *Moſes*
Gen. 4. 17. writeth in this manner: *Cain alſo knew his wife, who conceived and bare Henoch, and he built a city, and called the name of the city after the name of his Son Henoch. And to Henoch*
18. *was born Irad, and Irad begat Mehujael, and Mehujael begat Methuſael, and Methuſael Lamech.*

Now, of *Seth*, *Moſes* writeth far other-
Gen. 5. v. 5. wiſe, and in this manner. *And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat Enoch, and Seth lived after he begat Enoch* 807. *years, and begat Sons and Daughters: ſo as all the days of Seth were* 912. *years, and he dyed:* as for the years and times of the wicked, they were not numbred in *Libro viventium*, ſaith *Cyril.* But in *Seth* was the Church of God eſtabliſhed; from whom Chriſt deſcended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and work *Moſes* walked in, and finiſhed it with care, paſſing over the reprobate Generation, (as aforeſaid.) Of the Line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moſes* remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one; and of the Line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* alſo therein, as followeth.

I. ADAM.

2 *Cain.*	7 *Lamech*, who by *Adah* had
3 *Henoch.*	8 *Jubal*, and *Tubal*; and by *Silla*, *Tubal-Cain* and *Noema.*
4 *Irad.*	
5 *Mehujael.*	
6 *Methuſael.*	

I. ADAM.

2 *Seth.*	7 *Henoch.*
3 *Enoſh.*	8 *Methuſalem.*
4 *Cainan.*	9 *Lamech*, and
5 *Mahalecl.*	10 *Noah.*
6 *Jared.*	

Theſe be the Generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Joſephus* giveth unto *Lamech* threeſcore and ſeventeen Sons and daughters, by his two Wives, *Ada* and *Sylla:* and to theſe three Sons of *Lamech*, *Moſes* aſcribeth the invention of Paſtorage, of Muſick, and the working in Metal; for it ſeemeth that *Jubal* firſt gathered together, and made familiar thoſe beaſts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into Herds and Droves: *Tubal* Gen. 4. 20, invented Muſick, and *Tubal-Cain* the work- 21, 22. ing in Braſs and Iron: the one being addicted to Huſbandry, the other was Mechanical, the third given to idleneſs and pleaſure. In whom began theſe three meaner degrees, of Shepherds, Handy-crafts-men, and Muſicians. And in the iſſues of *Seth* began the Services of God, Divinity, Prophecie, and Aſtronomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heavens, the other the Earth.

§. IV.

Of the diverſities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

A Second ſcruple hath been made, How it came to paſs that the Patriarchs begat their children at ſo divers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at ſeventy years, *Mahalecl* and *Enoch* at threeſcore and five years, whereas *Jared* begat not any of his untill he was 162. years old: *Methuſalem* begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. years. Now this difference hath been the more enforced, becauſe it cannot be conjectured, that either *Jared*, *Methuſalem*, or *Lamech* abſtained from Marriage out of the Religion of Abſtinence, ſeeing that *Enoch*, who was tranſlated by God for his ſingular Sanctitie, begat children before he was threeſcore and ten years old.

The apparent difference hereof ariſeth in this, that *Moſes* did not number the Generations before the Floud preciſely, according to the firſt-begotten and eldeſt Sons of the Patriarchs, but he drew down the Line of *Noah* from *Seth.* and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Anceſtours, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldeſt of *Jared*, nor *Lamech* the firſt-born of *Methuſalem*,

thuſalem, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing known to the contrary, but that *Noah* might have had many Sons before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, though theſe three were onely named, and ſurviving, and which by God were reſerved to be the Fathers of mankind after the Floud; and therefore when we find *Mahaleel* to be begotten by *Kenan* at threeſcore and ten years, who was the firſt Son of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Methuſalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. year of his life, the difference ſeemeth ſtrange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldeſt. But *Moſes* rejecteth all the other Sons of *Methuſalem* but *Lamech* onely, becauſe he was the Father of *Noah*, as aforeſaid. Of this Saint *Auguſtine* hath ſomewhat elſe in his twentieth, and one and twentieth Chapters, *De Civitate Dei*.

But as *Moſes* counted the Generations of the firſt Age, and ſo to *Abraham*, and the children of the promiſe after him; ſo doth St. *Matthew* recite the Genealogy of Chriſt, not by the eldeſt Sons, but from thoſe whom God had choſen and bleſſed, without reſpect of the firſt-born, who have hereby the prerogative in Eſtates, worldly and tranſitory only; and therefore the Evangeliſt
Mat. 1. 2. nameth *Iſaac*, and not *Iſmael*, though *Iſmael* were firſt in time: ſo doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Eſau* the elder; neither is Chriſt derived from any of the three eldeſt Patriarchs, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Levi*, but from *Juda* a fourth Brother, and ſo from *David* a younger Son of *Jeſſai*; and laſtly, we find, that the Kingdom it ſelf of *Juda* was not given to the Heir in Nature, but to
1 Kings 2. the Heir of Grace, namely *Solomon*.

§. V.

Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and ſome of late memory.

THe third Objection is, that the great difference of years between thoſe of the firſt Age, whereof ſome of them had well neer ſeen a thouſand years, makes it diſputable, whether the account of times were of the ſame meaſure as in after-Ages, ſeeing that ſoon after the Floud, men lived not a third part of that time; and in ſucceeding Ages, and to this day, not the tenth.

Sc. Hol. hiſt. c. 3. Macrob. Satur. lib. 1. cap. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 48.

They that have hereon reſolved that thoſe years were but Lunary years (to wit) of a moneth or thereabouts, or *Egyptian* years, are eaſily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enoſh* in the year of his life an hundred and five, if thoſe years be taken but for moneths, then had *Seth* lived but eight years and one moneth when he begat *Enoſh*: and if the time of *Enoſh* have the ſame allowance when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enoſh* at that time have been but ſix years and fourty eight weeks old; and ſo it may be gathered of the reſt, excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the trees in their kind, bearing Fruit and Seed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at ſix, ſeven, or eight years, agreeth with the ſhort lives of the *Pigmies*, and not with the conſtitutions of our firſt Fathers, who being deſcended from *Adam*, the workmanſhip of Gods hands, and begotten and born in the ſtrong youth of the World, had length of daies, and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary years, then there would follow this extremity, that thoſe which lived longeſt, and upwards of nine hundred years, had by that account but the time of fourſcore and ten and odd years; which were not only leſs by far then the Patriarchs lived after the Floud, but ſhort of many mens lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourſcore, and ſome an hundred years. Further (if need be) to diſprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen.* 25. That *Abraham* died in a good Age, an old man, and of great years: all which (if the former accompt were of Lunary years) makes but ſeventeen and an half of our years.

And if we ſeek for a cauſe of this long life in Nature, then is it reaſonable, that the firſt man, created in higheſt perfection, ſhould alſo beget children of equal ſtrength or little differing: for of the firſt and pureſt ſeed there muſt of neceſſity ſpring up the faireſt and fruitfulleſt plants. Secondly, the Earth it ſelf was then much leſs corrupt; which yielded her increaſe, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any ſuch mixture of harmful quality, as ſince that time the curſe of God, for the cruelty of mans heart, brought on it and mankind: Neither had the waters of the Floud infuſed ſuch an impurity, as thereby the natural and powerful operation of all Plants, Herbs, and Fruits upon the Earth received a qualification and harmful change. And as all things under the Sun have one time of ſtrength, and another of weakneſs, a youth and beauty, and then age and deformity: ſo Time it ſelf (under the deathful ſhade of whoſe wings all things decay and wither) hath waſted and worn out that lively virtue of Nature in Man, and Beaſts, and Plants; yea the Heavens themſelves, being of a moſt pure and *Pſal. 102.* cleanſed matter, ſhall wax old as a garment; *v. 26.*

and

and then much more the power generative in inferiour Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receive operative Virtue from the ſuperiour.

But beſides the old Age of the World, how far doth our education and ſimplicity of living differ from that old time? The tender bringing up of Children, firſt fed and nouriſhed with the Milk of a ſtrange Dugge; an unnatural curioſity having taught all Women (but the Beggar) to find out Nurſes, which neceſſity only ought to commend unto them: The haſty Marriages in tender years, wherein, Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her ſelf hath not yet any root ſufficient to maintain her own top; and ſuch half-ripe ſeeds (for the moſt part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and wax old even in their Infancy. But above all things, the exceeding luxurioufneſs of this gluttonous age, wherein we preſs Nature with over-weighty burthens, and finding her ſtrength defective, we take the work out of her hands, and commit it to the artificial help of ſtrong Waters, hot Spices, and provoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath theſe elegant Verſes:

Pharſal 4. —— *O Prodiga rerum*
Luxuries, nunquam parvo contenta paratu;
Et quæſitorum terra pelagoque ciborum
Ambitioſa fames, & lautæ gloria menſæ,
Diſcite quàm parvo liceat producere vitam:
Et quantum natura petat.
Non auro myrrhâque bibunt: ſed gurgite puro
Vita redit: ſatis eſt populis, fluvinſque, Cereſque.

O waſtfull Riot never well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and ſent;
Vain-glory of a Table ſumptuous,
Learn with how little life may be preſerved.
In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to carouſe,
But with the Brook the peoples thirſt is ſerved;
Who fed with Bread and Water are not ſterved.

Pier. Hierog. l. 2. The Egyptians affirm, that the longeſt time of man's life is an hundred years, becauſe the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to ſtrength fifty years, and afterwards by the ſame degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philoſophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty years, and *Beroſus* to an hundred and ſeventeen years. Theſe opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproveth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the laſt taxation, number, and review of the eighth Region of *Italy*, there were found in the Roll (ſaith *Pliny*) four and fifty perſons of an hundred years of age: ſeven and fifty of an hundred and ten: two of an hundred and five and twenty: four of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred and five and thirty, or an hundred and ſeven and thirty years old: and laſt of all, three men of an hundred and fourty: and this ſearch was made in the times of *Veſpatian* the Father, and the Son. *Plin. l. 7. c. 49.*

The ſimple diet and temperate life of the *Eſſæans*, gave them long account of many years: ſo did it to the Secretaries of *Egyptian* Ceremonies, to the *Perſian* Magicians, and *Indian* Brachmans. The *Greeks* affirm out of *Homer*, that *Neſtor* lived three Ages, and *Tireſias* ſix, *Sybilla* three hundred years, *Endymion* of the leſs *Aſia*, little leſs: Alſo *Maſaniſſa* of *Numidia* lived very long, and *Dando* of *Illyria*. Among the Kings of *Arcadia* many lived three hundred years (ſaith *Ephorus*.) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that ſome of them lived full two hundred years; and ſo doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*: and that theſe reports are not fabulous, *Joſephus* bringeth many witneſſes with himſelf; as *Marethon*, *Beroſus*, *Mochus*, *Eſtius*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius Hecataus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume*, an Hiſtorian of good reputation reporteth, that in the year 1570. there was an *Indian* preſented to *Solyman*, General of the *Turks* Army, who had out-lived three hundred years. I my ſelf knew the old Counteſs of *Deſmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munſter*, who lived in the year 1589. and many years ſince, who was married in *Edward* the Fourth's time, and held her joynture from all the Earls of *Deſmond* ſince then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Munſter* can witneſs: *Strozzius Sicogna*, out of *Torquemada*, *Maffæus*, and the like Authours, telleth of ſome that have not onely farr exceeded the term preſcribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered eſtate of decrepit age to freſh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference between the ability of men in thoſe days wherein *Galen* the Phyſician lived, it may eaſily prove unto us, what Reeds we are in reſpect of thoſe Cedars of the firſt Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let Bloud ſix pound weight, whereas we (for the moſt part) ſtop at ſix ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Conſtellations) which are the natural cauſes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) ſtrong

Joſ. ant. l. 13 c. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 48.

Parents,

Parents, a pure and thin ayr, and temperate use of diet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long upright; on Ayr we feed alwaies and in every instant, and on meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppress and overcharge Nature, maketh her to sink unawares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure Ayr, and a temperate use of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

§. VI.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledg by Tradition: and that Enoch *writ before the Floud.*

A Fourth scruple hath been made, How the certain knowledg of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any such had been, yet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the Universal Floud.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder Ages, we shall find, that knowledg was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also covered and hid from the vulgar sort, as Jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreverent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in Nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wise men to a posterity equally Zealous; *Ex animo in animum sine literis, medio intercedente verbo: From mind to mind without Letters, by way of Tradition or word of mouth.* And it was thought by *Esdras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius* (as *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moses* did not only upon the Mount receive the Law from God, but withal, *secretiorem & veram legis enarrationem; a more secret and true explanation of the Law*; which (saith he, out of the same Authors,) he delivered by mouth to *Joshua*, and *Joshua* to the Elders: for, to teach these mysteries, which he called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quàm dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere Margaritas; then to give holy things to Dogs, and to cast Pearls before Swine.* In succeeding times this understanding and wisdom began to be written in Ciphers and Characters, and Letters bearing the form of Beasts, Birds, and other creatures; and to be taught only to such as served in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the *Jews* was an imitation: the invention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falsely.

Dion. Arcop.

Fol. 18.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, received by tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *Receptio* in Latine, and a *Receiving* in English. And this custome was also held by the *Druids* and *Bards* of our antient *Brittains*, and of latter times by the *Irish* Chroniclers called Rimers. If then such as would seem wisest in the use of reason, will not acknowledg, that the story of the Creation or beginning of all things, was written by inspiration, the Holy-Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledg thereof might by Tradition (then used) be delivered unto him by a more certain presumption, then any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preserved and left to their successors: which their wise men (as they terme them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leaving to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth his* children and successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* lived together with *Adam* himself two hundred fourty and three years, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no less then five hundred years: and before *Noah* died, *Abraham* was fifty and eight years old: from whence this knowledg by an easie and ordinary way might come to *Israel*, and so to *Moses*.

Cabala est scientia Theologiæ non revelata. P. M. 83. Mirm. 110. fol.

But besides this Tradition, it is questionless, that the use of Letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by those Prophecies written on Pillars of Stone and Brick by *Enoch*: of which *Josephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained even in his time (meaning belike some ruin or foundation thereof) which Pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these Prophecies of *Enoch*, St. *Jude* testifieth; and some part of his Books (which contained the course of the Stars, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia fœlix*, in the Dominion of the Queen of *Saba* (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth, that he had seen, and read some whole Pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledg of the Creation, and story of the first Age, seeing he might receive it both by Tradition and Letter, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange Miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Jos. l. 1.

Jude Ep. v. 14.

Origen Homil. 1. in Num.

Now for the Books of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make mention of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*,

Origen. Hom. 28. in Num & comment in Evang. Johan.

pius, *Gazeus* (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to prove them unwritten Traditions, alledgeth that Pope *Gelaſius* among other the Apocryphal Scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not theſe of *Enoch*; but that whatſoever was remembred out of them, the ſame was delivered by Tradition from the *Jews*. But I rather think with *Pererius*, that ſuch a Book there was, and that the ſame was corrupted after the death of the Apoſtles, and many things added thereunto by Hereticks, who took occaſion upon the antiquity thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Devil about the body of *Moſes*, to frame and add thereunto many inventions of their own. One of the greateſt arguments againſt theſe Books, is, that neither *Philo* nor *Joſephus* (the moſt diligent ſearchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But againſt it I will ſet this opinion of St. *Auguſtine*, *Scripſiſſe quidem nonnulla divina* Enoch, *illum ſeptimum ab* Adam, *negare non poſſumus: That* Enoch *the ſeventh from* Adam, *did write divers divine things, we cannot deny.* Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were ſuſpected becauſe of the antiquity, and of fables of Giants, ſuppoſed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by ſo much the more, becauſe no ſuch Book was found amongſt thoſe Canonical Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Prieſts in *Armario Judaico* (ſaith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth, that this Book might be preſerved by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the Propheſies remembred by *Jude*, no man can deny; how they were delivered to poſterity, I know not; whether by the *Jews Cabala*, or by what other means, the ſame is but mans conjecture. And (certainly) by the knowledg aſcribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the Stars; and afterwards to ſome of his Sons, to *Zoroaſter*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had ſeen and might preſerve this book. For it is not likely, that ſo exquiſite knowledg therein (as theſe men had) was ſuddenly invented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath been ſaid before. And therefore if Letters and Arts were known from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methuſalem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*; it is not ſtrange (I ſay) to conceive how *Moſes* came to the knowledg of the firſt Age, be it by Letters, or by *Cabala* and Tradition, had the undoubted Word of God need of any other proof then ſelf-authority.

Gel. ad. diſt. 15.

Tert. de habit. mulierum.

Heb. 11. 15.

§. VII.

Of the men of renown before the Floud.

NOw let us conſider the relation of *Moſes*, who nameth ſeven deſcents of *Cains* children: and of *Adam* by *Seth*, ten; *Seth* being given by God in ſtead of *Abel*: And of *Seth* was *Enoſh* begotten, in whoſe time men began to profeſs Religion, and to offer ſacrifice in publick. For although *Adam* inſtructed his Children in the knowledg of God their Creator, as appeared by the Sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it ſeemeth that after the death of *Enoſh*, men began publickly to call on the Name of the Lord, that is, they ſerved and praiſed God by Communion and in publick manner, or calling upon the Name of the Lord; and thereby were the Sons of God, or the Godly, diſtinguiſhed from the wicked. From the birth of *Enoſh* the Son of *Seth*, to the time of *Henoch* the Son of *Jared*, there is nothing remembred by *Moſes*, but their owne births, the birth of their Sons, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of *Henoch* it is written: *That he walked with God, and he was no more ſeen:* for God took him away. By that, *that he walked before God*, was meant, that he was a juſt and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obeyed God. For the ſame phraſe *Moſes* uſeth of *Noah*; Noah *was a juſt and upright man in his time*, *and* Noah *walked with God.* The Seventy convert it, *Enoch placuit Deo*; Enoch *pleaſed God.* And although *Aben-Ezra*, and others, underſtand this place, (*tulit eum Deus*) *ſcilicet, mortuus eſt*; *God took him away*, (*that is*) *he dyed*, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phraſe of the Scripture, and with our manner of ſpeech to this day, to ſay, God took him away when he died; yet the difference which *Moſes* maketh between the piety of *Henoch*, and the reſt of the Patriarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he uſeth to all elſe, makes it manifeſt, that *Henoch* was not diſſolved as the reſt. For to all the reſt of the Patriarchs, *Moſes* uſeth theſe words, *And he dyed*; but of *Henoch* he ſpake otherwiſe, ſaying only, *He was miſſing*, or, *he was not ſeen. Et non inveniebatur* (ſaith the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*) *quia Deus eum tranſtulit*; *And he was not found, for the Lord took him away.* In the ſame place it is expreſly added, *that he ſaw not death.*

Gen. 5. 24.

V. 1.

But whether this taking away of *Henoch* were not with the ſame kind of changing which St. *Paul* promiſeth, when he ſaith, that, *when the end ſhall come, we ſhall not all die, but*

1 Cor. 15. 51.

but all shall be changed, I leave it to the learned Divines.

After *Enoch*, *Moses* passeth over to *Methusalem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: saving that *Lamech* propheſied of his Son *Noah*,

Gen. 5. 29. saying, *This same shall comfort us concerning our work, and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed.* Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply than of any of the rest of *Adams* children by *Seth*, being the last

Gen. 6. 9. of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Family) preserved, because he was an upright man in his time, and feared God.

But of the war, peace, government, and policy of those strong and mighty men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whose stories, if they had been preserved, and what else was then performed in that newness of the world, there could nothing of more delight have been left to Posterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their strength of body and natural wits, had the experience added of 800. and 900. years) how much of necessity must the same adde of wisdom and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatsoever can be told of aftertimes, especially in respect of this old age of the world, when we no sooner begin to know, but we

Aphor. 1. begin to die; according to *Hippocrates: Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus præceps*; (which is) *Life is short, art is long, time is headlong.* And that those people of the first Age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*; *These*

Gen. 6. 4. *were mighty men, which in old time were men of renown.* But these men of renown (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body, and cruelty of mind) trusted so much to their own abilities, as they forgat altogether the piety of *Seth*, and the ways wherein *Henoch* walked: *for all the imagi-*

Verse 5. *nations of their hearts were evil, onely evil and continually evil.* And this wickedness was not onely found in the issues of *Cain*, but it was then universal, when the children and Sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and mis-led by their Idolatrous Wives, the Daughters of *Cain*, or of those other men, loving themselves and the world onely.

Gen. 6. 5. That these *Sons of God* were Angels, which being taken with the beauty of women, accompanied them, and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed; namely, *Lactantius*, and *Eusebius*, mis-led by *Josephus*: of whom I can not doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themselves with large answers, and very needless: the question being uncapable of dispute, especially since S. *Chrysostom* and S. *Augustine* have answered it largely long ago. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appear in Scripture; and on the contrary, to think that Angels, who (as Christ witnesseth) behold the face of God, (that is) always attend his commandments, should after a separation from the rest which fell with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creatour, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madness to imagine.

§. VIII.

That the Giants, by Moses *so called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as also, divers in later times.*

OF these Giants which *Moses* calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antuerpian* (who thought his own wit more Gigantical than the bodies of *Nimrod*, or *Hercules*) hath written a large Discourse, intituled, *Gigantomachia*; and strained his brains to prove, that there were never any such men: his reasons (whosoever desires to lose time) he may find them in the Treatises before named. It is true, that *Cyrillus* reproves the *Grecian* Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirm shamelessly, That the Giants have in elder times, not onely cast up Mountains upon Mountains, but removed Islands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of casting up Hills, and making War with the gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the Story of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and even out of this Scripture. That *the Sons of God saw the Daughters of Men*, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit, taken from *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*, That Giants were the Sons of the Heaven and the Earth; meaning by the Heavens the *Sons of God*, and by the Earth, the *Daughters of Men*: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *John Cassam* (who hath written a very witty Discourse of this Subject) thus changed into Latine:

Nomine cœlestes illos dixêre Gigantes,
Orti quòd terrâ fuerint & sanguine cœli.

From th' Earth, and from thy bloud, O heaven, they came,
Whom thereupon the gods did Giants name.

But

But what will not Opiniators, and ſelf-believing men diſpute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the firſt Age ſuch kind of men; and of which there have been in all times ſince; ſeeing the Scriptures avow the one manifeſtly, and common experience the other?

And for that ſuperlative ſtraining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to Oppreſſors and Tyrants, and not to ſtrength of body, and eminent ſtature: ſuch men might with better reaſon call them Oppreſſors, becauſe they were Giants; and therefore had ability to oppreſs, than ſay, That they were called Giants onely, becauſe Oppreſſours. For firſt, *Moſes* himſelf calleth them mighty men; which ſheweth a ſtrength ſurpaſſing others: and afterwards men of renown (that is) of great undertaking and adventurous actions. And if the ſame ſtature of body, and ability, had not been found among divers Nations after the general Floud, then might this place of *Moſes* have more willingly hearkened to a diſpute, and yielded to interpretation.

But beſides all theſe famous Giants found in prophane Hiſtories (which I will reſerve to accompany the Giants of *Albion*, in the Story of *Britany*) the Scriptures do cleerly, and without all Allegorical conſtruction, avow, That beſides *Nimrod*, there were found of theſe Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moſes*, of *Joſuah*, and of *David*; namely, the *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth*; the *Zuzæi*, or *Zanzummims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims* which dwelt anciently in the Land of *Moab*; whom *Moſes* (for ſtature) compareth with the *Anakims* which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they alſo were taken for Giants as the *Anakims*. Likewiſe where *Moſes* ſpeaketh of the Land of *Ammon*, he uſeth theſe words: *That alſo was taken for a Land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-times: and, whom the* Ammonites *call* Zanzummims; *a people that was great, and many, and tall as the* Anakims. And theſe Giants called *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth* and *Karnaim*, and the *Zuzæi* or *Zanzummims*, *Chederlaomer*, King of *Elam*, overthrew, aſſiſted by other Kings his aſſociates. Alſo the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Ammonites*, men of Giant-like ſtature, whom he compareth to the Cedar, and whoſe ſtrength to the Oaks: and the Prophet *Baruch*, *Theſe were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of ſo great ſtature, and ſo expert in warr.* Particularly, it is written of *Og* King of *Baſan*, that his bed of Iron was nine Cubits long, and four Cubits broad: for onely *Og* King of *Baſan* remained of the remnant of the Giants who commanded the Kingdom of *Baſan* four hundred years after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover, thoſe Diſcoverers and Searchers of the Land of Promiſe (ſent by *Moſes* from *Cadesbarne* in *Paran*) made report at their return of the great ſtature of thoſe people in general, and eſpecially of the Sons of *Anak*, in theſe words: *All the people which we ſaw in it, are men of great ſtature: for there we ſaw Giants, the Sons of* Anak, *which come of the Giants, ſo that we ſeemed in our ſight, like Graſhoppers, and ſo we were in their ſight* (that is) the Searchers found in their own judgments a marvellous difference between the *Anakims* and themſelves: inſomuch that the *Iſraelites* were ſo ſtricken with fear, as they rather ſought, and deſired, to return again into *Egypt*, and were more willing to endure their former ſlavery, than to fall by the ſtrokes of thoſe fearfull Nations. Furthermore, the Scriptures put us out of doubt, that *Goliah* the *Philiſtine* of *Gath*, was a Giant of ſix Cubits and a ſpan long: the Armour which he wore, weighed five thouſand ſhekels of Braſs: the ſhaft of his ſpear was like a Weavers beam, and his ſpear head weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of Iron. Alſo in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliah*, ſurnamed *Getheus*, becauſe he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants; of which the firſt was ſlain by *Jonathan*, *David*'s Nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great ſtature, and his fingers were by ſixes, even four and twenty.

Alſo that *Sampſon* was of ſurpaſſing ſtrength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had been a Kid, and after ſlew thirty of the *Philiſtines*, and (after that) a thouſand more of them with a Jaw-bone of an Aſs: And laſtly, he took the gates of *Azzah*, and the two poſts, and lifted them away with the barrs, and put them upon his ſhoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountain before *Ebron*. If then it be approved by every judgment, that both Nature, and the Heavens wax old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it ſelf) infeebled and almoſt worn out the virtue of all things, then, I ſay, That as in all other kinds the Earth (before that Sin had increaſed the curſe and corruption) brought forth her young ones more ſtrong and beautifull, than it did in after ages: ſo alſo thoſe Giants, thoſe mighty men, and men of renown, as far exceeded the proportion, nature, and ſtrength of thoſe Giants, remembred by *Moſes* of his own time, and after him their ſucceſſors, as the ordinary proportion of men in general, ſoon after the Floud, and in times far off, exceeded the bulks and bodies of men which are now born, in the withered

Gen 14. 5. Numb. 13. 34. Deut 2. v. 19. 20. Verſ. 21. Amos 1. Bar. 3. v. 26. Deut. 3. v. 11. Numb. 13. v. 34. Cap. 14. 4. 1 Sam. 17. v. 4. 2 Sam 21. v. 19. 1 Chron. 20. 7. Jud. 14. 6. 14. 19. 16. 3.

quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth Age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newness of the World.

But the wickedness (especially in cruelty and oppression) of these men was such, as God therefore by the Floud, gave end to all flesh, but to the just *Noah* and his Family. *And God repented him that he had made man:* which Saint *Augustine* thus expoundeth; *Neque enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui pœnitet, cujus est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa præscientia. Sed si non utatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiarius insinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: ut & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & alat intelligentes; God* (saith he) *doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done (as men use to do) but if the Scripture did not use those words, or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it self familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, stir up the negligent, exercise the searchers of the truth, and nourish those that understand.*

Gen. 6. 6. De Civit. Dei. l. 15. c. 15.

CHAP. VI.

Of Idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the World; and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient Times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

§. I.

That in old Corruptions, we may find some signs of more ancient Truth.

HEre, before we proceed any further, the occasion offereth it self for us to consider how the *Greeks*, and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the Story of the Creation, and by delivering it over in a mystical sence, wrapping it up mixed with other their own trumpery, have sought to obscure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those inter-mixed Discourses of God and Nature, for the inventions of Poets and Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stoln out of the Books of God. But, as a skilfull and learned Chymist can as well by separation of visible elements draw helpfull Medicines out of poison, as poison out of the most healthfull Herbs and Plants (all things having in themselves both life and death) so, contrary to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those that seek after God and Truth, find out every where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Story of the first Age, with all the works and marvels thereof, amply and lively expresst.

§. II.

That the Corruptions themselves were very ancient, as in the Family of Noah, *and in the old* Egyptians.

BUt this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in men (the one having erred but once, the other ever) as concerning Man-kind, it took such effect, that thereby (the liberal Grace of God being withdrawn) all the posterity of our first Parents were afterwards born and bred in a world, suffring a perpetual Eclipse of spiritual light. Hence it was that it produced Plants of such imperfection and harmfull quality, as the waters of the general floud could not so wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of man-kind. Yea, even among the few Sons of *Noah*, there were found strong effects of the former poison. For as the children of *Shem* did inherit the virtues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; so the Sons of *Cham* did possess the vices of the Sons of *Cain*, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the *Chaldæans* began, soon after the Floud, to ascribe divine power and honour to the Creature, which was onely due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sun, and then the Fire. So the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*

Phœnicians did not onely learn to leave the true God, but created twelve ſeveral Gods, and divine powers, whom they worſhipped, and unto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Herodotus* ſaith, *Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Ægyptios in uſu habuiſſe, atque Græcos ab illis cepiſſe mutuatos, eoſque prius Aras, & Imagines, & Templa Diis, ſibi erexiſſe*; *The Egyptians* (ſaith he) *firſt deviſed the names of the twelve gods, which the* Greeks *received from them, who firſt erected unto themſelves Altars, Images, and Temples, for the gods.*

Herod. in Euterpe.

§. III.

That in proceſs of time, theſe leſſer errours drew on greater: as appeareth in the groſs Superſtitions of the Egyptians.

BUt as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, do then after wander for evermore in vices unknown, and daily travel towards their eternal perdition: ſo did theſe groſs and blind Idolaters, every Age after other, deſcend lower and lower, and ſhrink and ſlide downwards from the knowledg of one true and very God; and did not thereby erre in worſhipping mortal men onely, but they gave divine reverence, and had the ſame reſpect to Beaſts, Birds, Fiſhes, Fowls, Winds, Earth, Water, Ayr, Fire, to the Morning, to the Evening, to Plants, Trees, and Roots, to Paſſions and Affections of the Mind, to Paleneſs, Sickneſs, Sorrows, yea, to the moſt unworthy and baſeſt of all theſe. Which barbarous blaſphemy, *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner:

Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7.

Bovem colis, ego Deis macto bovem.
Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obſoniorum credidi ſuaviſſimum.
Carnes ſuillas tu caves, at gaudeo
His maximè: canem colis, quem verbero
Edentem ubi deprehendo fortè obſonium.

I ſacrifice to god the Beef which you adore.
I broyl th'*Egyptian* Eeles, which you (as god) implore:
You fear to eat the fleſh of Swine; I find it ſweet.
You worſhip Dogs; to beat them I think meet,
When they my ſtore devour.

And in this manner *Juvenal.*

Porrum, aut cæpe, nefas violare aut frangere morſu:
O ſanctas gentes, quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis
Numina!

The *Egyptians* think it ſin to root up, or to bite
Their Leeks or Onyons, which they ſerve with holy rite:
O happy Nations, which of their own ſowing
Have ſtore of gods in every Garden growing!

§. IV.

That from the relicks of Ancient Records among the Egyptians *and others, the firſt Idols and Fables were invented: and the firſt* Jupiter *was* Cain, Vulcan, Tubal-Cain, *&c.*

BUt in ſo great a confuſion of vanities, where among the Heathens themſelves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of theſe inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient pattern they erected their building, were it not certain that the *Egyptians* had knowledge of the firſt Age, and of whatſoever was done therein, partly from ſome inſcriptions upon ſtone or metal remaining after the Floud; and partly from *Mizraim* the Son of *Cham*, who had learn'd the ſame of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his Father *Noah*: for, all that the *Egyptians* write of their ancient Kings, and date of times, cannot be fained: and though other Nations after them had by imitation their *Jupiters* alſo, their *Saturns*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries*, with the reſt, which S. *Auguſtine* out of *Varro*, *Euſebius* out of many prophane Hiſtories; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more have obſerved, to wit, the *Phœnicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretians*, *Greeks*, and other Nations; yet was *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*, (as ſome very learned men conceive) called and reputed for the firſt and ancient *Jupiter*; and *Adam* for the firſt *Saturn*: for *Jupiter* was ſaid to have invented the founding of Cities; and the firſt City of the World was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Henochii*, before remembred. And ſo much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which alſo *Hyginus* in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For beſides that many Cities were founded by divers men; *Tamen primam latiſſimam à primo & antiquiſſimo* Jove *ædificatam: yet the firſt and largeſt was built by the firſt and moſt ancient* Jupiter, ſeated in the Eaſt parts, or in *India*, according to that of *Moſes*: *And* Cain *dwelt towards the Eaſt ſide of* Eden, *&c.* where alſo the *Henochii* were found after the Floud. And therefore was *Jupiter* by the *Athenians* called *Polieus*,

Aug. l. 19. c. 22. De Civit. Dei. Euſeb. l. 1. de Prap. Evang. c. 7. & l. 2. c. 13. Cic. l. 2. de nat. Deorum. Arnob. 4. contra Gent.

Gen. 4. 16.

a Founder of Cities, and *Herceios*, an Inclo-
Phorn l de Natura Deorum. Pausan l 4. 5. & 10. in Prolago. ser, or strengthener of Cities (say *Phornutus* and *Pausanias*;) and that to *Jupiter Herceios*, there were in very many places Altars and Temples erected. And, that there were Cities built before the Floud, *Plato* also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that, soon after mankind began to increase, they built many Cities; which, as his meaning, he delivereth in plain terms, in his third Book of Laws: for he saith, that Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great Floud.

This first *Jupiter* of the *Ethnicks* was then the same *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*, who marrying his own Sister (as also *Jupiter* is said to have done) inhabited the East, where *Stephanus de Vrbibus* placeth the City *Henochia*.
Gen. 4: 16, 17, 21, 22. And besides this City of *Henoch*, *Philo Judæus* conceiveth that *Cain* built six others, as *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tebe*, *Jesca*, *Selet*, and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this, I know not. Now, as *Cain* was the first *Jupiter*, and from whom also the *Ethnicks* had the invention of Sacrifice: so were *Jubal*, *Tubal* and *Tubal-Cain* (inventors of Pastorage, Smith-craft, and Musick) the same which were called by the ancient prophane Writers, *Mercurius*, *Vulcan*, *Lact. l. 4. c. 17.* and *Apollo*. And as there is a likelihood of name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*: so doth *Augustine* expound the name of *Noema*, or *Naamath*, the Sister of *Tubalcain*, to signifie *Venusta*, or beautifull, *Voluptas*, or pleasure; as the Wife of *Vulcan* is said to be *Venus*, the Lady of pleasure and beauty. And as *Adam* was the ancient and first *Saturne*; *Cain*, the eldest *Jupiter*; *Eva*, *Rhea*, and *Nomea*, or *Naamath* the first *Venus*: so did the Fable of the dividing of the World between the three Brethren, the Sons of *Saturne*, arise from the true Story of the dividing of the Earth between the three Brethren the Sons of *Noah*: so also was the fiction of those golden Apples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent which tempted *Evah*: so was *Paradise* it self transported out of *Asia* into *Africa*, and made the Garden of the *Hesperides*: the Prophecies, that *Christ* should break the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occasioned the Fables of *Hercules* killing the Serpent of *Hesperides*, and descending into Hell, and captivating *Cerberus*: so out of the taking up of *Henoch* by God, was borrowed the conversion of their *Heroes* (the inventors of Religion, and such Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Stars, and heavenly Signes, and (withall) that leaving of the World, and ascention of *Astræa*: of which *Ovid*;

Ouid. Met. l. 1. *Vltima cœlestum terras Astræa reliquit.*
Astræa last of heavenly Wights the Earth did leave.

For although thereby the *Ethnicks* would understand Justice it self to have failed, as *Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 2.* it is a vertue abstract, and may be considered without a person; yet, as it is usual among the ancient Poets to describe Vertues and Vices by the persons of men and women, as Desire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beauty or Lust by *Venus*; so do they also the persons of men by like Vertues and Vices: and therefore by Justice and *Astræa*, *Enoch*; the justice and piety of *Enoch*, being in the same manner expresst, as that of *Noah* was by *Moses*: for *Noah* *Gen. 7.* was said to be a just man; *And Noah walked* *Gen. 5. 22. 24.* *with God*. And of *Enoch* it is written, *That he walked with God, and he was no more seen: for God took him away*.

From this Story also of the first Age, and from that part where *Moses* remembreth the Giants begotten by the Sons of good men upon the Daughters of the wicked (whom *Moses* calleth mighty men, and men of renown) did they steal those wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and again, their Warr undertaken against the Gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as S. *Augustine* termeth him. Which war of their *Lib. de ci. vit. Dei.* Giants, *Cornelius Severus* thus describeth.

Tentavere (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captivique Jovis transferre Gigantes
Imperium, & victo leges imponere cœlo.

The Giants did advance their wicked hand
Against the Stars, to thrust them headlong down;
And robbing *Jove* of his Imperial Crown,
On conquer'd Heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purposed to raise the building of *Babel* to that *Joseph. l. 1. contra Appian.* height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deep, nor by any conjunction of the Stars, should bury them under the moisture of a second Floud, but that by this building (if they had been herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heaven it self. Also the making of leagues, peace and covenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by Sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Æneids* hath a touch, was (as it seemeth) borrowed from *Moses*, *Exod.* 24. who, when he read the Book of the Covenant, sprinkled the people with bloud.

We find also many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternal Ancestor of *Henoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the same King of *Egypt* which reigned at such time as *Moses* carried thence the

the children of *Israel* (as of late some learned men, mistaking his time, supposed) called his Son and Successour *Setho*, of *Seth*: and of the same *Seth* (as many men of good judgment have granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*, called *Senthes*, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memory of *Seth* most manifestly preserved, that the *Egyptians* worshipped *Seth*, as their most antient Parent, and of the first Tradition: in honour of whom they called a principal Province *Setheitica*. We also find in *Bithynia* the City of *Sethia*, and others of the same name elsewhere. And sure, from the *Egyptians* did the Grecians borrow this kind of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledg any antiquity preceding their own: and that they might not seem to learn elsewhere, they gave the same names to their own Idols, which the *Egyptians* did to theirs.

Plut. in Iside.

Strab. l. 17.

§. V.

Of the three chiefest Jupiters, *and the strange story of the third.*

BUt of all those Armies of *Jupiters*, remembred by the Antients, *Cicero* maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers have also done, who sought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was *Jupiter*, the Son of *Aether* and *Dies*, so called because the one had reference to his Celestial conditions (for *æther* is as much as *shining* or pure *fire*:) the other discovered his natural virtues, which daies and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to be the Son of *Cælum* or Heaven, for the same former respect; and this *Jupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The third, of whom all the *Grecian* fables were devised, was of *Crete* (now *Candie*,) the Son of *Saturn* and *Ops*. The name derived from the Latine is taken of *Juvans pater*, from the Greek word *Zeus*; it signifieth life, but somewhat strained. *Boccas* in his Genealogie of the Gods, conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the Planet; but whether that Star had such a name before the same was given to men, I know not. *Jupiter* is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, adventurous, liberal, merciful, loving, and faithful (that is) giving these inclinations. And therefore those antient Kings beautified with these conditions, might be called thereafter *Jupiter*: but howsoever they were, or were not with those virtues inriched, yet by imitation, all Kings in the eldest times assumed those Titles and Sirnames: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world (howsoever deserved) as the worthiest that ever were, acquired by their well-deservings. *Joves omnes Reges vocârunt antiqui*, *The antients called all Kings Jupiters*, as *Tzetzes* in his *varia historia* confirmeth; *Reges olim* Joves *vocârunt omnes*; *In old times all Nations call'd their Kings Jupiters*. But where this last and most remembred *Jupiter* was born, it is uncertain. Some there are, that make him of *Crete*: others that he was but sent thither by his Mother *Ops*, or *Opis*, to be fostered and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his Uncle: becaus it was conditioned between *Saturn* and *Titan*, that *Saturn* being a younger Brother, and reigning (for his own life) by *Titans* permission, he should put to death all his male children, lest the *Titans* might be interrupted by any one of them in their succession; which agreement, because *Saturn* performed in his first born, it is feigned that *Saturn* devoured his own children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine:

Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7.

Haud sit pinguior,
Crudis sepulchrum quòd sit ipse filiis.

Saturne to be the father is not known,
By being the grave and burial of his own.

This composition between *Titan* and *Saturn*, *Sybilla* also witnesseth in these words;

Conceptis verbis, Titan *jurare coëgit*
Saturnum, *de se natum ne nutriat ullum,*
Quò possint regnare, senis post fata, Nepotes.

Things thus agreed; *Titan* made *Saturn* swear
No Son to nourish, which by reigning might
Usurp the right of *Titans* lawful heir.

But *Opis* the Mother of *Jupiter*, being delivered at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno* conveyed *Jupiter* (first called *Lysanias*) into *Crete*, as she did afterwards his two Brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought up in *Gnossus*, the chief City of that Island, by *Cresta* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a people and nation thereof.

Euseb. in Temp.

Others challenge him to be of *Thebes* and a *Thebane*: others call him an *Arcadian*: others make him of *Messena*. The like contention is found among the Greeks touching his education and first fostering. Some affirm that he was fed by Hony-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their black coats and

and ſkins into yellow; a reward well fitting ſuch a God; others, that he was nouriſhed by Bears: others, by Goats: and of all theſe the idle Greeks have many pretty tales. But in the end, when *Titan* had knowledg that *Saturn* had broken his faith, he ſet on him, and took him and his wife priſoners, whom *Jupiter* again reſcued and delivered.

But laſtly, the Father and the Son equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturn* being the leſs powerful, fled into *Italy*, and left his Kingdom in *Greece* to his Son. And although this Prince at the firſt purchaſed great honour, and for his many virtues, the name of *Jupiter* was given him: yet after he was once ſetled, and became potent, he gave himſelf over wholly to palliardize and adultery, without all reſpect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by ſuch as do aſcribe the actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith ſatisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the ſin of *Sodom* with *Ganimedes* and others: and did not only begin with inceſt, marrying his owne Siſter *Juno*, but he raviſhed, betrayed, ſtole away, and took by ſtrong hand all the beautiful women born in his time, within the limits of his own Kingdoms, or bordering them. Among whom theſe hereafter written were of greateſt fame; *Niobe*, *Laodamia*, and *Alcmena*, the Wife of *Amphytrion*, by whom he had *Pelaſgus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the Mountain *Taygetus* took name; with another Son called *Saon*, of whom *Savonas*; by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Læda*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, *Hellen* and *Clytemneſtra*: by *Danae*, *Perſeus*; by *Jordana*, *Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*: by *Protogenia*, he had *Athlius* the Father of *Endymion*: and by *Iö* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus*, married *Libya*, of whom that Country took name, for ſo the Greeks afterward called *Africa*. He raviſhed *Aegina* the Daughter of *Aeſopus*, and carried her into the Iſland *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom he begat *Aeacus*: by *Torrhebia* he had *Archeſilaus* and *Carbius*: by *Ora*, *Colaxes*: he had alſo *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilium* or *Troy*. He begat the Brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*; and on *Garamantis*, *Hiarbas*. He had beſides theſe (if they bely not their chief God) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, inventers of the Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be father to all theſe, who were born in Ages ſo far differing. And of theſe his ſeveral raviſhments, betrayings, ſtealing away of mens Wives, Daughters, and Sons, buying of Virgins, and the like, came in all thoſe antient fables of his transformations into ſhowers of Gold, Eagles, Bulls, Birds, and Beaſts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Grecian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* fear to entitle this Monſter *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his ſecond Book, *de natura Deorum*, affirm, that he deſerved nothing leſs; and in his Oration, *pro domo ſua*, reprocheth *Clodius* for his inceſt, by the name of *Jupiter*. His burial was in *Crete* (ſaith *Lucian.*) *Cretenſes non ſolùm natum apud ſe, & ſepultum Jovem teſtantur, ſed etiam ſepulchrum ejus oſtendunt*; *The Cretians, or Candians do not only avow that Jupiter was born and buried among them, but they ſhew his Grave and Sepulchre*: which *Epiphanius* alſo confirmeth; for in his time there remained the Monuments of his Tomb in the Mountain *Jaſius*. This, *Callimachus* in his Hymns alſo witneſſeth; but, ... offended thereat, ſaith thus: *Luc. in Sacrif.*

> The *Cretians* ever lyars were, they care not what they ſay:
> For they a Tomb have built for thee, O King, that liv'ſt alway.

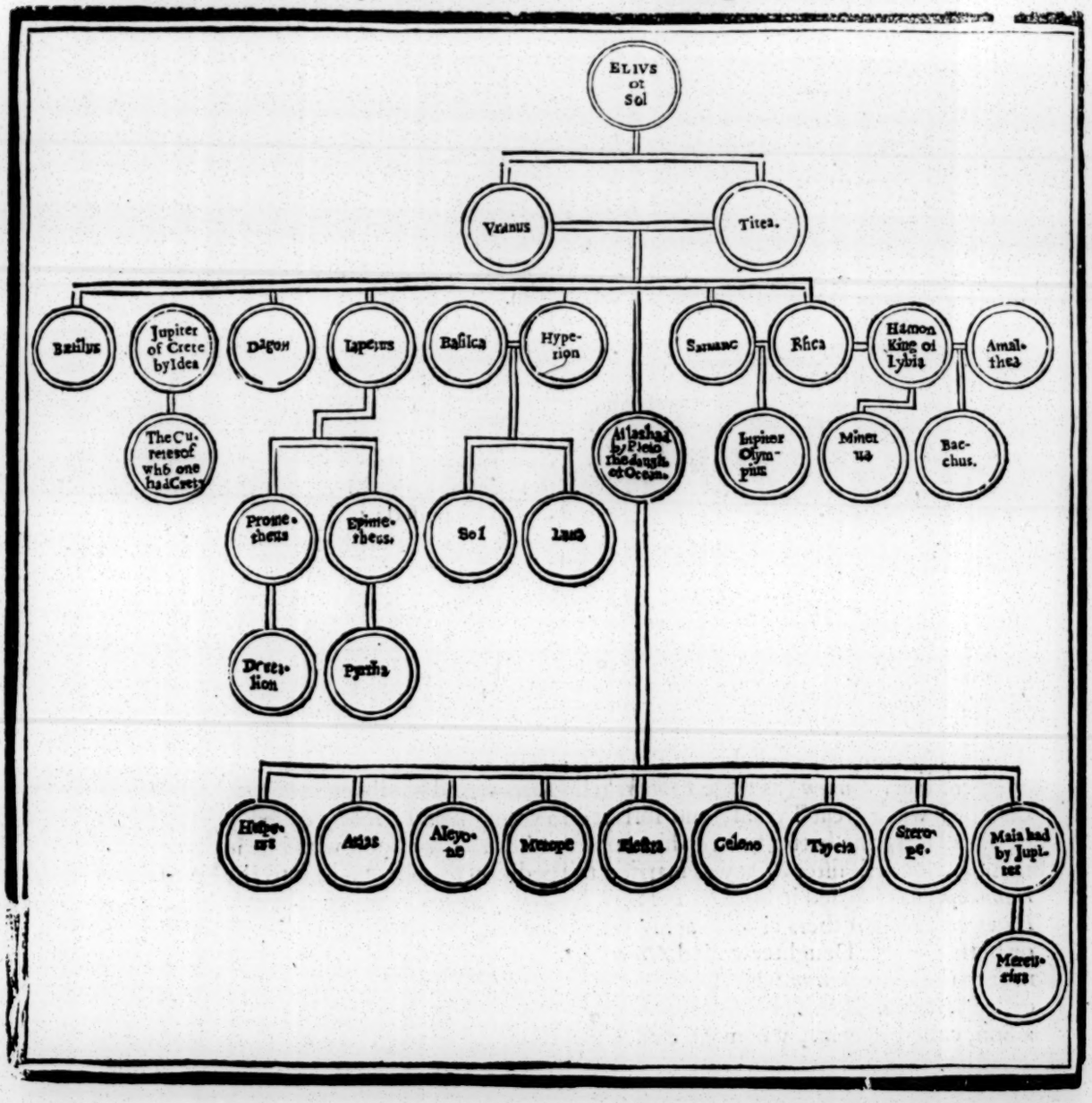
Diodorus Siculus tells by way of report from the *Libyan* Fables, confirmed (as he ſaith) by ſome *Greek* Writers, that the original of theſe Gods was from the Weſtern parts of *Africa*. For there among the *Atlantidæ* reigned one *Uranus* (which ſignifieth Heaven) called ſo, for his great ſkill in *Aſtrology*; and for his knowledg, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many Wives fourty five Sons; but by his principal Wife *Titea*, he had ſeventeen Sons and two Daughters, all which were called after their Mothers name, the *Titanes*. Of *Titea*, likewiſe it is ſaid, that ſhe for her goodneſs was Canonized as a Goddeſs, being dead, and called the Earth, as her Huſband was ſtyled Heaven. But of all the children of *Titea*, her Daughter *Baſilea* (which name ſounding as Queen in *Engliſh*, ſhe is by the *Latine* tranſlatour of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the reſt as far in virtue as in years, was by general conſent of her Brethren, and of the People, appointed to rule as Queen after her Father's death, being as yet a Virgin. She took to huſband her Brother *Hyperion*, to whom ſhe bare a Son and a Daughter, called *Sun* and *Moon*. The beauty and towardlineſs of theſe children moved her Brethren to envie, and bred in them a fear of being excluded from the ſucceſſion: wherefore they took the Boy and drowned *Diod. l. 3. c. 5.*

drowned him in the River *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The loſs of this child, cauſed his ſiſter to break her own neck; and the loſs of both her children, made the mother to play many mad prancks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wild faſhion, in ſight of all the people, before whom ſhe is ſaid to have vaniſhed away. Ere ſhe died, her Son (as the Fable hath it) ſignified unto her in a Dream, that he and his ſiſter, by the providence of God, ſhould become immortal; that alſo the *Sun* and *Moon* ſhould be called by their names, and that their death ſhould be revenged upon the Murtherers. According to which it is ſaid, that the people did ſo call thoſe two Planets, and withall held her ſelf as a goddeſs; and tearmed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cheriſhing her brethren whileſt they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguiſhed, the other Sons of *Æranus* divided the Kingdom. Of theſe, *Atlas* and *Saturn* were chief. *Atlas* reigned over the Countries lying about the Mountains, which afterward bare his name; a juſt and wiſe Prince, deeply ſkilfull in *Aſtrologie:* and, for invention of the *Sphere*, ſaid to have ſupported Heaven. He had many Sons; but the principal of them called *Heſperus*, being of his Fathers qualities and ſtudies, was ſaid to have been carried away by the Wind, from the top of an high Hill, in the middeſt of his contemplations; and his name, in honour of him, impoſed by the people upon the morning Starr. The ſeven Daughters of *Atlas* were alſo ſaid to have been excellent Ladies, who accompanying ſuch as came to be Deified, or regiſtred among the Worthies, brought forth children, anſwerable in quality to thoſe that begat them. Of theſe it is held, that the ſeven Stars, called *Pleiades*, took name. *Saturn*, the brother of *Atlas*, reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk* and *Italy*. *Jupiter*, another of the Sons of *Uranus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had ten Sons, which he called *Curetes:* he called that *Iſland* after his Wives name, *Idea*; in which Iſle he died, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* muſt not have been that great one, but Uncle to the great *Jupiter*, if theſe Fables of the *Lybians* were true. *Saturn* (as theſe *Lybians* tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified ſtrong places, the better to keep his people in ſubjection. His ſiſter *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in ſome part of *Africk*. *Hammon* loving others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter called *Minerva*, neer to the River *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. He alſo begat on *Amalthea*, a Son, called *Bacchus*, whom he cauſed ſecretly, for fear of his life, to be brought up at *Nyſa*, an Iſland in the River *Triton*, under the tuition of his Daughter *Minerva*, and certain *Nimphs*. To *Amalthea* he gave in reward a goodly Country, that lay on the Sea-coaſt, bending in form like a Horn, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea*'s plentifull Horn, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard theſe news, ſhe fled from her Huſband to her brother *Saturn*, who, not onely entertained her as a ſiſter, but took her to Wife, and at her inſtigation, made warr upon *Hammon*, vanquiſhed him by the aſſiſtance of the *Titans*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Jupiter*'s children before mentioned, held the Iſland at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the Kings Daughter, whom he took to Wife, and had with her (women, as may ſeem, being very gracious in thoſe names) the Kingdom. *Bacchus* was grown a proper young man, had found out the making of Wine, the art of planting of Trees, and many things elſe commodious for man-kind, before the flight of his Mother-in-law. Now therefore, hearing report of all that had hapned, and that *Saturn* was coming againſt him with the *Titans*; he levied an Army, to which the *Amazons*, living not farr from *Nyſa*, added great forces, in love of *Minerva*, who was entred into their profeſſion. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerva* the women, they fet forward againſt *Saturn*, met him, and overthrew him, and taking many of the *Titans* priſoners, returned to *Nyſa*; where pardoning the priſoners, that promiſed to become his true followers, he prepared for a ſecond Expedition. In the ſecond Expedition he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he wan the love of all the people by whom he paſſed; in ſo much, that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturn*'s rigorous government, he was greatly ſtrengthened, and the Enemy as much enfeebled by daily revolts. Coming to the City of *Hammon*, he wan a battel of *Saturn* before the very walls. After which, *Saturn*, with his Wife *Rhea*, fled by night, ſetting the Town on fire, to deſpight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entertained. *Saturn* had a young Son by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This child *Bacchus* took with him in a great Expedition that he made into the Eaſt-Countreys: and coming into *Egypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a Boy, Governour of the Countrey; but appointed unto him as an Over-ſeer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympus*. Whileſt *Bacchus* travelled through all Nations, as farr as into

India,

India, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titans* had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to war upon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*, with whom *Jupiter* from *Egypt*, and his sister *Minerva*, together with the rest, that afterwards were held gods, joining all their forces, went into *Crete*, overthrew the *Titans*, chased them, took and slew them, and freed the World of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were Deified; and the great *Jupiter*, the Son of *Saturn*, succeeding them, reigned Lord alone over all the world, having none of the *Titans* left alive, nor any other to disturb him. Between this tale of the *Lybian* gods, and the *Egyptian* Fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked Images of some one true History. For the Expeditions of *Osiris* and of *Bacchus*; the warrs of the Giants in the one Story, of the *Titans* in the other; the Kingdom of *Egypt* given by *Hercules Lybicus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the rattles of *Isis*, and the Cymbals of *Basilea*, with many pretty circumstances, neerly enough resemble each other, howsoever not alike fitted to the right persons. *Sanchoniato* (as *Eusebius* cites him) would have all these to be *Phœnicians*, and is earnest in saying, That it is a true Story, and no Allegory. Yet he makes it seem the more allegorical, by giving to *Uranus* or heaven for daughters, *Fate*, and *Beauty*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* have enough. To the Genealogie, he adds *Elius*, or the *Sun*, as father of *Uranus*, and among the children of *Uranus*, *Japetus*, *Bætilus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giving withall to *Uranus*, the proper name of *Terrenus*, or *Indigena*, and of *Illus* to *Saturn*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*. *Euseb l. 1. cap. 7.*

The Pedigree of them is this:



§. VI.

Of Cham, *and other wicked ones; whereof some gat, some affected, the name of God.*

OF *Jupiter Belus*, the Son of *Saturnus Babylonicus*, otherwise *Nimrod*, it seemeth that *Cicero* had not heard, (at least by that name;) who was more ancient than any of the former three, by him remembred: for long after these times were the *Greeks* but Salvages, if they seek no farther off for their gods.

But the *Egyptians*, even after the Floud, began (somewhat before this *Chaldean Jupiter*) to entitle *Cham*, the Parent of their own *Mizraim*, *Jupiter Chammon*, or *Hammon*. For the Etymologie of this word (*Hammon*) which the *Greeks* deduce *ab arenis*, *from the sands*, is ridiculous (saith *Peucer*;) neither yet is his own much better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which signifieth Heat: because the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon* was seated in *Libya*, where the ayr is exceeding hot and scorching. And as for the Antiquity of the latter *Jupiter* (among the *Greeks* and *Romans* the most renowned) it is certain that he was born not long before the War of *Troy*, as by many of his Sons is made manifest; namely, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which lived in that Age of *Priamus*, under whom, and with whom, *Troy* was destroyed.

Peucer de Oraculo.

Now, seeing that mortal men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortal among the *Heathen*; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tyberius Nero*, *Caligula*, and others, sought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed Monsters as the rest: for by what reason could the same *Deity* be denied unto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was given to *Venus*? seeing they were as notorious and famous Harlots, as she was.

§. VII.

That the wiser of the ancient Heathen had far better opinions of God.

BUt that ever *Pythagoras* or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, believed in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (over-busily) have mixed their own inventions with the Scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Hesiod* in Hell, where he fained that they were perpetually stung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read over all the Books of *Moses*, as by places stoln thence, almost word for word, may appear; of which *Justine Martyr* remembreth many in that Treatise converted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though he dissembled in some things for fear of the Inquisition of the *Areopagites*, yet S. *Augustine* hath already answered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirificè iis delectatus est, quæ de uno Deo tradita fuerant*; *And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God*, saith *Justine Martyr*. Now, howsoever *Lactantius* pleased to reprehend *Plato*, becaufe (saith he) *Plato sought knowledge*, from the *Egyptians*, and the *Chaldeans*, neglecting the *Jews*, and Books of *Moses*; * *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, find reason to believe the contrary, thinking that from thence he took the grounds of all by him written of God, or savouring of Divinity: and the same opinion had S. *Ambrose* of *Pythagoras*.

* *Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 11. Cyril. cont. Julian. Origen. contra Celsum Ambr. ad Irea. Ep. 6. l. 1.*

But whether it were out of the same vanity, which possessed all those learned Philosophers and Poets, that *Plato* also published (not under the right Authours names) those things which he had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the severity of the *Areopagites*, and the example of his Master *Socrates*, by them put to death by poyson; I cannot judge. *Justine Martyr* (as it seemeth) ascribeth it wholly to *Plato*'s fear, whose words among many other of the same effect, are these; Plato, Mosis *mentionem facere, ob id, quod unum solumque Deum docuerat, sibi apud Athenienses tutum non putavit, veritus Areopagum*; Plato, *fearing the Areopagites, thought it not safe for him among the Athenians, to make mention of* Moses, *that he taught there is but one God*. But for that Divinity which he hath written in *Timæo*, *Id ipsum de Deo disserit quod & Moses*; *He discourfed and taught the same of God* (saith *Justine Martyr*) *which Moses did*. For, where it pleased God by his Angel to answer *Moses*, *Ego sum existens*, (which is) *I Am*; and, *Existens misit me ad vos*; *I am hath sent me unto you*; herein did *Plato* (saith *Justine Martyr*) no otherwise differ than that *Moses* used the word (*qui*) and *Plato* the word *quod*: Moses *enim*, *qui existit* (*inquit*;) Plato, *quod existit*; for Moses saith, *He who is*; Plato, *That which is*. Now, of Gods incomprehensible nature, and of the difficulty either to conceive, or express the same, he giveth this testimony: *Genitorem Universitatis tam difficile est invenire, quàm inventum impossibile dignè profari*; *It is as hard to find out the Creator of the Universal, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speak of him worthily*. And what can be more agreeable to the Majesty of Gods Nature, than this property by *Plato* acknowledged? *Deus bonus*

Areopagus or domus seu mons Martis, Mars his hill; a house wherein capital matters are tried: so called at first, because Mars therein first pleaded his cause for the murther of Halirrothios Pausan in Attic. Nat. Com l. 2. 6. 7. Just. Mart. adm. Gen fol. 8. 14 ut sup. Exod 3. 14

In Timæo.

De legib. c. 10. *bonus, & quidem Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa; God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is evil, he is no cause at all.* And again, *Charitas Dei fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum; The love of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the original of all things.* Laertius. *Apuleius* the Platonist; *Summus Deus infinitus est, non solùm loci exclusione, sed etiam naturæ dignitate: & nihil est Deo similius & gratius, quàm vir animo perfecto bonus; The most high God is also an infinite God, not onely by exclusion of place, but by the dignity of nature: neither is there any thing more like, or more acceptable to God, than a Man of a perfect heart.* *Thales* affirmeth, that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient: *Quia nunquam esse cœpit; because he never had any beginning.* *Zeno*, that God beheld even the thoughts of men; *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, because God was every where present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moses* story of the Creation, than this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in *Euripides*, Scholar of *Anaxagoras*?

Cœlum terraque unius formæ fuit:
Sed cum fuissent abjuncta amplexu mutuo,
Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita;
Arbores, aves, feræ, quasque afferi mare,
Genusque mortalium.

Heaven and Earth one form did bear:
But when dis-joyned once they were
From mutual embraces,
All things to light appeared then;
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men
The still-remaining races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*; so we find the same excellent understanding in *Orpheus*, who every where expressed the infinite and sole power of one God; though he use the name of *Jupiter*, thereby to avoid the envie and danger of the time: but that he could attribute those things to the Sons of men, and mortal creature, which he doth to this *Jupiter*, there is no man, who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (saith *Mirandula*) *quos* Orpheus *canit, non decipientium Dæmonum, à quibus malum & non bonum provenit; sed naturalium virtutum divinarumque sunt nomina; The names of those gods whom* Orpheus *doth sing, are not of deceiving Devils, from whom evil comes, and not goodness; but they are the names of natural and divine Vertues.* Yea, that he reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himself, this his instruction to *Musæus*, and the *Hymn* following, teach us: *Respiciens verò ad divinum hunc sermonem, et diligenter animum adverte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi regem. Unus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse verò in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truly lend
Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,
And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one,
Begotten of himself, from whom is born alone
All else; in which he's still: nor could it ere befall
A mortal eye to see him once, yet he sees all.

And again the same Authour,

Jupiter *omnipotens, et primus, et ultimus idem;*
Jupiter *est caput & mediũ:* Jovis *omnia munus.*
Jupiter *est fundamen humi, & stellantis Olympi.*
Jupiter *& mas est, & fœmina nescia mortis.*
Spiritus est cunctis, validi vis Jupiter *ignis.*
Et pelagi radix, Sol, Luna *est* Jupiter *ipse.*
Rex & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.
Nam prius occuluit; magno pòst numine sacrum
Cor referans, bonus in dulcẽ dedit omnia lucem.

The first of all is God, and the same last is he;
God is the head and midst, yea from him all things be,
God is the base of Earth, and of the starred skie.
He is the Male and Female too, shall never die.
The Spirit of all is God, the Sun and Moon, and what is higher.
The King th' original of all, of all the end.
For close in holy breast he did all comprehend,
Whence all the blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

Now (besides these former testimonies) that all the learned men of antient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the *Egyptians*, *Grecians*, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the Readers to those large and learned Collections of *Justine Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Eugubinus*, *Pencer*, *Plessis*, *Daneus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the *Stoick*, being demanded of

of what nature God was, described him by these Attributes and properties: *Bonus, justus, sanctus, seipsum possidens, utilis, speciosus, optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c. Good, just, holy, possessing himself, profitable, beautiful, best, severe, free, alwaies doing good, safe without fear, glorious, and self-charity. Epicharmus* affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced every Nature, was only and every where powerful: agreeing with *Democritus: Rex omnium ipse solus; He is the only King of kings:* and with *Pindarus* the Poet, *Deus unus, Pater, creator summus atque optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum merita præbet; One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deserts. This God* (saith *Antisthenes*) *cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere known; Nisi in patria illa perenni, cujus imaginem nullam habes: Save only in that everlasting Country, whose image thou hast none at all.* Hereof also *Xenophanes Colophonius: Unus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore nec mente mortalibus similis; There is one God among gods and men most powerful, neither corporally nor mentally like unto mortals:* and *Xenophon*, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potensque, quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui luce sua omnia perlustrat; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mighty; as is manifest to all: but of what Form he is, it is manifest to none, save only to himself, who illuminateth all things with his own light.* Finally, *Plato* saith, *Totius rerum naturæ causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, æternus animantium sospitator, assiduus mundi sui opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neque tempore ullo comprehensus, eoque paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis; God is the cause, ground, and original of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soul, the eternal preserver of living creatures, the continual framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can express what he is.* Therefore was it said by Saint *Hierom, Si enim cunctos Philosophorum revolvas libros, necesse est ut in eis reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei: ut, apud* Platonem, *fabricatorem mundi Deum: apud* Zenonem, *Stoicorum Principem, inferos & immortales animas, &c. If thou consider all the books of the Philosophers, thou canst not but find in them some part of the Vessels of God, as, in* Plato, *God the Creatour of the world: in* Zeno, *Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortal Souls, &c.* And this is certain, that if we look into the wisdom of all Ages, we shall find that there never was man of solid understanding or excellent judgment; never any man whose mind the Art of education hath not bended; whose eys a fooliſh superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensive inspection advised; but that he hath found by an unresistable necessity, one true God, and everlasting Being, all for ever causing, and all for ever sustaining; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly expres'd, then that *Egyptian* Hermes, howsoever it failed afterward in his posterity: all being at length by deviliſh policy of the *Egyptian* Priests purposely obscured; who invented new gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the Devil perswaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keep in aw and order their common people.

Hieron. in Com. in Dan. in princip.

§. VIII.

That Heatheniſm and Judaiſm, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under Julian *miraculously confounded.*

But these are again vaniſhed: for the inventions of mortal men are no less mortal then themselves. The Fire, which the *Chaldeans* worshipped for a god, is crept into every mans chimny, which the lack of Fuel starveth, Water quencheth, and want of Ayr suffocateth: *Jupiter* is no more vexed with *Juno*'s Jealousies; *Death* hath perswaded him to chastity, and her to patience; and that time which hath devoured it self, hath also eaten up both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea their stately Temples of Stone and dureful Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found upon the Earth, nor any Monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phœnicia* that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Lybia*, *Creta*, *Thessalia*, or elsewhere, that can ask counsel or help from *Jupiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apollo's* Priests are become speechless; and the trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Devils telling men's fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit *Egyptians*, and couzening *Astrologers*.

But it was long ere the Devil gave way to these his over-throws and dishonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chief mansions) was many times robbed,

burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repaired, and re-edified again, till by the hand of God himself it received the last and utter subversion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the *Eubœan* Pyrates: Secondly, by the *Phlegians* utterly sack'd: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the Army of *Xerxes*: Fifthly, by the Captaines of the *Phocenses*: Sixthly, by *Nero*: who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein again set up at the common charge. But whatsoever was gathered between the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian Army made spoil of, defacing as much as the time permitted them: notwithstanding all this, it was again gloriously re-built, and so remained till such time as *Julian* the *Apostata* sent thither to know the success of his *Parthian* enterprise, at which time it was utterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heaven, and the Image of *Apollo* himself, and all the rest of the Idols therein, molten down, and lost in the Earth.

The like success had the *Jews* in the same *Julians* time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of *Jerusalem*: for while they were busied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrown by an Earthquake, and many thousands of the *Jews* were overwhelmed with the ruines, and others slain and scattered by Tempest and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more favourably for the *Jews*, ascribing this to the nature of that Element. For, saith he, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the province of *Judea*, being by *Julian* busied in the re-edifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire issuing neer the foundation, and oft consuming the Workmen, made the Enterprize frustrate.

Am. Mar. l. 13. c. 1.

§. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Devil to maintain his Kingdom.

NOw the Devil, because he cannot play upon the open stage of this World, (as in those daies) and being still as industrious as ever, finds it more for his advantage to creep into the minds of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectual adoration of himself then ever. For whereas he first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead Stones cut into faces of Beasts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now sets before them the high and shining Idol of glory, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. He tells them that truth is the Goddess of dangers and oppressions, that chastity is the enemy of Nature, and lastly, that as all virtue (in general) is without taste; so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth every sense: for true wisdom (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, then in the obtaining of power to oppress, and of riches to maintain plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-Polititian* find in his Pupils any remorse, any feeling or fear of God's future judgments, he perswades them that God hath so great need of men's Souls, that he will accept them at any time, and upon any condition: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timeful return towards God, by laying those great blocks of rugged poverty and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his divine presence. But as the mind of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and over-grown with grass, by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations: so hath that of Death a double and twofold opening, worldly misery passing by the one, worldly prosperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our sufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joys) at the other our cruelties, covetousness, licentiousness, injustice, and oppressions (the harbingers of most fearful and terrible sorrow) staying for us. And as the Devil our most industrious enemy was ever most diligent: so is he now more laborious then ever; the long day of Mankind drawing fast towards an evening, and the Worlds Tragedy and Time neer at an end.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Noah's *Floud.*

§. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and ſome humane Teſtimonies: and ſome doubting touching the truth of Noah's *Floud.*

OF this diſtruction it pleaſed God to give warning unto *Noah*: who (ſaith *Joſephus*) fearing to periſh among the reſt, *Decedens cum ſuis in aliam regionem migravit: He departed with his children, and travailed into another region.* And of theſe Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himſelf, *Beroſus* writeth in this manner; *That they exceeded in all ſorts of inhumane and unnatural wickedneſs*, and that they were *contemptores & religionis & deorum; contemners of religion and of the gods*: among which mighty men (ſaith *Beroſus*) *unus erat qui deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat* Noah: *There was one more wiſe and reverencing the Gods then the reſt, whoſe name was* Noah: who with his three Sons, *Sem*, *Japhetus*, and *Cham*, and with their Wives, and the wife of *Noah*, (namely, *Titea* the great, *Pandora*, *Noela*, and *Noegla*) preſerved themſelves in the *Arke*. This *Arke* God commanded *Noah* to prepare: *And God ſaid unto* Noah, *Make thee an Arke of Pine-trees: thou ſhalt make cabins in the Arke, and ſhalt pitch it within and without with pitch.* For God made *Noah* to know, that an end of all fleſh was at hand, and that the graves of the rebellious and cruel Generations were already faſhioned in the Clouds, which ſoon after ſhould ſwallow up and cover all living creatures which breathed in the Ayr, *Noah* and his family excepted.

Joſeph. l. 1, c. 4.

Gen. 6. 14. v. 13.

But this univerſal grave of Waters, and general Deluge hath not been received by all: for divine teſtimonies do not perſwade all natural men to thoſe things to which their own reaſon cannot reach: *Dum obvoluta in obſcuro veritas latet: Whileſt the truth lieth wrapt in obſcurity.* Many there are who have diſputed againſt the univerſality of this Overflowing, and have judged that this floud of *Noah* fell but in ſome particular places and Kingdoms: moved ſo to think, becauſe in elder Ages there have been many other Flouds (as they ſuppoſe) of that nature.

Lact. im. præſ. de falſa relig.

Hereof *Nicolas Damaſcenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Joſephus*. *Eſt ſuper Minyadam excelſus Mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes ſermo eſt diluvii tempore liberatos, & quendam ſimul in Arca devectum in hujus vertice hæſiſſe, lignorumque reliquias multo tempore conſervatas, qui fortaſſe is fuit de quo etiam* Moſes *Judæorum legiſlator ſcribit:* thus far this Author. *There is* (ſaith he) *above Minyada* (or the Country of *Minyæ*) *an exceeding high Mountain in Armenia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were ſaved in the time of the Deluge; and that one was carried in an Ark, and reſted upon the top of the Mountain, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof; and this might be the ſame of which* Moſes *the Law-giver of the Jews makes mention.* And of this opinion were the *Talmudiſts* (ſaith *Annius*) that many Giants ſaved themſelves upon Mount *Sion.*

Joſ. ant. l. 1 c. 4. Euſeb de præp. l. 9. c. 4.

But *Beroſus* (who, after *Moſes*, was one of the moſt antient, howſoever he hath been ſince deformed and corrupted) doth in the ſubſtance of all agree with *Moſes* as touching the general Floud, taking from thence the beginning of his Hiſtory in theſe words: *Ante aquarum cladem famoſam, qua univerſus periit Orbis, &c. Before that famous deſtruction of Waters, by which the World univerſal periſhed:* witneſſing withall, that *Noah* with his Wife *Titea*, and his three Sons with their Wives (in all eight perſons) were only ſaved.

§. II.

Of the Floud in the time of Ogyges: *and that this was not* Noahs *Floud.*

BUt from the vanity of the *Greeks*, the Corrupters of all truth (ſaith *Lactantius*,) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquity, came the errour firſt of all: who therein flattering themſelves alſo, ſought to perſwade the World that there

was

was no Floud preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, King of the *Thebans* in *Bœotia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore (saith *Rhodiginus*) *Ogygium id appellant Poetæ, tanquam pervetus dixeris ab Ogyge vetustissimo: The Poets gave the name of* Ogygia *to things exceeding ancient, as of* Ogyges *the most ancient.* *Rho. l. 15. c. 33.*

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest that he lived but in *Jacobs* time (though *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses* time) and was born 67. years after him. There is also an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he farr later) as *Rhodiginus* in the ninth Book of his Antiquities remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in Ægypto regnasse autumant hunc; unde sit* Cadmus, *qui in* Graciam *profectus* Thebas *condidit, à Bove jugulato sic nuncupatas; quoniam* Syrorum *lingua Bos dicitur* Thebe. *There are* (saith he) *who think that this* Ogyges *did reign in* Egypt, *whereby he should be* Cadmus, *who travelling into* Greece, *built* Thebes, *so named of a Beef slain: because in the* Syrian *Language, a Beef is called* Thebe. *Euseb. de Prep. Evang. l. 10. c 3.* *Ca. 22.*

But this Floud of *Ogyges* fell in the year of the World, 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint*: and the Floud of *Noah* in the year 2242. after the same account: and so there came 1200. between these Flouds, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now, although the very year and time of this overflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set down, but that there is a great difference among Writers; yet whosoever makes it most ancient, finds above 500. years difference between that and the general Floud.

For, *Paulus Orosius*, affirms that this tempest fell upon the *Athenians*, but 1040. years before *Rome* was built. *Bucholzerus* saith, it was 1043. elder than *Rome*; wich was founded (according to the same *Bucholzerus*) in the worlds year, 3219. though after the account which I follow (and whereof I wil give my reasons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds year, 3280. Now, the general Floud preceded the building of *Rome* (saith *Bucholzerus*) 1563. years: and the Floud of *Ogyges*, (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference between these two Flouds must be 520. years, to which we (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah*, *Ogyges Priscus*, as some do) it appears by this, that the Floud of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica*, or *Ogygia*, did not extend it self any farther then the banks of *Archi-pelago*, or the *Ægæan* Sea. For, whereas *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* witness, that the City of *Joppe* in *Judæa* was founded before the Floud; and that (notwithstanding the height of waters) there remained on certain Altars of Stone, the Title of the King, and of his Brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: sure it is no where found among prophane Historians, nor in the Scriptures, that ever the Floud of *Ogyges* spred it self over any part of *Syria*, much less over all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed up (Cities seated on the North part of *Peloponnesus*): of which *Ovid.* *Mela. l. 3. Plin. l. 5. Sol. ca. 47. Joppe opidum antiquissimum orbe toto, utpote ante inundationem terrarum condi. tum. Sol. ibid.*

Si quæras Helicen, *&* Buran, *Achaïdos urbes, Invenies sub aquis.* *Ovid. Met. l. 15. 303.*

Eura and *Helice*, on *Achaian* ground,
Are sought in vain, but under Sea are found.

Of this Floud of *Ogyges*, was invented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the Daughter of *Cœus*, the Son of *Titan*, being beloved, and forced by *Jupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Juno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the Earth to be delivered on; and withall, caused the monstrous Serpent *Python*, to follow and affright her, whersoever she travelled; till at length arriving at the Isle of *Ortygia*, she was there received; in which she was delivered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins; whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his reign) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thick mists and fogs, that in *Attica*, and along the coasts of the *Ægean* Sea, neither the beams of the Sun by day, nor of the Moon by night, could pierce the ayr, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the Earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the ayr began to be clear, the people of *Ortygia* espied the light of the Moon somewhat before day, and in the same morning the Sun also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the Moon, and *Apollo* the Sun) they were reported to be born in the Isle of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwards called *Delos*; which signifieth Manifestation. *Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 6.* *Plin. l. 4. c. 11.*

And surely it is not improbable, that the Floud of *Ogyges*, being so great, as Histories have

Lib. 1. cap. 7. *Xenophon annianus.*

have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayr, ſenſibly diſcerned in thoſe parts, and ſome unuſual face of Skies. *Varro* in his Books, *de gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by S. *Auguſtine*) reports out of *Caſtor*, that ſo great a miracle hapned in the Star of *Venus*, as never was ſeen before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatneſs, the figure, and the courſe of it, were changed. This fell out, as *Adraſtus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous Mathematicians affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*.

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 21. c. 8.

Now, concerning the courſe of that, or any other Planet, I do not remember, that I have any were read of ſo good Aſtrologers, flouriſhing among the *Greeks*, or elſewhere in thoſe days, as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets, ſo exact, that it ſhould need no reformation: Of the colour and magnitudes I ſee no reaſon, why the difference found in the Star of *Venus*, ſhould be held miraculous; conſidering, that leſſer miſts and foggs than thoſe which covered *Greece* with ſo long darkneſs, do familiarly preſent our ſenſes with as great alterations in the Sun and Moon. That the figure ſhould vary, queſtionleſs it was very ſtrange: yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it ſtands well with good reaſon, that the ſide of *Venus* which the Sun beholds, being enlightned by him, the oppoſite half ſhould remain ſhadowed; whereby that Planet would, unto our eyes, deſcrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appear to be horned, as the Moon doth ſeem; if diſtance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehenſion of our ſenſes.

A worthy Aſtrologer now living, who by the help of perſpective Glaſſes, hath found in the Stars many things unknown to the Ancients, affirmeth ſo much to have been diſcovered in *Venus*, by his late obſervations. Whether ſome watry diſpoſition of the ayr might repreſent as much to them that lived with *Ogyges*, as *Galileus* hath ſeen through his inſtrument; I cannot tell: ſure I am, that the diſcovery of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince Man of ignorance, than Nature of errour. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Floud of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of S. *Auguſtine*) accompanied with ſuch unuſual (and therefore the more dreadfull, though natural) ſigns, teſtifying the concurrence of cauſes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Floud of *Noah*, which was general, and altogether miraculous, may ſeem to have had no other token, or foreſhewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himſelf, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Floud came ſuddenly, and took them all away. *Luke 17. v. 27.*

§. III.

Of Deucalions *Floud: and that this was not* Noahs *Floud: nor the Umbri in* Italy, *a remnant of any univerſal Floud.*

A Second Floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certain, was that of *Deucalion* in *Theſſalia*; of which S. *Auguſtin* out of *Varro*: *His temporibus* (*ut* Varro *ſcribit*) *regnante Athenienſibus* Cranao, *ſucceſſore* Cecropis (*ut autem noſtri*, Euſebius & Hieronymus) *adhuc eodem* Cecrope *permanente*, *Diluvium fuit, quod appellatum eſt* Deucalionis: (that is) *In theſe times*, (*as* Varro *reporteth*) Cranous *the ſucceſſor of* Cecrops *governed the* Athenians, *or*, (*as our* Euſebius *and* Hierome *ſay*) Cecrops *yet living, that Floud* (*called* Deucalions) *happened.*

And in the beginning of the 11. Chapter of the ſaid 18. Book, he uſeth theſe words: *Eduxit ergo* Moſes *ex* Ægypto *populum Dei noviſſimo tempore* Cecropis Athenienſium *Regis, cum apud* Aſſyrios *regnaret* Aſcatades, *apud* Sicyonios Marathus, *apud* Argivos Tripas: Moſes *led the people of God out of* Egypt *about the latter time of* Cecrops, *King of the* Athenians, Aſcatades *reigning over the* Aſſyrians, *over the* Sicyonians Marthus, *and over the* Argives Triopas. So as leaving the curioſity of a few years, more or leſs, it appeareth, that this Floud of *Deucalion* was either at the egreſſion of the children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, or near it: and then after *Noah* 753. years, according to *Functius*, who makes *Cecrops* to live in the year of the World, 2409. or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739. years after *Noah*, and in the year of the World 2395. But if *Deucalion* were born in the age of the World 2356. according to *Codoman*; then giving unto *Deucalion* 40. years of age when this Floud happened, it falleth within one year of *Mercators* account. But *Deucalion*, by all approved Hiſtorians, is ſaid to have been 82. years old at that time. Now, *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this Floud of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phaëton's* time, by the Reign of *Crotopus*, King of the *Argives*; but *Crotopus* lived King of the *Argives* ſix years after *Iſrael* departed *Egypt*, which makes twenty years difference, according to *Functius*, who will have this Floud and Burning to have fallen 14. years before *Moſes* left *Egypt*: for he gave of the Worlds years to the Floud and Burning, the year 2440. and to *Moſes* egreſſion the year 2454. And yet *Cedrenus* thinks

thinks that *Moſes* was more ancient, and lived with *Inachus*; but that cannot be true: for then had the Floud of *Deucalion*, and the Burning of *Phaëton* preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, which is denied by all: for that of *Theſſaly* (called *Deucalions*) followed that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at leaſt 250. years, or thereabouts. *Euſebius* in his Chronologie, makes it 230. and ſo doth *P. Oroſius*: *Euſebius* about the 50. year of *Moſes* life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67. and both after *Noahs* Floud 770. years: for theſe be *Clemens Alexandrinus* his words: *Fuit autem in Grecia tempore quidem* Phornei, *qui fuit poſt* Inachum, *inundatio quæ fuit tempore* Ogygis: *There happened in* Greece, *in the time of* Phorneus, *who lived after* Inachus, *the Floud of* Ogyges. Now, if the Floud of *Ogyges* in *Attica* were 1020. or 1016. years before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Euſebius* and *Oroſius* (as before;) then it is manifeſt, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it falls out, that *Ogyges* Floud happened before the *Hebrews* left *Egypt* 250. years, or 260. years, according to the difference between the opinions of *Euſebius* and *Oroſius*. And for my ſelf (who rather follow thoſe Chronologers, which give 60. years more to *Abraham* after the Floud, than the reſt) I reckon the times which come between theſe Flouds in this ſort. The general Floud was in the year of the World 1656. *Jacob* was born in the year of the World 2169. ſo as from the beginning of the Floud to *Jacobs* birth, there were conſumed 513. years. *Ogyges* Floud happened 100. years after *Jacob* was born; and therefore after the general Floud 613. years. Now, *Deucalion* was born in the year of the World 2356. and had lived 82. years, when his kingdom of *Theſſaly* was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his floud was after *Noahs* Floud ended, 782. years. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700. years between the general Floud and *Deucalions* birth; to which adde 82. years of his Age (as before) and then the floud of *Theſſaly* followed the general 782. years. The words of that *Xenophon* are theſe: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum* Deucalionis, *ſecundo anno Sphæri, ſeptingenti ſupputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta* Theſſaliam *vidit inundatam: From the drowning of the World to the birth of* Deucalion, *in the ſecond year of* Sphærus, *are numbred* 700. *years, and when* Deucalion *was* 82. *years old, he ſaw* Theſſaly *drowned.* This Floud hapned in the Winter time about *Parnaſſus*: witneſs *Ariſtotle*, in the firſt of his *Meteors*. And *Varro* (whom S. *Auguſtine* ſo often citeth for his excellent Learning, eſpecially in Antiquities) findeth this floud of *Deucalion* to have hapned in the time of *Cranaus*, who ſucceeded *Cecrops*: *Oroſius* thinks it ſomewhat later, *Amphitryon* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*: Onely this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not onely over *Theſſaly* it ſelf, and the Regions adjoyning Weſtward, but it covered the greateſt part of *Italy*: and either the ſame, or ſome other particular floud then hapning, oppreſt *Egypt*, ſaith *Euſebius*. And therefore did the *Grecks* either think it, or feign it to be univerſal; and *Deucalion* the King, ſaving himſelf, and ſome others on the Mountain of *Theſſaly* (of all other the higheſt, ſaith *Solinus*) was by reaſon thereof (as *Strabo* witneſſeth) ſaid to be the preſerver of man-kind. That this floud covered a great part of *Italy*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* make it probable, who affirm, that the people then inhabiting *Italy*, were therefore called Ὄμβριοι: *quia ab imbribus diluvii ſuperfuiſſent*; and therefore alſo were they eſteemed the moſt ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his firſt Book, and *Trezenius* in his ſecond: which *Umbri* theſe Authours make the Parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to be the Parents of the *Samnites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Brucii*, and all other inhabiting anciently the banks of the *Mediterrane* Sea. But that theſe *Umbri* were not the Inhabiters of *Italy* before the Floud of *Noah*, and ſo took name by ſaving themſelves upon the *Appenine* Mountains, the Scriptures teach us; ſhewing who, & who only then were preſerved, which is ſufficient. Report hath adventured further, telling us, that the firſt people which after the general Floud inhabited *Italy*, were the *Cameſenes*; (ſo named from *Cameſe*, whom *Cato in Originibus*, another of *Annius* his Authours, names for a conſort of *Janus*) which people lived altogether a ſavage life; till ſuch time as *Saturn* arriving on thoſe Coaſts, deviſed Laws to govern them by: the memory of whoſe Acts in that Region, *Diodore* and *Thallus* among the *Grecks*; *Nepos*, *Caſſius*, and *Varro* among the *Latines*, have preſerved; and of whom *Virgil*:

Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus *Olympo,*
Arma Jovis *fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis.*
Is genus indocile, ac diſperſum montibus altis
Compoſuit, legeſque dedit; Latiumque vocari
Maluit.

Saturn deſcending from the heavens high
Fearing the Arms of *Jupiter* his Son,
His Kingdom loſt, and baniſht thence, doth fly,
Rude people on the Mountain tops he won
To live together, & by Laws: which done,
He choſe to call it *Latium.*

And

Cedren l. 1. fol. 34.

Clem. Alex. 1. Strom. ex Cteſ.

Euſeb. in Chron.

c. 1.

Solin l. 1. Strab l. 5. Plin. l. 3. c. 14. Sol. c. 7. Plin. ibid.

Athenæus dipnoſoph. l. 15. out of Draco Corcyræus, ſaith, that Cameſena was the wife and ſiſter of Janus Lact. l. 1. c. 13.

Æn. l. 8. 319.

And afterwards in the Verſes following he ſpeaketh of the *Auſones*; and after them, of the *Sicani*: Nations, which again ſought to diſ-plant the antient Inhabiters:

Virg. l. 8. Æn. *Tum manus* Auſonia, *& gentes venère* Sicani.

Then came th' *Auſoniam* Bands, and the *Sicanian* Tribes.

Of theſe *Sicani* (which left *Spain*, and ſate down in *Italy*) *Thucydides* and *Pliny* give teſtimony: who were again expelled by the *Ligii*, ſaith *Thucydides*. After all theſe Plantations and re-plantations, came the *Umbri*, deſcended of the *Gauls* (ſaith *Annius*) not of thoſe *Gauls* of *France*, but of thoſe of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italy*, even all *Hetruria* and *Campania*; as *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Dionyſius* have aſſured us: and therefore this Floud of *Deucalion*, was long after that of *Noah*. For all thoſe Nations were planted in *Italy*, and diſpoſſeſs'd of *Italy* again, before the *Umbri* were ever heard of, or had being. So that Kingdom was firſt called *Camaſene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Auſonia*, then *Sicania*; before the *Umbri* (in whoſe time *Deucalions* Floud happened) poſſeſs'd the ſame, about 306. years before the War of *Troy*; *Lycaon* then governing *Arcadia*: who being the Father of two and twenty Sons, the youngeſt called *Oenotrius* invaded *Italy*, who gave it the name of *Oenotria*. This name it held until *Italus* of the ſame Nation changed it into *Italy*, after his own name, about 250. years before the fall of *Troy*. After theſe, came the *Pelaſgi*, of whom *Pliny* in his third Book and fifth Chapter, and *Strabo* in his fifth, *Thucydides* in his ſixth, ſpeak at large: and after them the *Lydi*, under *Tyrrhenus* their Captain, that gave name to the *Tyrrheni*; who caſting thence the *Umbri*, took from them three hundred Caſtles, and built therein twelve Cities; to which (after they had poſſeſs'd and paſt over the *Appenine* Mountains) they added divers others, whereof *Telſina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Thucyd. l. 6. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Annius ex Samuele Thaimudiſta. Herod. l. 1. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Dion. l. 1. & 2. Pauſan. Arcad. l. 8. Ariſt. Pol. 7. c. 10. Herod. l. 2. Plin. l. 3. l. 4.

Now that there was not antiently ſuch a Nation as theſe *Umbri* in thoſe parts, I do not affirm; having reſpect to the teſtimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinks, that the name was derived from the *Greek* word *Ombros*; but that theſe *Umbri* of *Italy* were deſcended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

§. IV.

Of ſome other Records teſtifying the univerſal Floud: and of two antient Deluges in Egypt: and of ſome elſewhere.

SAint *Auguſtine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greeks* and *Latines* made not any mention of the Univerſal Floud, becauſe they had nothing of Antiquity foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus*, before remembred) were all things among the *Greeks* (which antiquity had worn out of knowledg) called *Ogygia*, which we in *Engliſh* commonly call (worm-eaten, or) of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were ſucceſſively planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the inſtant: ſo did every Family, which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledg of divine Letters was not received, find no Parent of more antiquity, then ſuch as they had themſelves, not allow of any before their own; and as the *Grecians*, ſo did others vaunt themſelves to be *Indigenæ*, and growing out of the Earth, or invent ſome other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certain knowledg of *Noah*'s Floud, as *Beroſus* witneſſeth; and *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforeſaid) though he alſo affirm by hear-ſay, that ſome Giants ſaved themſelves upon the Mountain *Baris* in *Armenia*, but ſpeaketh not thereof as from any authority approved: uſing the word *Sermo eſt*; *That ſuch a ſpeech there was.* And *Euſebius* remembreth a place out of the antient Hiſtorian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Siſſithrus*, to preſerve himſelf from a Floud, fore-told him by *Saturnus*, fled to the Hils of *Armenia* by ſhip, *ad Armeniam navigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) ſent forth Birds, that finding no Land to reſt on, returned again; which he alſo did a ſecond time; but at the third return, the Birds feet were covered with mud and ſlime. To this effect are *Euſebius*'s words out of *Abydenus*, which may ſeem a true deſcription (though in other terms) of *Noahs* Floud.

Euſ. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.

Cyrillus alſo affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhiſtor* maketh mention of this general Floud. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Egyptian* Prieſt, who re-counted to *Solon* out of the holy Books of *Egypt*, the ſtory of the Floud univerſal, which (ſaith he) happened long before the *Grecian* Inundations. Frier *Annius* his *Xenophon* remembreth a third Floud, which alſo *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, ſowewhat more

Diod. l. 1.

more antient then that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the general Floud for the first, which happened (saith he) under the old *Ogyges*; *sub prisco Ogyge*, which was *Noah*. He called the second, *Niliaca*; *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then living, 44. years before that of *Attica*, in the 34. year of *Belochus* King of the *Assyrians*, though I do not believe him as touching the time. But this Floud covered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, especially all the Region subject to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus* his Liver, afterward slain by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* delivereth in these words: *Fluvium propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatemque aquarum, Aquilam tunc appellatum*, Herculem, *tum consilii magnitudine, tum virtute, voluntè vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum convertisse: Unde & Græci quidam Poetæ, rem gestam in fabulam vertentes*, Herculem *tradunt Aquilam* Promethei *jecur depascentem occidisse: This Floud* (meaning of *Nilus*) *for the swiftness of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Eagle: but* Hercules *by his great judgment and virtue did again compress and straighten this River, so far extended and over-spread, turning it into the old channel: Whence certain Greek Poets (converting this labour and work of* Hercules *into a fable) devised, that* Hercules *slew the Eagle which fed on* Prometheus *liver*; meaning that he delivered *Prometheus* of that sorrow and torment, which for the loss of his people and Country (by the Waters destroyed and covered over) he suffered.

Nat Com. l. 4. c. 6.

A fourth Floud chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiveth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this brief sort writeth of all these Inundations: *Inundationes plures fuere: prima novimestris Inundatio terrarum sub prisco* Ogyge: *secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many Inundations* (saith the same *Xenophon*:) *the first, which was universal, of nine moneths; and this happened under the first* Ogyges: *the second was Niliaca*, and of one moneths continuance, in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus*, *Egyptians*: a third of two moneths, under *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three moneths, in *Thessalia* under *Deucalion*: and a fifth of the like continuance, (called *Pharonica*) under *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helen's* rape. *Diodorus*, in his fifth Book and eleventh Chapter, taking the *Samothraces* for his Authors, remembreth a Floud in *Asia* the less, & else where, of no less destruction then any of the other particular Inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*; the Sea of *Pontus* and *Hellespont* breaking in over the Land.

Xenop. de æquin. Comm. per Annium, fo. 37.

But there have been many Flouds in divers times and Ages, not inferiour to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the year of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the same year, *Gregory* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a marvellous Overflowing in *Italy*, and especially in the *Venetian* Territory, and in *Liguria*; accompanied with a most fearful storm of Thunder and Lightning: after which followed the great Plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast up and left upon the land after the Waters decreased and returned. And in the year 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordroch* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Floud to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that, in the year 1238. *Trithemius* speaketh of an Earthquake, which swallowed many thousands: and after that of a Floud in *Friseland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Strozius Sigog*, in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italy*, in the time of Pope *Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicil* were swallowed: another in the Papacie of *Alexander* the sixth: also in the year 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperour. He also remembereth a perilous over-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Viginier*, a *French* Historian, speaketh of a great Floud in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in *Anno Domini* 1557. with so dreadful a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and Judgment-day; saying, That by the violent descent of the Waters from the Mountain, about *Nismes*, there were removed divers old heaps and mountures of ground, and many other places torn up and rent: by which accident there was found both coyn of Silver and Gold, divers pieces of Plate and Vessels of other Mettal, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goths* invaded that Province, in the year 1156.

Munst.

Eclipsis, & terræ motus continui, multa hominum millia oppressum. Frisia quoque per maritimos fluctus in parte submersa fuit, & perierunt plusquam 100000.

§. V.

That the Floud of Noah *was supernatural; though some say it might have been foreseen by the Stars.*

NOw, howsoever all these Flouds, and many other, which have covered at several times, several Regions, not only in these parts of the World, but in *America* also, (as I have learned of some ancient Southsayers among them) may be aseribed to natural causes and accidents; yet that universal Floud

Floud (in the time of *Noah*) was poured over the whole face of the Earth by a power above Nature, and by the eſpecial commandment of God himſelf; who at that time gave ſtrength of influence to the Stars, and abundance to the Fountains of the deep: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible than any ability of nature could effect, or any ſecond cauſes by whatſoever union, could perform, without receiving from the Fountain of all power, ſtrength and faculties ſupernatural. *Henricus Mechlinienſis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries upon the great conjunctions of *Albu Maſar*, obſerveth, that before the Floud of *Noah*, the like Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* happened in the laſt degree of *Cancer*, againſt that conſtellation, ſince called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the Floud of *Noah* might be fore-told, becauſe *Cancer* is both a watry Sign, and the Houſe of the Moon, which is the Lady of the Sea, and of moiſture, according to the rules of *Aſtronomy*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* upon *Geneſis* confirmeth, affirming, that although *Noah* did well know this Floud by divine revelation, (yet this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the ſecond cauſes thereof: for thoſe were not only ſigns, but alſo working cauſes, by ſtrength receiv'd from the firſt cauſe, which is God himſelf: and further, that by * *Catarractæ cœli*, *Engliſhed* the Windows of Heaven) *Moſes* meant this great and watry Conjunction; the word *Catarractæ*, ſignifying flowing down, or coming down. Now (ſaith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleaſed God to ordain by the courſe of the Heavens ſuch a Conſtellation, by which all men might behold therin their deſtruction towards, and thereby forſake thoſe wicked ways wherein they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

Of this judgment was *Gul. Pariſienſis*, who underſtood, that the words *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windows of Heaven, were to be taken for the former Conjunction, or for thoſe watry ſigns, *Cancer*, *Piſces*, *Pleiades Hyades*, and *Orion*; and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus*, and the *Moon*: which are the forcible cauſes of the greateſt Inundations. His own words are theſe: *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum Catarractas Cœli vocâſſe, niſi partes illas cœli, quæ generativæ ſunt pluviarum & inundationum Aquarum, quales ſunt ſigna aquatica, ut Cancer*, &c. as aforeſaid. As yet (ſaith he) *I perceive not what the Prophet of the* Hebrews *meaneth by thoſe words* (*Catarractæ cœli*, or Windows of Heaven) *unleſs he thereby underſtandeth thoſe celeſtial powers, by whoſe influences are ingendred the rain and inundations of waters, ſuch as are the watry ſigns of* cancer, &c.

But, in a word, as it might pleaſe God, that in the courſe of his unſearchable wiſdom this Conjunction ſhould at ſuch time be: ſo did he (as aforeſaid) adde vigour and faculty, and gave to every operation increaſe of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountains, commanding them to caſt out the whole treaſure and heap of their waters; taking retention from the clouds, and condenſing ayr into water by the miniſtery of his Angels, or whoſoever elſe beſt pleaſed his All-powerfulneſs.

Alſo *de Concordia Theog & Aſtrolog. Gen. 7. 11.*

* The word ἀναχύσεως properly ſignifieth any place of ſtoppage, againſt which the force of the water being naturally carried downwards, daſheth and breaketh; of ἀναχέω, *allido*, or *frango*. Hence, becauſe Windows do not only open, but alſo ſhut, the word hath been expounded (*Windows*) for Bars or Floud-gates.

§. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of matter to make the univerſal Floud: And what are Catarractæ Cœli, Gen. 7. *v.* 11.

NOw, if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God reſted the ſeventh day: (that is, he did not then after create any new *ſpecies*) which granted, it may ſeem that then all the Earth and Ayr had not waters ſufficient to cover the habitable World fifteen cubits above the higheſt mountains. Of this propoſition, whether God had ſo reſtrained himſelf, or no, I will not diſpute; but for the conſequent (which is), that the World had want of water to over-cover the higheſt mountains, I take that conceit to be unlearned and fooliſh; for it is written, *That the Fountains of the great deep were broken up*, (that is) the waters forſook the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatſoever was diſperſed therein, pierced, and brake through the face thereof. Then let us conſider, that the Earth had above one and twenty thouſand miles, the *Diameter* of the Earth, according to that circle, ſeven thouſand mile, and then from the *Superficies* to the *Center*, ſome three thouſand five hundred miles. Take then the higheſt mountain of the World, *Caucaſus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the mountains of *Armenia*, or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the higheſt) in *Tennerif*, and I do not find, that he that looketh higheſt, ſtretcheth above thirty miles upright. It is not then impoſſible, anſwering reaſon with reaſon, that all thoſe waters mixed within the Earth three thouſand five hundred miles deep, ſhould not well help to cover the ſpace of thirty miles in height; this thirty miles upright being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and ſixteen times: for, *the Fountains of the great deep were broken up*, and the waters drawn out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we conſider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extenſion of the Ayr over and above it,

we shall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this Ayr, as every where compasseth and imbraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conversion of Ayr into Water, a change familiar in those Elements; it will not seem strange to men of judgment, yea, but of ordinary understanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was covered over with Waters, without any new Creation.

Lastly; For the opinions of *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacensis*, to which I may adde *Berosus*, and others, That such a conjunction there was, fore-shewing that destruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windows of Heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needs no other answer than that observation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth, That by the gravest *Astrologian* it was observed, that in the year 1524. there should happen the like conjunction as at *Noah*'s Floud; than which (saith he) there was never a more fair, dry, and seasonable year: The like destruction was propheſied, of the year 1588. But *Picus* Earl of *Mirandula* proveth, that there could not be any such conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other mysterie in the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* using the word *Windows of Heaven* (if that be the sense of the word) to express the violence of the Rains, and pouring down of Waters. For whosoever hath seen those fallings of Water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spouts, (where clouds do not break into drops, but fall with a resistless violence in one body) may properly use that manner of speech which *Moses* did; That the Windows, or Floud-gates of Heaven opened: (which is) That Waters fell contrary to custom, and that order which we call natural. God then loosened the power retentive in the uppermost ayr, and the Waters fell in abundance: *Behold* (says *Job*) *he withholdeth the Waters, and they dry up* (or better in Latine, *Et omnia siccantur*; *And all things are dried up*) *but when he sendeth them not, they destroy the Earth:* And in the 26 Chapter: *He bindeth the waters in the clouds.* But these Bonds God loosed at that time of the general Floud, and called up the Waters which slept in the great Deep; and these joyning together, covered the Earth, till they performed the work of his will: which done, he then commanded them to return into their dark and vast Caves; and the rest (by a Wind) rarified again into ayr, formerly condensed into drops.

Job 12. v. 15.

Gen. 8.1.

§. VII.

Of some remainder of the memory of Noah *among the Heathen.*

Noah, commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entred the Ark which he had built, with his own Wife, and his Sons, and his Sons Wives, taking with them of every Creature which took life by generation, seven of the clean, and of the unclean, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth Quietness: after others, and according to the Prophecie of his Father *Lamech*, Cessation; to whom aftertimes gave many Names, answering his Antiquity, Zeal, Virtue, and other qualities: as, *The first Ogyges*, because in the time of the *Grecian Ogyges*, there was also a great Floud of *Achaia*: *Saturn* they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gave him the Name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steal away *Jupiters* fire; Fire in that place being taken and understood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others think, that he was so called for his excellent wisdom and foresight. He had also the Name of *Janus*, (*id est*) *Vinosus*, because *Jain* signifieth Wine in the *Hebrew*. And so *Tertullian* finds him written *in libris Ritualibus, in the Books of Ceremonies*, preceding both *Saturn*, *Uranus*, and *Jove:* which three enjoyed an elder time then all the other ancientest feigned gods. And this Name *Jain* is taken from the *Hebrew* and *Syrian*, and not from the *Latine:* for it was in use before there was any *Latine* Nation, or any Kingdom by that Name known. Of the antiquity of *Janus*, *Fabius Pictor* giveth this testimony: *Jani ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæserat ulla regnandi cupiditas*, &c. *Vinum & Far primus populos docuit* Janus *ad sacrificia: primus enim Aras & Pomœria & Sacra docuit*; *In the time of* Janus (saith he) *there was no Monarchy: for the desire of rule had not then folded it self about the hearts of men.* Janus *first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meal: he first set up Altars, instituted Gardens, and solitary Groves, wherein they used to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies.* A greater testimony than this there cannot be found among all the *Heathen*, which in all agree so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest *Noah* flourished, there was not any King, or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the first that took on him soveraign Authority. Secondly, *Noah*, after the Floud, was the first that planted the Vine, and became an Husband-man; and therefore offered the first-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and

Gen. 9. 20.

and Meal. Thirdly, he was the firſt that raiſed an Altar, and offered ſacrifice to God a thankſgiving for his merciful goodneſs towards him. *Noah* was alſo ſignified in the Name of *Biſrons* (which was given to *Janus*) becauſe he beheld the times both before and after the Floud. *Quia præterita noverit, & futura proſpexerit*, ſaith *Arnobius*: *Becauſe he knew what was paſt, and provided for what was to come.* He was alſo in the perſon of *Janus* ſhadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen Orbis*, *The ſeed of the World*: becauſe, as out of that confuſed Heap was drawn all the kinds of Beaſts and Plants; ſo from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whereof *Ovid* in the perſon of *Janus*:

Gen. 8. 20.

Arn. cont. Gent. l. 6.

Ovid. de Faſtis. l. 1.

Me Chaos antiqui (nam ſum res priſca) vocabant:
Aſpice quàm longi temporis acta cano!
The Antient call'd me *Chaos*: my great years
By thoſe old times, of which I ſing, appears.

He was alſo intituled *Cœlum* and *Sol*, *Heaven* and *the Sun*, for his excellent knowledg in Aſtronomy: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus* and *Alex. Aphrodiſeus* ſo call, becauſe he was the reſtorer of the *Greeks* to their former liberty, but in reſpect of the Floud. For the *Greeks* called *Liber* γῆ, and his Nurſes *Hyades*, of Rain, becauſe *Noah* entred the Ark when the Sun joyned with the Stars *Hyades*, a conſtellation in the Brow or Neck of *Taurus*, and ever after a Monument of *Noah*'s Floud. He was alſo by others ſurnamed *Triton*, a Marine god, the Son of *Neptune*; becauſe he lived in ſafety on the Waters. So was he known by the name of *Dionyſus*, *quaſi* διονύσσων, *mentem pungens*, *Bite-brain*, or *Witſtinger*; though *Diodorus* conceive otherwiſe, and derive that name *à Patre & Loco*; *Of his Father and the place of his Birth*, (to wit) of *Jove*, and *Niſa*, a Town of *Arabia fœlix*, ſaith *Suidas*, out of *Orpheus*. He had alſo the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; becauſe he firſt yoaked Oxen, and Tilled the ground: according to that of *Moſes*; *and* Noah *became an Husbandman.* Now howſoever the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus*, (otherwiſe *Dionyſus*) it is certain, that the Name was borrowed, and the Invention ſtolen from *Noah*. But this name of *Bacchus*, more antiently *Boëcus*, was taken (ſaith *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danæus*) from *Noachus*, (N) being changed into (B); and it is the more probable, becauſe it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the firſt planter of the Vine after the Floud: and of *Noah* (the firſt and antient *Bacchus*) were all thoſe fables deviſed, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Book and fifth Chapter. This firſt *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was ſurnamed *Nyſius*, of the Mountain *Nyſa* in *India*; where the *Grecian Bacchus* never came, whatſoever themſelves feign of his enterpriſes: and theſe Mountains of *Nyſa* joyn with thoſe of *Paropaniſus*, and thoſe other *Eaſtern* Mountains, on which the Ark of *Noah* reſted after the Floud.

Nat. Com. l. 5. c. 13.

Calius.

Gen. 9. 20.

Stuck. in libris convivalibus, & Danæus de prima mundi ætate.

Furthermore, to the end that the memory of this ſecond Parent of Mankind might the better be preſerved, there were founded by his Iſſues many great Cities, which bear his Name, with many Rivers and Mountains; which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, becauſe the many Names given him, brought the ſame confuſion to places as to himſelf. Notwithſtanding all which, we find the City of *Noah* upon the banks of the red Sea, and elſewhere: the River of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolemy*, *Danus*; dividing *Illyria* from *Panonia*. Thus much for the Name.

Plin l. 6. Steph. de Urb. Herod. l. 4. Strabo l. 7.

§. VIII.

Of ſundry particulars touching the Ark: as the place where it was made, the matter, faſhion, and name.

NOw in what part of the World *Noah* built the *Ark*, it doth not appear in the Scriptures, neither do I find any approved Author that hath written thereof; only *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiveth, that *Noah* built his *Ark* neer the Mountains of *Caucaſus*, becauſe on thoſe hills are found the goodlieſt Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the war among the people, called *Nyſæi*, inhabiting the other ſide of *Caucaſus*, he found all their Burials and Sepulchres wrought over with Cedar. To this place (ſaith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to ſeparate himſelf from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled againſt God and Nature, as alſo becauſe he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Ark*; to which alſo he addeth the conveniency of Rivers, to tranſport the Timber which he uſed, without troubling any other Carriages.

Only this we are ſure of, that the Ark was built in ſome part of the Eaſtern World; and to my underſtanding, not far from the place where it reſted after the Floud. For *Noah* did not uſe any Maſt or Sayle (as in other Ships) and therefore did the *Ark* no otherwiſe move, than the Hulk or body of a Ship doth in a calm Sea. Alſo, becauſe it is not probable, that during theſe continual

and

and down-right Rains, there were any Winds at all, therefore was the *Ark* little moved from the place where it was fashioned and set together: for it is written. *God made a Wind to pass upon the Earth, and the Waters ceased.* And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storm or forcible wind at all, which could drive the *Ark* any great distance from the place where it was first by the Waters lifted us. This is also the more probable, if that antient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the *Ark* had *fundum planum, A flat bottom*, and not raysed in form of a Ship, with a sharpness forward, to cut the Waves for the better speed.

Gen. 8. 1.

This kind of Vessel the *Hebrews* call *Thebet*, and the *Greeks Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucalions* Ship: and some say, that the Hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight days he arrived, was first called *Larnassus*, and by the chang of (L) into (P) *Parnassus*; but *Pausanias* thinks that it took name of a Son of the Nymph *Cleodora*, called *Parnassus*, the Inventor of *Auguration*.

Steph. de Urb. fol. 227.

Peucerus finds the word (*Parnassus*) to have no affinitie with the *Greek*, but thinks it derived from the *Hebrew* word *Nahas*, which signifieth *Auguration* and *Divination*; or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles, in the Leaf before cited.

De Oracul. fo 94.

Josephus calls the *Ark*, *Machina*, by the general name of a huge Frame; and *Epiphanius* out of the *Hebrew*, *Aron*: but herein lieth the difference between *Aron* and *Thebet*, That *Aron* signifieth properly the *Ark* of the *Sanctuary*, but *Thebet* such a Vessel, as swimmeth, and beareth it self upon the Waters.

Epiph. in Ancor.

Lastly, this *Ark* of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a Ship, in this, that it had a Cover and Roofe, with a Crest in the middest thereof, and the sides declining like the Roof of an House; to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himself and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noysomness of the many Beasts, which filled the other rooms and parts of the *Ark*.

Gen. 6. 4.

Of what Wood the *Ark* was built, it is uncertain. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher* once, and in this place only used, is diversly understood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Geneva* Translation calls it Pine-tree; the *Rabbine*, Cedar; the *Seventy*, square Timber; the *Latine*, smooth Timber. Others will have it Cypress Trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypress is worn at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signifie any special kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed the voice of God therein; If not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, having the promise of God, and his Grace and mercy for his defence: For with *Noah* God promised *to establish his covenant.* *Plinie* affirmeth, that in *Egypt* it was the use to build Ships of Cedar, which the worms eat not; and he avoweth, that he saw in *Utica*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, Cedar beams, laid in the time of the foundation of the City, and that they were still found in his time, which was about 1188. years after: proving thereby, that this kind of wood was not subject to putrifying or mouldring in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet savour, lasting also better then any other wood, and because neer the place where the *Ark* rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the Mountains of the East, besides those of *Libanus*; it is probable enough that the *Ark* might be of that wood: which hath, beside the other commodities, the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build Ships withal. *Pererius* conceiveth, that the *Ark* had divers sorts of Timber, and that the bottom had of one sort, the deck and partition of another; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in general. True it is, that Cedar will serve for all parts of a Ship, as well for the Body, as for Masts and Yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the *Ark*; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabins; thereby to sever the clean Beasts from the unclean, and to preserve their several sorts of Food; and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God; who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it without the help of a Compass or the North star. The Pitch which *Noah* used, is by some supposed to have been a kind of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantity about the Vally of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, now the dead Sea, or *Asphaltes*, and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West *India*: and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sun, but by the Fire only, after the manner of hard Wax.

V. 18. Plin. l. 16. c. 8o.

Pererius.

§. IX.

That the Ark was of sufficient capacity.

THe *Ark*, according to Gods commandement, had of length three hundred Cubites

Cubits. fifty of breadth, and thirty deep or high: by which proportion, it had six parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. *Augustine: Proculdubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo Civitatis Dei. (hoc est) Ecclesiæ quæ sit salva per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Jesus Christus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisque ejus significat corpus humanum, in cujus veritate ad homines pranunciatus est venturus, & venit,* &c. *Without doubt* (saith he) *it is a Figure of the City of God travelling in this world as a stranger, (that is) of the Church, saved by the Tree, whereupon the Mediator between God and Man, the Man Jesus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, heighth and breadth, answereth the shape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was fore-told and performed.* De Civit. Dei l. 15. c. 26.

By what kind of Cubit the Ark was measured, it hath been a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the diffences are in effect these: The first kind of Cubit (called the common) containeth one foot and a half, measured from the sharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the Palm-Cubit) which taketh one handfull more than the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Persian* Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit three inches. The fourth is the sacred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fifth Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth six common Cubits. But of all these sorts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens statures hath made the difference. For as there is now a less proportion of bodies, so is the common Cubit from the sharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of less length than it was in elder times.

Saint *Augustine*, considering the many sorts of Beasts and Birds which the Ark held, with their food and water, was sometime of opinion, that the *Ark* had proportion after the Geometrical Cubit, which containeth almost six of the common: For, measuring the *Ark* by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capácity of that Vessel built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the Ship of *Ptolemy Philo-pater*. But S. *Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his judgment as touching the Geometrical Cubit; and found, upon better consideration that there needed not so huge a Body to preserve all sorts of Creatures, by God appointed to be reserved. For it was not needfull to take any kinds of Fishes into the *Ark*, because they were kept living (saith S. *Augustine*) in their own Element. *Non fuit necesse conservare in Arca quæ possent in aquis vivere, non solùm mersa sicut Pisces; verùm super-natantia, sicut multæ alites: It was not needfull to conserve those creature in the Ark, which could live in the Waters; and not onely Fishes which can live under water, but also those Fowls which sit and swim on them.* And again, *Terra, non aqua, maledicta; quia* Adam *non hujus, sed illius fructum vetitum comedit: It was the Earth, and not the Waters which God cursed; for of the forbidden fruit of the Earth and not of the Sea, did* Adam *eat.* So, as S. *Augustine* gathereth hereupon (as aforesaid) that so huge a Frame needed not. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 27.

And if we look with the eyes of judgment hereunto, we shall find nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) have more of mischief and of ignorance, than of any reverend reason, found many impossibilities in this work of God. But it is manifest, and undoubtedly true, that many of the *Species*, which now seem differing, and of several kinds, were not then *in rerum natura*. For those Beasts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to preserve them, seeing they might be generated again by others: as the Mules, the *Hyæna's*, and the like; the one begotten by Asses and Mares, and the other by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by discovering of strange Lands, wherein there are found divers Beasts and Birds, differing in colour or stature from those of these Northern parts; it may be supposed by a superficial consideration, that all those which were red and pied skins, or feathers, are differing from those that are less painted, and wear plain russet or black; they are much mistaken that so think. And for mine own opinion, I find no difference, but onely in magnitude, between the Cat of *Europe*, and the Ounce of *India*; and, even those Dogs which are become wild in *Hispaniola*, with which the *Spaniards* used to devour the naked *Indians*, are now changed to Wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattel, and do also oftentimes tear asunder their own Children. The common Crow and Rook of *India* is full of red feathers in the drowned and low Islands of *Caribana*; and the Blackbird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with black and carnation in the North parts of *Virginia*. The Dog-fish of *England* is the Shark of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of *Species*, Acost. hist. India.

Athen. dipnosp. l. 4 Plutarc. in vit. Demetrii.

then

then were the *Nigro*'s, which we call the *Black-Moors*, *non animalia rationalia*, not Men, but some kind of strange Beasts: and so the Giants of the South *America* should be of another kind, than the people of this part of the World. We also see it daily, that the natures of Fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Climate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often grafting; and the best Melons will change in a year or two to common Cowcumers, by being set in a barren soyl. Therefore, taking the kinds precisely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the Ark after the measure of the common Cubit, was sufficiently capacious to contain of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but half a foot of measure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a half of Giantly stature (and less allowance we cannot give to the difference between them and us) then did the Ark contain 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in breadth, and 60. foot in depth.

But first of all, to make it manifest that the Geometrical Cubit is not used in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the Bed of *Og*, King of *Basan*, had been nine Geometrical Cubits long, it had taken 54. Cubits of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliah*, who had the length of six Cubits and an handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull (a proportion credible) if these Cubits had been Geometrical, then had been 54. foot in height, and upwards, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliah* been nine foot long, and farr weightier and bigger then all *David*'s body, who carried it away.

Deut. 3. 11.

1 *Sam.* 17. 4.

Again, if the Geometrical Cubit had been used for a Measure in the Scripture, as many Commenters have observed, then had the Altar (appointed to contain five Cubits of length, five of breadth and three of height) reached the length of 27. foot upright, and so must their Priests have ascended by steps or Ladders to have performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrary to Gods Commandment, given in these words: *Thou shalt not go up with steps unto mine Altar, that thy shame be not discovered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high, which make four foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their Office. Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the ordinary Cubit of one foot and a half, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doubtless) might give much the more capacity to the Ark; although it be also probable, that as the Men were, so were the horses whereon they rode, and all other Creatures of a correspondent size. And yet, (as I take it) though by this means there were not any whit the more room in the Ark, it were not hard to conceive, how all the distinct *species* of Animals, whose lives cannot be preserved in the Waters, might according to their present quantities be contained in a Vessel of those dimensions which the Ark had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a half of our now usual measure: whence it followeth of necessity, that those large bodies which were in the days of *Noah*, might have room sufficient in the Ark, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

Exod. 20. 26.

How the appointed number of Creatures to be saved, (that is, seven of the clean, two of the unclean, with necessary food) might have place in the Ark, *Butæo* hath very learnedly declared: the brief summ of whose discourse to that purpose, is this. *The length of the Ark was three hundred Cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty Cubits, and the product by the height of thirty Cubits, sheweth the whole Concavity to have been* 450000. Now, whereas the posts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may seem to have taken up a great part of the hollow: the height of the roof, which (the perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500. cupical Cubes was a sufficient recompence: If therefore in a Ship of such greatness we seek room for 89. distinct *Species* of Beasts, or (lest any should be omitted) for 100. several kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bigness are no way answerable to them; and for meat to sustain them all. For there are three sorts of Beasts, whose bodies are of a quantity best known; the Beef, the Sheep, and the Wolf: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to four Beeves, one Lion to two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of Beasts, some feed on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirty kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables: of which number onely three are clean, according to the Law of *Moses*, whereof seven of a kind entred into the *Ark*, namely, three couples for breed, and one odde one for sacrifice: the other eight and twenty kinds were taken by two of each kind, so that in all there were in the *Ark* one and twenty great Beasts

Beaſts clean, and ſix and fifty unclean, eſtimable for largneſs as ninety one Beeves; yet for a ſupplement (leſt perhaps any *Species* be omitted) let them be valued as an hundred and twenty Beeves. Of the leſſer ſort feeding on vegetables, were in the *Ark* ſix and twenty kinds, eſtimable, with good allowance for ſupply, as fourſcore Sheep. Of thoſe which devour fleſh were two and thirty kinds, anſwerable to threeſcore and four Wolves. All theſe two hundred and eighty Beaſts might be kept in one ſtory or room of the *Ark*, in their ſeveral Cabins; their meat in a ſecond: the Birds and their proviſion in a third, with place to ſpare for *Noah* and his Family, and all their neceſſaries.

§. X.

That the Ark reſted upon part of the Hill Taurus (*or* Caucaſus) *between the* Eaſt-Indies, *and* Scythia.

¶. I.

A Præterition of ſome Queſtions leſs material: with a Note of the uſe of this Queſtion to find out the Metropolis of Nations.

WHat time *Noah* took to build the *Ark*, I leave to others to diſpute: but he received the Commandment from God an hundred years before the Waters fell; and had therefore choice of time, and leiſure ſufficient. As for the number of Decks and Partitions, which *Origen* divides into four, Saint *Auguſtine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controverſie: or, whether thoſe Creatures which ſometimes reſt on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alegartos*) the Sea-Cows, or Sea-Horſes, were kept in the *Ark*, or no, I think it a needleſs curioſity; and yet to this ſaith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fiſh-pool might be made as well within the *Ark*, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuſe*. Laſtly, to conſider or labour to diſprove the foolery of the *Hebrews*, who ſuppoſe that the *Ark* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Cryſtal to receive in Light, and keep out Water, were but to revive the buried vanities of former times. But that which I ſeek moſt to ſatisfie my ſelf and others in, is, In what part of the World the *Ark* reſted after the Floud: becauſe the true underſtanding of ſome of theſe places (as the ſeat of the terreſtrial *Paradiſe*, and the reſting of the *Ark*) do onely and truly teach the Worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Floud; and all Story, as well general as particular, thereby may be the better underſtood.

¶. II.

A Propoſal of the common opinion, that the Ark reſted upon ſome of the Hills of Armenia.

AND firſt, for the true place where the *Ark* reſted after the Floud, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* travelled to their firſt ſettlement and plantation, I am reſolved (without any preſumption) that therein the moſt Writers were utterly miſtaken. And I am not led ſo to think out of any Humour, or newneſs of opinion, or ſingularity; but do herein ground my ſelf on the original and firſt truth, which is the word of God, and after that upon reaſon, and the moſt probable circumſtances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *That the Ark ſtayed upon one of the mountains of* Ararat, which the *Chaldean Paraphraſt* hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the hills *Gordæi*, or *Gordiæi*, in *Armenia* the greater (as the words *Gordæi*, and *Kardu*, ſeem to be one and the ſame) of which opinion alſo the moſt of our Interpreters are: I find neither Scripture nor Reaſon which teacheth any ſuch thing (towit) that it reſted on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* calls this Mountain of *Ararat*, *Baris*; being the ſame which the *Chaldean* nameth *Kardu*, to which Mountain the Frier *Annius* (citing this place out of *Joſephus*) makes him find another adjoyning, called *Ocila*, and to ſay that the *Ark* (of which *Moſes* the Law-giver of the *Hebrews* wrote) did firſt take ground on this *Ocila*. But I do not find any ſuch Mountain in being, as this *Ocila*, neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Joſephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontory in *Arabia fœlix* of that name; and *Pliny* finds a Mart-town ſo called in the ſame, which *Ptolemy* calls *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damaſcenus*, or rather of *Annius*, ſeemeth to be one and a part of the *Armenian* Mountains. *Beroſus* calleth thoſe Mountains of *Armenia Gordiæi*, and *Curtius Cordæi*: *Ptolemy Gordæi* and *Gordiæi*: of which the Countrey next adjoyning is, by this *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, called *Nyniada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* conjectures) for *Milyada*, or rather *Minni*: which word is uſed for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* ſeems to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we ſhould ſay *Minni*

Gen. 8. 4.

Hiero 51. 27.

Nat. hist. l. 5. c. 12. of *Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, *Pliny* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about these Mountains, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The Mountains are seated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the Mountains called *Taurus*, or *Niphates*, in the Plains of *Armenia* the great, near the Lake *Thospitis*: whence the River of *Tygris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. & 52. degrees of latitude. One of the Mountains, *Gordiæi* (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent: but this out of *Josephus*. Which name (saith *Junius*) was of the event, because of *Noahs* coming down with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed event; seeing any Hill from whence on every side we must descend, may thus be called: as *Junius* corrects the place in *Josephus* (Λοὐβαρις *Kubaris*.) That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, because *Joseph.* l. 1. c. 4. says, the place is called Ἀπόβατηριον (as it were the descent or coming down) and *Epiphanius* lib. 1. *contr. Haref.* calls it Λ'φας, which word in the *Armenian* and *Egyptian* Tongue signifieth Descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a *Synagogue*, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the *Latine Delubrum* may seem to be derived; and *Acts* 6. 9. they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Egyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu*. Yet this opinion hath been embraced from Age to Age, receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any further examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be given, especially to that Mountain, by reason that the passage was more fair, up and down unto it, than to any of the rest adjoyning.

Joseph. de Antiq. l. 1. cap. 4.

§. III.

The first Argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, *would have come sooner, had they come from so near a place as* Armenia.

BUt there are many Arguments to perswade me, that the *Ark* of *Noah* did not rest it self in any part of *Armenia*, and that the Mountain *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiæan* Mountains.

For the first: It is agreed by all who follow *Berosus*, that it was in the year 130. or in the year 131. after the Floud, when *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward call'd *Babylonia*, *Chush*, and *Chaldea*. If then the *Ark* had first found Land in *Armenia*, it is very unprobable, that the children of *Noah*, which came into that Valley, could have spent so many years in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was onely interjacent, which might by easie journeys have been past over in twenty days; and to hasten and help which passage, the navigable River of *Tygris* offered it self, which is every where transpassable by Boats of great burthen: so as where the Desart on the one side resisted their expedition, the River on the contrary side served to advance it; the River rising out of the same Ledge of Mountains, or at the foot of them, where the *Ark* of *Noah* was first supposed to settle it self; Then, if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surprise of a second Floud (according to the opinions of the ancient *Hebrews*) it soundeth ill to the ear of reason, that they would have spent many years in that low and overflown Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called, of the many Rivers which imbroider or compass it: for the effects witnessed their affections, and the works which they undertook, their unbelief; being no sooner arrived in *Shinar*, but they began to provide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared Inundation. Now, at *Babel* it was, that *Nimrod* began his Kingdom, the first known City of the World, founded after the Floud, about 131. years, or (as others suppose) ten years later: though (for my self) I rather think that they undertook that work in two respects; first, to make themselves famous, *To get us a name* (saith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to usurp dominion over the rest. *Gen. 10. Beros. l. 1.*

Beros. l. 1.

§. IV.

The second Argument; That the Eastern People were most ancient in populosity, and in all humane glory.

FOr a second Argument: The civility, magnificence, and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the World first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noah*'s taking Land there. And that this is true, the use of Printing and Artillery (among many other things which the East had) may easily perswade us, that those Sunrising Nations were the most ancient. The certainty of this report, that the *East-Indians* (time out of mind) have had Guns and Ordnance of battery, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, make us now to understand, That the place of *Philostratus in vita Apollonii*

lonii Tianæi, l. 2. *c.* 14. is no fable, though expreſſed in fabulous words: when he ſaith, that the wiſe men, which dwell between *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges*, uſe not themſelves to go forth into Battel: but that they drive away their Enemies with Thunder and Lightning ſent from *Jupiter*. By which means there it is ſaid, that *Hercules Ægyptius* and *Bacchus*, joyning their forces, were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there caſt away his golden Shield. For the invention of Letters was ignorantly aſcribed to *Cadmus*, becauſe he brought them firſt into *Greece*: of which the people (then rude and ſavage) had reaſon to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that Letters are no leſs antient then *Seth* or *Henoch* were: for they are ſaid to have written on Pillars of Stone (as before remembred) long before the Floud. But from the Eaſtern world it was that *John Guthenberg* a *Germane*, brought the device of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being inſtructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicolaus Gerſon* a *Frenchman*, bettered both the Letters and Invention. And notwithſtanding that this Myſtery was then ſuppoſed to be but newly born, the *Chinois* had Letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phœnicians*; and alſo the Art of Printing, when as the *Greeks* had neither any civil knowledg, or any Letters among them.

And, that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* have witneſſed, who about an hundred years ſince diſcovered thoſe Kingdoms, and do now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinois* account all other nations but ſalvages in reſpect of themſelves.

And to add ſtrength to this argument, the conqueſt and ſtory of *Alex. Macedon* may juſtly be called to witneſs, who found more Cities and ſumptuoſity in that little Kingdom of *Porus*, which lay ſide by ſide to the Eaſt *India*, then in all his other travails and undertakings. For in *Alexander's* time, learning and greatneſs had not travailed ſo far to the Weſt as *Rome*. *Alexander* eſteeming of *Italy* but as a barbarous Country, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that ſtood in his eye, and the fame of the Eaſt pierced his ears. And if we look as far as the Sun-riſing, and hear *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the uttermoſt Angle and *Iſland* thereof, we ſhall find that thoſe Nations have ſent out, and not received; lent knowledg, and not borrowed it from the Weſt. For the farther Eaſt (to this day) the more civil; the farther Weſt, the more Salvage. And of the Iſle of *Japan* (now *Zipingari*) *Venetus* maketh this report: *Incolæ religioni, literis & ſapientiæ ſunt addictiſſimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more noſtro) ſacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoſcunt Principem, unum Deum adorant: The Iſlanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and philoſophy, and moſt diligent ſearchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent then prayer, which they uſe in their Churches, after the manner of Chriſtians: They acknowledg one King, and worſhip one God.* The antiquity, magnificence, civility, riches, ſumptuous buildings, and policie in government, is reported to be ſuch by thoſe who have been imployed in thoſe parts, as it ſeemeth to exceed (in thoſe formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other Kingdoms of the World.

§. V.

The third Argument, from the wonderful reſiſtance which Semiramis *found in the Eaſt Indies.*

BUt for a third argument, and alſo of a treble ſtrength to the reſt, I lay the invaſion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and adviſed Reader: who may conſider in what Age ſhe lived, and how ſoon after the Worlds new birth ſhe gathered her Army (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Cteſias* reporteth) of more then three millions to invade *India*, to which he adjoyned alſo 500000. Horſe; and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we believe but a third part, it ſhall ſuffice to prove that *India* was the firſt planted and peopled Country after the Floud. Now as touching the time wherein ſhe lived: All Hiſtorians conſent that ſhe was the Wife of *Ninus*, and the moſt approved Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Son of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Son of *Chuſh*, *Cuſh* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at ſuch time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinaar*, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the City and Tower of *Babel* may appear; and being then ſo multiplied and increaſed, the two deſcents caſt between *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time thoſe multitudes, whereof her Army was compoſed. Let us then ſee with whom ſhe encountred in that War with this her powerful Army: even with a multitude, rather exceeding, then equalling her own, conducted by *Staurobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whoſe multitudes this is the witneſs of *Diod. Siculus*; Staurobates *coactis majoribus, quàm quæ erant* Semiramidis, *copiis*: Staurobates

gathering together greater Troops then those of Semiramis. If then these numbers of *Indians* had been increased but by a *Colonie* sent out from *Shinaar* (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt took some time in the performance) this increase in the East, and this Army of *Staurobates* must have been made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might easily grow up in that time, from so great a Troop as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Story of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication natural, produce so many bodies of men as were in the *Indian* Army victorious over *Semiramis*, if the *Colonies* sent thither had been so late as *Babel* overturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if we allow 65. years time after the Floud, before *Nimrod* was born: of which, thirty years to *Cush* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom he had *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: and then thirty years to *Raamah*, ere he begat
Gen. 10. 7. *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were born before *Nimrod*: and five years to his five elder Brothers, which make sixty five, and then twice thirty years for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba*, and *Dedan* with others, to beget their Sons; and that a third Generation might grow up, which makes in all an hundred twenty five years; there will then remain six years to have been spent in travailing from the East, ere they arrived in *Shinaar*, in the year after the Floud 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might be of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to have arrived at *Shinaar* in the year 101. and the Confusion to have been at *Pelegs* birth, these men do all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the help of time; and build *Nimrods* Tower in the Ayr; and not on those low and marish grounds (which require sound foundations) in the Plains of *Shinaar*. For except that huge Tower were built in a day, there could be no confusion in that year 101. or at *Pelegs* birth. And therefore it is far more probable, that *Nimrod* usurped Regal authority in the 131. year after the Floud (according to *Berosus*) and that the Work of *Babel* lasted
Glyc in Gen. & de Turris extructione fol. 173. fourty years (according to *Glycas*) *Hominibus in ea perficienda totis* 40. *annis incassum laborantibus*; *Men labouring in vain* 40. *years to finish it*. By which account it falls out that it was 170. years after the Floud, ere a *Colonie* was sent into *East India*; which granted, (the one being the main Body, and the other but a Troop taken thence) it can hardly be believed that *Staurobates* could have exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Empress of all that part of the world gathered the most of Nations into one body.

§. VI.

The fourth Argument from divers considerations in the person of Noah.

FOurthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the Floud, and had lived therein the long time of 600. years, was all that space 130. years after the Floud without any certain habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of those people, by *Noah* destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Western World; (which Travails *Noah* put over to young and able bodies) and that *Noah* himself, then covered with many years, planted himself in the same place which God had assigned him; which was, where he first came down out of the Ark from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came down out of the Ark, he planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman, whose business was to dress and manure the Earth; and not to range over so many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia fœlix*, where he should (if the Tradition be found) have left certain *Colonies*: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*: then into *Spain* where they say he setled other companies, and built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his Sons Wives: from thence into *Italy*, where they say he found his Son *Cham* the *Saturn* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subjects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the story) had patience for three years; but then finding no amendment, they say he banish'd him out of *Italy*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Annianus*, a plain imitation of the *Grecian* fables. For let every reasonable man conceive, what it was to travail far in such a Forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the Earth by the Floud, the same lay wast and over-grown for 130. or 140. years, and wherein there could hardly be found either part or passage through which men were able to creep for Woods, Bushes, and Bryers, that in those years were grown up.

And there are so many reasons, proving that *Noah* never came into the Valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italy* or *Spain*: For *Noah* who was Father of all those Nations, a man reverenced both for

for his Authority, Knowledg, Experience and Piety, would never have permitted his children and iſſues to have undertaken that unbelieving preſumptuos work of *Babel*. Rather by his preſence and prevalent perſwaſions he would have bound their hands from ſo vain labours, and by the authority which he received even from God himſelf, he would have held them in that awfull ſubjection, as, whatſoever they had vainly conceived or feared, yet they durſt not have diſobeyed the perſonal commandment of him, who in the beginning had a kind of Regal authority over his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former deſtruction of man-kind was by themſelves purchaſed through cruelty and diſobedience; and that to diſtruſt God, and to raiſe up building againſt his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay upon them the ſame, if not a more ſharp affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he came ſo far Weſt as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he ſent thoſe numbers which came into *Shinaar* (being the greateſt troop, becauſe they had the greateſt part of the World to plant) under *Nimrod*, or thoſe upon whom he uſurped. *Nauclerus*, and *Cœleſtinus*, take the teſtimony of *Methodius* Biſhop of *Tyre* for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their increaſe (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Joctan*, of which *Nimrod* commanded the iſſues of *Cham*, *Joctan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Japhet*. This opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that ſo great a work as the Worlds Plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sons of *Sem*: *Joctan*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*, are eſpecially noted to have dwelt in the *Eaſt-India*. The reſt of *Sem*'s iſſues had alſo the Regions of *Perſia*, and the other adjoyning to *Indus*, and held alſo a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sons of *Joctan*, or of all the reſt a certain number (*Cham* and his iſſue onely excepted) that *Noah* kept with himſelf, it cannot be known. Of which Plantation I ſhall ſpeak at large in the Chapter following.

Now, another reaſon which moves me to believe that *Noah* ſtayed in the Eaſt far away from all thoſe that came into *Shinaar*, is, that *Moſes* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the Story of the *Hebrews*, or among any of thoſe Nations which contended with them. And *Noah* being the Father of all man-kind, and the choſen ſervant of God, was too principal a Perſon, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in reſpect of his age and wearíſome experience of the World) withdrawn himſelf, and reſted a-part with his beſt Beloved, giving himſelf to the ſervice and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their deſtined portions. For he landed in a warm and fertile ſoil, where he planted his Vineyard, and dreſt the Earth; after which, and his thankſgiving to God by ſacrifice, he is not remembred in the Scriptures, becauſe he was ſo farr away from thoſe Nations of which *Moſes* wrote: which were the *Hebrews* chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

§. VII.

Of the ſenſleſs opinion of Annius *the Commentor upon* Beroſus: *who finds divers places where the Ark reſted; as the* Caſpian *and* Gordiæan *Hills, which are three hundred miles aſunder; and alſo ſome places of* Scythia.

IT remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and Authorities of Frier *Annius*, who in his Commentaries upon *Beroſus* and others, laboureth marvellouſly to prove that the Ark of *Noah* reſted upon the *Armenian* Mountains called *Caſpii*; which Mountains ſeparate *Armenia* from the upper *Media*, and do equally belong to both. And becauſe all his Authors ſpeak of the Mountains of *Gordiæi*, he hath no other ſhift to unite theſe opinions, but by uniting thoſe far-diſtant Mountains together. To effect which, he hath found no other invention, than to charge thoſe men with errour, which have carefully over-ſeen, Printed, and Publiſhed *Ptolemies* Geography, in which they are altogether diſlevered. For that laſt Edition of *Mercators* ſets theſe Hills five degrees (which makes three hundred *Engliſh* miles) aſunder. And certainly, if we look into thoſe more ancient Copies of *Villanovanus*, and others, we ſhall find nothing in them to help *Annius* withall: for in thoſe the Mountains *Caſpii* ſtand ſeven degrees to the Eaſt of the *Gordiæi*, which makes 420. miles. And for thoſe Authors by whoſe authority *Annius* ſtrengthneth himſelf, *Diodorus* whom he ſo much followeth, giveth this judgment upon them in the like diſpute. *Aberrârunt verò omnes, non negligentiâ, ſed regnorum ſitûs ignorantiâ*; *They have all erred* (ſaith he) *not through negligence, but through ignorance of the ſituation of Kingdoms*. But for an induction, to prove that the Ark of *Noah* ſtood on the Mountains of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of

Ptol. tab. Aſiæ. 3.

Diod. l. c. 3.

of the *Scythians:* and to prove the ſame he citeth *Marcus Portius Cato*, who avoweth that 250. years before *Ninus*, the Earth was overflown with Waters, *Et in* Scythia *Saga renatum mortale genus*; *And that in* Scythia *the ſtock of mortal men was renewed.* The ſame Author alſo teacheth, that the *Umbri* before remembred (who were ſo called, becauſe ſaved from *Deucalions* Floud) were the Sons of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians. Ex his veniſſe* Janum *cum* Dyrim, *&* Gallis *progenitoribus Umbrorum*; *From theſe* Scythians, he ſaith, *that* Janus *came with* Dyrim, *and with the* Galli *the progenitours of the* Umbri: And again, *Equidem principatus originis ſemper* Scythis *tribuitur*; *Certainly, the prime Antiquity of Off-ſpring is alway given to the* Scythians. And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that thoſe Regions called *Scythia*, and now *Tartaria*, and by ſome Writers *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, were among the firſt peopled: and they held the greateſt part of *Aſia* under Tribute till *Ninus* Time. Alſo *Pliny* called the *Umbri* which long ſince inhabited *Italy*, *Gens antiquiſſima, a moſt ancient Nation*, who deſcended of theſe *Scythians*. Now, that which *Annius* laboureth, is to prove that theſe ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephews of *Noah*) did firſt inhabit that Region of the Mountains, on which the Ark reſted; and confeſſing that this great Ship was grounded in *Armenia*, he feigneth a Nation of *Scythians* called *Araxea*, taking name of the Mountain *Ararat*, near the River of *Araxes*. And becauſe his Author *Cato* helpeth him in part (to wit, That in *Scythia* mankind was reſtored after the great Floud 250. years before *Ninus*) and in part utterly deſtroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*; as, *In* Scythia *Saga renatum mortale genus*; *In* Scythia *Saga, mankind was reſtored:* he therefore in the *Proœme* of his Commentary upon *Beroſus*, leaveth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *homines in* Scythia *ſalvatos*. For *Scythia Saga*, or *Sacæ*, is undoubtedly under the Mountains of *Parapiniſus*; on which, or near which it is moſt probable that the Ark firſt took ground: and from thoſe Eaſt parts (according to *Moſes*) came all thoſe companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*.

Cato de orig. pars prima.

Plin. l 3. c. 14.

Beroſ. l. 1.

Ptol. Aſiæ. tab. 7.

Gen. 11. 2.

But now, the beſt authority which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus:* where he hath read that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name *à* Scytha *Rege eorum, from* Scytha *their King*. But (in a word) we may ſee his vanity, or rather (indeed) his falſhood in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a moſt approved and diligent Authour, beginneth in that place with theſe words: *Fabulantur* Scythæ, *The* Scythians *Fable:* and his Interpreter in the table of that work, giveth this Title to that very Chapter; *Scytharum origo & ſucceſſus, fabula*; *The original and ſucceſs of the* Scythians, *a Fable.* And (indeed) there needs no great diſproof hereof, ſince *Ptolemy* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga*, or *Sacæ*, and ſets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Perſians* (ſaith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians*, *Sacæ*; which *Pliny* confirms: for in reſpect that theſe *Sacæ* (ſaith *Pliny*) are the *Scythians* next to the *Perſians*, therefore they gave all the reſt that name. Now, that any Nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Perſians*, there is no man believeth. But this ſuppoſed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lieth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees diſtant from the *Sacæ*; and the Countrey about *Araxes Ptolemy* calleth *Colthene*, and *Soducene*, and *Sacapene*, without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all thoſe which are, or were reputed *Scythians* either within *Imaus*, or without, to the number of 100. ſeveral Nations, are by *Ptolemy* preciſely ſet down.

L. 6. c. 13.

Tab. Aſiæ. 7. & 8.

But, to come to thoſe latter Authours, whereof ſome have written, others have ſeen a great part of thoſe North-Eaſt Regions, and ſearched their Antiquities with great diligence: Firſt, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without theſe Mountains, is alſo beyond our purpoſe) Scythia *inter* Imaum *montem ea eſt, quæ proprio vocabulo Gaſſaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occaſu Sarmatia Aſiatica: ab Oriente Imao Monte: à Septentrione terra cognita: à Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, uſque oſtia Oxæ amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; & parte ipſius maris hinc uſq; ad Rha fluminis oſtia terminatur:* Scythia *within the Mountain* Imaus, *is that part of the World which in their own ſpeech is at this time called* Gaſſaria; *and the ſame is bounded on the Weſt-ſide by* Sarmatia Aſiatica, (*or of* Aſia:) *on the Eaſt, by the* Imaan *Mountains: on the North, by unknown Lands: on the South, by the* Saccæ (which are the *Sacæ*) *the* Sogdiani, *and the* Margiani, *to the mouth of* Oxus, *falling into the* Hyrcan *Sea, and by a part of the ſame Sea as farr as the mouth of* Rha.

Rha, Now *Wolga.*

Now, if *Niger* ſets all *Sarmatia Aſiatica* to the Weſt of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (*quæ magna ſanè Regio eſt, & quæ innumeras nationes complectitur*, *Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable nations*, ſaith *Niger*) much of it being between *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth ſufficiently warrant us, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make

Com. 2. Aſiæ fol. 472.

Ad meridiem ſexto Boſporo par. ſeptentrionalis ponit Euxini uſque in oſtium Coretis fluvii: unde relicta à parte dextra Colchis, Iberis Albaniſq; in ſinum Hyrcani maris provenit. Spec. hiſt. lib. 30.

make it more plain, he diſſevereth *Sarmatia* it ſelf from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, which he leaveth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the Weſt bound of *Scythia*.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian* or *Scythian* Nation; neither doth his fellow Frier *John Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincentius* in his deſcription of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus*, an *Armenian* born of the bloud of thoſe Kings (though afterwards a Monk) ever acknowledg himſelf for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* Races deſcended: though he writ that ſtory at large, gathered by *Nicolaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandement of Pope *Clement* the fifth) in the year 1307. publiſhed.

Neither doth *Matthias a Michon* (a Canon of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* born, and that travailed a great part of *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, find *Armenia* any way within the compaſs of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whoſe Travails are extant) hath obſerved ſo much of thoſe Regions as he hath don: proving and diſproving many things, heretofore ſubject to diſpute. And among others he burieth that antient and received opinion, That out of the Mountains, *Riphæi*, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, ſpring the Rivers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; proving by unanſwerable experience, that there are no ſuch Mountains *in rerum natura*; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountains of thoſe famous Rivers are now by the Trade of *Muſcovia* known to every Merchant, and that they ariſe out of Lakes, low, wooddy, and mariſh grounds. The River of *Tanais* or *Don*, ariſeth to the South of the City *Tulia*, ſome twenty *Engliſh* miles, out of a Lake called *Iwanoweſero*, in the great Wood *Okenitzkilies* or *Jepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riſeth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great Wood *Vodkonzki*: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of *Boryſthenes* (now *Neyper*) and *Dſuina* or *Dividna*.

Sig. Herbeſtem.

And this learned *Polonian* doth in this ſort bound the *Europæan Sarmatia*. *In Sarmatia of Europe are the Regions of Ruſſians, Lithuanians, Muſcovians*, and thoſe adjoyning, bounded on the Weſt by the River of *Viſſa*, the Name perchance miſ-printed *Viſſa* for *Viſtula*, a River which parts *Germania* and *Sarmatia*: and for the Eaſt-border he nameth *Tanais*, or *Don*. *Sarmatia Aſiatica* he cutteth from *Europe* by the ſame River of *Tanais*, and the *Caſpian* Sea, to with-hold it from ſtretching farther Eaſt: this *Aſian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolemy* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*: *Scythia within the Mountain Imaus*. And the ſame *Matthias Michon* further affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which Frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Aſiatica* it ſelf above three hundred and a few odd years before his own time: theſe be his words: *Conſtat eam eſſe gentem novam, & adventitiam a partibus Orientis (mutatis ſedibus) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Aſiæ Sarmatiam ingreſſam: It is manifeſt* (ſaith he, ſpeaking of the *Scythian* Nation) *that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coaſts of the Eaſt: from whence they entred into Aſia, & gat new ſeats a little more then* 300. *years ſince*: For (indeed) before that time the *Goths* or *Poulci* inhabited *Sarmatia Aſiatica*. And this *Matthias* lived in the year 1511. and this his Diſcourſe of *Sarmatia* was Printed at *Auguſta* in the yeer 1506. as *Buchholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witneſſeth. Now theſe *Scythians* (ſaith he) came from the Eaſt; for in the Eaſt it was, that the *Ark* of *Noah* reſted, and the *Scythæ Sacræ* were thoſe people which lived at the North foot of thoſe Mountains, of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mix themſelves with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other teſtimony then the general deſcription of the Earth now extant, and the witneſs of *Ptolemy*, it is plain, that between all parts of *Armenia*, and *Scythia*, there are not only thoſe three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caſpian* Sea: on the Eaſt ſhore of which Sea, but not on the Weſt, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*) between *Jaxartus* and *Jactus*; but what are theſe *Scythians* to any *Ariacæ*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more then the *Scythians* of *Europe*?

Cretzæus calleth this River Wiſlaus, Niger Dravamanza, Pom. Mela. Viſula & Plin. Viſſullus.

¶. VIII.

The fifth Argument; The Vine muſt grow naturally neer the place where the Arke reſted.

TO this if we add the conſideration of this part of the Text, *That* Noah *planted a Vineyard*, we ſhall find that the fruit of the Vine or Rayſin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this reſting of the *Arke* was ſuppoſed: for if the Vine was a ſtranger in *Italy* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a far colder Country. For *Tyrrhenus* firſt brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* Gen 9. 20.

Saturnus into *Latium*: yea at such times as *Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italy*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gaules* remained between the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpes*, neer unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, until they drunk Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italy*; and after they tasted thereof, they hasted to inhabite that Country, which brought forth such pleasant Fruit: so as it appeareth, that the Plant of the Vine was not natural in *France*, but from *Italy* brought thither; as by *Saturn* from else-where into *Italy*.

Servius Aeneid Eutropius.

Now it is manifest, that *Noah* travailed not far to seek out the Vine. For the Plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counsel how to dispose of the World among his children: and the first thing he did, was, to till the ground, and to plant a Vine-yard, after the Sacrifice and Thanksgiving to God; and whereſoever the *Arke* rested, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appear, that he travailed far: for the Scriptures teach us, that he was a Husband-man, and not a wanderer.

¶. IX.

An answer to an objection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinaar*, it doth not appear, saving that it may be inferred out of these words (*from thence*) because it is written: *So that the Lord scattered them* [*from thence*] *upon all the Earth*; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these words of *Sybilla* (as they be converted) it seemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*; for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem ædificarunt altissimam, quasi per eam Cœlum essent ascensuri: Certain of them built a most high Tower, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the Heavens.*

¶. X.

An answer to the objection of the name of Ararat, *taken for* Armenia: *and the heighth of the Hills there.*

BUt before I conclude this part, it is necessary to see and consider what part of Scripture, and what reason may be found out, to make it true or probable, that the Ark of *Noah* was forsaken by the waters on the Mountains of *Armenia*. For the Text hath only these words: *The Ark rested on* (or upon) *the Mountains of Ararat*, or *Armenia*, saith the Marginal Note of the *Geneva*: the *Chaldean Paraphrast* calls it *Kardu*; of which, the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* do not convert at all, but keep the same word) is taken to be a Mountain of *Armenia*; because *Armenia* it self had antiently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the heighth (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the Ark first sate thereon.

Gen. 8. 14. Epiph. l. 1. contr. Hæres.

But these suppositions have no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of those Mountains of equal stature to many other Mountains of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the Ark found the highest Mountain of all other to rest on: for the Plains were also uncovered before *Noah* came out of the Ark. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the Books of the *Sybils* it is written, that the Mountains of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, upon which it was supposed that the Ark stayed after the Floud. And the better to particularize the place and seat of these Mountains, and to prove them in *Phrygia* and not *Armenia*; they are placed where the City of *Cælenes* was afterward built. Likewise in the same description she maketh mention of *Marsyas*, a River which runneth through part of *Phrygia* and afterward joyneth it self with the River *Mæander*, which is far from the *Gordiæan* Mountain in *Armenia*. We may also find a great mistaking in *Josephus* (though out of *Berosus*, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that *Josephus* sets *Ararat* between *Armenia* and *Parthia*, toward *Adiabene*, and affirmeth withall, that in the Province of *Cæron* (by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, so called by reason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor issue out) the people vaunt that they had in those days reserved some pieces of *Noahs* Ark. But *Parthia* toucheth no where upon *Armenia*; for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Province of *Assyria*: so that all *Media* and a part of *Assyria* is between *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the discovery of the Mountains *Cordiæi* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Josephus*; yet the Text which *Josephus* citeth out of *Berosus* differs far from the words of that

Berosus

Beroſus, which wandereth up and down in theſe days, ſet out by *Annius*. For *Beroſus* cited by *Joſephus*, hath theſe words: *Fertur & navigii hujus pars in Armenia apud montem Cordiæorum ſupereſſe, & quoſdam Bitumen inde abraſum ſecum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci hujus homines uti ſolent:* (which is) *It is reported alſo that a part of this ſhip is yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordiæan Mountains; and that divers do ſcrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they uſe it in ſtead of an amulet.* But *Annius* his Edition of the Fragment of *Beroſus* uleth theſe words: *Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordiæ montis vertice quievit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars eſſe, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maximè utuntur ad expiationem: For the whole Arke being lifted up by the waters, reſted on the top of the Gordiæan Mountaines, of which it is reported that ſome parts remain, and that men do carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith:* ſo as in theſe two Texts (beſides the difference of words) the name is diverſly written. The antient *Beroſus* writes *Cordiæi* with a (*C*); and the Fragment *Gordiæi* with a (*G*): the one that the *Bitumen* is uſed for apreſervative againſt Poyſon or Inchantment; the other, in Sacrifice. And if it be ſaid that they agree in the general, yet it is reported by neither from any certain knowledg, nor from any approved Author: for one of them, uſeth the word (*fertur*) the other (*dicitur*); the one, *that ſo it is reported*, the other, *that ſo it is ſaid*; and both but by hear-ſay, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is ſo infamous an Hiſtorian, as wiſe men neither report after it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, theſe Mountains which *Ptolemy* cals *Gordiæi*, are not thoſe Mountaines which himſelf giveth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the Mountains of *Armenia*, *Moſchici*. Theſe be his own words: *Montes Armeniæ nominantur ii, qui Moſchici appellantur, qui protenduntur uſque ad ſuperjacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & Mons qui Paryardes dicitur: The Mountains of Armenia are they which are called Moſchici, ſtretched along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: alſo the Hill which is called Paryardes:* which Mountains *Pliny* calleth *Pariedri*, and both which ly to the North of *Gordiæi* or *Baris*, in 43. and 44. and a half; and the *Gordiæan* Mountains in 39. and a halfe: from the Northermoſt of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were firſt *Gordians*, and then *Georgians*, who amidſt all the ſtrength of the greateſt Infidels of *Perſia* and *Turkie*, do ſtill remain *Chriſtians*. Concerning the other ſuppoſitions, that the Mountains of *Gordiæi*, otherwiſe *Baris*, *Kardu* or *Lubar* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Torgodiaion*) are the higheſt of the World, the ſame is abſolutely falſe.

Ptol. Aſiæ tab.

Plin. l. 6. c. 9.

||. XI.

Of Caucaſus, and divers far higher hills than the Armenian.

FOr the beſt *Coſmographers*, with other, that have ſeen the Mountains of *Armenia* find them far inferiour, and under-ſet to divers other Mountains even in that part of the World, and elſe where: as the Mountain *Athos* between *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacas*, (ſaith *Caſtaldus*) is far ſurmounting any Mountain that ever hath been ſeen in *Armenia*: for it caſteth ſhade three hundred furlongs, which is ſeven and thirty miles and upwards: of which *Plutarch*; *Athos adumbrat latera Lemniæ bovis: Athos ſhadoweth the Cow of Lemnos.* Alſo the Mount of *Olympus* in *Theſſalie*, is ſaid to be of that height, as neither the Winds, Clouds, or Rain overtop it. Again, the Mountain of *Antandrus* in *Myſia*, not far from *Ida*, whence the River *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is alſo of a far more admiration than any in *Armenia*, and may be ſeen from *Conſtantinople*. There are alſo in *Mauritania* neer the Sea, the famous Mountains of *Atlas*, of which *Herodotus*: *Extat in hoc mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, ita ſublimis eſſe dicitur ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non poſſint: Upon this Coaſt there is a Mountain called Atlas, whoſe heighth is ſaid to be ſuch, as the eye of no mortal man can diſcern the top thereof.* And if we may believe *Ariſtotle*, then are all theſe inferiour to *Caucaſus*, which he maketh the moſt notorious both for breadth and height: *Caucaſus Mons, omnium maximus, qui æſtivum ad ortum ſunt acumine atq; latitudine, cujus juga à Sole radiantur uſq; ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occaſu: Caucaſus* (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) *is the greateſt Mountain both for breadth and height of all thoſe in the North-eaſt, whoſe tops are lightned by the Sun-beams* (*uſq; ad conticinium*) which is, ſaith *Macrobius*, *between the firſt crowing after mid-night and the break of day:* Others affirm, that the top of this Mountain holds the Sun-beams when it is dark in the Valley; but I cannot believe either, for the higheſt Mountain of the World known, is that of *Tenerife* in the *Canaria*: which although it hath nothing to the Weſtward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enjoy the Sun's company at

Plut. Munſt. Coſm.

Ariſt. Met. cor. l. 1. c. 13.

any such late hours. Besides these Mountains which *Aristotle* calleth *Caucasi*, are those which separate *Colchis* from *Iberia*; though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth divide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for he acknowledgeth that the River of *Phasis* ariseth in the same Mountain, which himself calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phasis* springeth from those Hills which sunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which River (it is manifest) yieldeth it self to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabesunda*) howsoever *Mercator* bring it from *Paryardes*.

§. XII.

Of divers incongruities if in this Story we should take Ararat *for* Armenia.

SO as it doth first appear, that there is no certainty what Mountain *Ararat* was: for the Books of the *Sybils* set it in *Phrygia*, and *Berosus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Berosus* authority, those men have great want of proofs that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the Arke grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition have equal credit: for there are many Hills which exceed all those of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the Ark should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any such Hill in *Armenia*, or *in rerum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (saith *Hierom*) signifieth high Towers; and so may all high Hills be called indifferently: and therefore we may better give the name of *Baris* to the Hills of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riseth) then to any Hills of *Armenia*. For those of *Caucasus* in the East, are undoubtedly the highest of *Asia*.

Fourthly, the Authors themselves do not agree in what Region the Mountains *Gordiæi* stand: for *Ptolemy* distinguisheth the Mountains of *Armenia* from the *Gordiæan*, and calleth those of *Armenia*, *Moschici* and *Paryardes*, as aforesaid. Now *Paryardes* is seated near the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the West-side riseth *Euphrates*, and out of the East-side, *Araxis*: and the Mountains *Moschici* are those Hills which disjoyn *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

§. XIII.

Of the contrary situation of Armenia, *to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no marvail that the same Ledg of Hills running from* Armenia *to* India, *should keep the same name all along: and even in* India *be called* Ararat.

LAstly, we must blow up this Mountain *Ararat* it self, or else we must dig it down, and carry it out of *Armenia*, or find it elsewhere, and in a warmer Country, and (withal) set it East from *Shinaar*; or else we shall wound the Truth it self with the weapons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moses*) is not any one Hill, so called, no more then any one Hill among those Mountains which divide *Italy* from *France*, is called the *Alps*: or any one among those which part *France* from *Spain* is the *Pyrenian*: But as these, being continuations of many Hills, keep one name in divers Countries, so all that long Ledg of Mountains, which *Pliny* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolemy* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, until they encounter and cross the Mountains of the great *Imaus*, are of one general name, and are called the Mountains of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, because from thence or thereabout they seem to arise. So all these Mountains of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caspii*, *Moschici*, *Amazonici*, *Heniochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diversly called by *Pliny* and others) *Ptolemy* calls by one name *Caucasus*, lying between the Seas *Caspium* and *Euxinus*: as all those Mountains which cut asunder *America*, even from the new Kingdom of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these Mountains of *Ararat* run East and West, so do those marvailous Mountains of *Imaus* stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well-neer, are called by the name of *Imaus*, even as *Pliny* called these former Hills *Taurus*, and *Moses* the Hills of *Ararat*. The reason of several names given by *Ptolemie*, was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdoms, which these great Mountains bound and dissever; as *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Susiana*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropanisus*: having all these Kingdoms, either on the North or South side of them. For all the Mountains of *Asia* (both the less and the greater) have three general names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receive other titles, as they sever and divide particular Places and Regions. For these Mountains which sunder *Cilicia* from the rest of *Asia* the less, on the North-side, are called *Taurus*; and those Moun-

Pliny in his discription of *Lycia*. l. 5. c. 27.

Mountains which part it from *Comagena* (a Province of *Syria*) are called *Amanus:* the Mountains called *Taurus*, running Eaſt and Weſt, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Through *Taurus*, the River of *Euphrates* forceth her paſſage, leaving the name of *Amanus* to the Mountains on her Weſt-bank, and on her Eaſt-ſide the Mountains are ſometimes known by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolemie*'s three Tables of *Aſia*) and ſometimes *Niphates* (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertain appellation ſo long as they bound *Armenia* from *Meſopotamia:* and after the River of *Tygris* cutteth them aſunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, untill they ſeparate *Aſſyria* and *Media*; but then they call themſelves *Coatras*, though between the upper and nether *Media*, they do not appear, but altogether diſcontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but run through the Eaſtern *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themſelves *Orontes*, and towards the Eaſt part *Coronus*; out of the Southern part whereof the River of *Bagradus* riſeth, which divideth the ancient *Perſian* from *Caramania:* and then continuing their courſe Eaſtward by the name of *Coronus*, they give to the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themſelves into the Mountains of *Sariphi*, out of which riſeth the River *Margus*, afterward yielding her ſelf to *Oxus* (now *Abia:*) and drawing now near their ways end, they firſt make themſelves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropaniſus*; and laſtly, of *Caucaſia*, even where the famous River of *Indus*, with his principal companions, *Hydaſpis* and *Zaræ drus*, ſpring forth and take beginning. And here do theſe Mountains build themſelves exceeding high, to equal the ſtrong Hills called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35, 36, and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the Weſt parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the reſt *Nagracot*; and theſe Mountains in this place onely are properly called *Caucaſi* (ſaith *Ptolemie*) that is, between *Paropaniſus* and *Imaus:* and improperly, between the two Seas of *Caſpium* and *Pontus*.

Ptol. lib. Aſia.

‖. XIV.

Of the beſt Vine naturally growing on the South ſide of the Mountain Caucaſi, *and toward the* Eaſt-Indies: *and of other excellencies of the ſoil.*

NOw, in this part of the World it is, where the Mountain and River *Jamus*, and the Mountain *Nyſeus*, (ſo called of *Bacchus Nyſeus*, or *Noah*) are found: and on theſe higheſt Mountains of that part of the World did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the *Ark* of *Noah* grounded after the Floud; of all his conjectures the moſt probable, and by beſt reaſon approved. In his *Indo-ſcythia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantaſtical opinions of this ſubject. And as the ſame *Becanus* alſo noteth, that as in this part of the World are found the beſt Vines: ſo it is as true, that in the ſame Line, and in 34, 35, and 36. degrees of Septentrional Latitude, are the moſt delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *Judæa*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece:* and likewiſe in this Region of *Margiæna:* and under theſe Mountains *Strabo* affirmeth, that the moſt excellent Vines of the World are found; the cluſters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, becauſe this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Paleſtina*, where the ſearchers of the Land, by *Moſes* direction, found bunches of equal bigneſs at *Eſcol*. *Numb.* 13. 24.

The fruitfulneſs of this place (to wit) on the South bottom of theſe Hills, *Curtius* witneſſeth. For in *Margiæna*, near the Mountains of *Meros*, did *Alexander* feaſt himſelf and his Army ten days together, finding the moſt delicate Wine of all other.

‖. XV.

The Concluſion, with a brief repeating of divers chief points.

AND therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that thoſe Mountains do alſo traverſe *Armenia:* yea, and *Armenia* it ſelf ſometime is known by the name of *Ararat*. But as *Pliny* giveth to this Ledge of high Hills, even from *Cilicia* to *Paraponiſus* and *Caucaſus*, the name of *Taurus:* and as the Hills of *France* and *Germany* are called the *Alps:* and all between *France* and *Spain* the *Pyrenes:* and in *America* the continuation of Hills for 3000 miles together, the *Andes:* ſo was *Ararat* the general name which *Moſes* gave them; the diverſity of appellations no otherwiſe growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers Regions, and divers Countreys. For in the like caſe do we call the Sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterrane* and in-land Sea; and yet where it waſheth the Coaſts of *Carthage*, and over againſt it, it is called *Tyrrhenum:* between *Italy* and *Greece*, *Ionium:* from *Venice* to *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum:* between *Athens* and *Aſia*, *Ægeum:* between *Seſtus* and *Abydus*,

dus, Helleſpont: and afterward *Pontus, Propontis*, and *Boſphorus*. And as in theſe, ſo is the Ocean to the North-eaſt part of *Scotland* called *Deucaledonycum:* and on this ſide, the *Brittain* Sea: to the Eaſt, the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this Queſtion, we muſt appeal to that Judge which cannot erre, even to the Word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plain ſence: ſeeing it can admit neither diſtinction, nor other conſtruction than the words bear literally, becauſe they are uſed to the very ſame plain purpoſe of a deſcription, and the making of a true and preciſe difference of places. Surely, where the ſence is plain (and being ſo underſtood, it bringeth with it no ſubſequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be wary, how we fancie to our ſelves any new or ſtrange expoſition; And (withall) to reſolve our ſelves, that every word (as aforeſaid) hath his weight in Gods Book. And therefore we muſt reſpect and reverence the teſtimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in ſuch ſort as Saint *Auguſtine* hath taught us, touching the Goſpel of *Chriſt Jeſus* (which is) *Nequis aliter accipiat (quod narrantibus Diſcipulis Chriſti) in Evangelio legerit, quàm ſi ipſam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore geſtabat, conſpexerit; That no man otherwiſe take or underſtand that which he readeth in the Goſpel (the Diſciples of Chriſt having written it) than if he had ſeen the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his own body, ſetting it down.*

Gen. 11. 2. The words then of *Moſes*, which end this Diſpute, are theſe: *And as they went from the Eaſt, they found a Playn in the Land of* Shinaar, *and there they abode:* which proveth without controverſie, that *Nimrod*, and all with him, came from the Eaſt into *Shinaar*; and therefore the *Ark* of *Noah* reſted and took land to the Eaſt-ward thereof. For we muſt remember, that in all places whereſoever *Moſes* maketh a difference of Countreys, he always preciſely nameth toward what quarter of the World the ſame were ſeated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Joctan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mountain in the Eaſt: where he remembreth *Cains* departure from

Gen. 10. 30. the preſence of God, he addeth; *And Cain dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the Eaſt-ſide of Eden:* And when he deſcribeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham*, after he departed from *Sechem*, he uſeth theſe words;

Gen. 4. 16. *Afterwards removing thence unto a Mountain Eaſt-ward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents:*

Gen. 12. 8. *having Bethel on the Weſt-ſide, and Hai on the Eaſt:* and afterward in the ninth Verſe of the ſame Chapter, it is written; *And* Abraham *went forth journeying towards the South:* alſo when *Ezekiel* propheciеth of *Gog* and *Magog*, he ſheweth that theſe Nations of *Togorma* were of the North-quarters: and of the Queen of *Saba* it is written, that *ſhe came from the South to viſit* Solomon: And the *Magi*, (or *Wiſemen*) *came out of the Eaſt to offer preſents unto Chriſt.* And that all Regions, and theſe travels were preciſely ſet down upon the points of the Compaſs and Quarters of the World, it is moſt manifeſt: for *Eden* was due Eaſt from *Judæa*; *Saba* South from *Hieruſalem:* the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly South; and the *Cælocyrians*, the *Tubalines*, and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Paleſtina*, and ſo of the reſt. But *Armenia* anſwereth not to this deſcription of *Shinaar* by *Moſes*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that Valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journeying from the Eaſt, nor ſo near unto the Eaſt as the North: for *Armenia* is to the Weſt of the North it ſelf; and we muſt not ſay of *Moſes* (whoſe hands the holy Ghoſt directed) that he erred *toto cœlo*, and that he knew not Eaſt from Weſt. For the body of *Armenia* ſtandeth in fourty three degrees Septentrional, and the North part thereof in fourty five; and thoſe *Gordiæan* Mountains, whereon it was ſuppoſed that the Ark reſted, ſtand in fourty one. But *Babylonia*, and the Valley of *Shinaar* are ſituated in thirty five; and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference between Eaſt and Weſt) the *Gordiæan* Mountains ſtand in 75. degrees, and the Valley of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lieth from *Shinaar* North-weſt, 95. degrees from the Eaſt; and if *Armenia* had been but North, yet it had differed from the Eaſt one whole quarter of the Compaſs. But *Gregory*, and *Hierome* warn us, *In Scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam ſinguli ſermones, ſyllabæ, apices, & puncta in divina Scriptura plena ſunt ſenſibus; In the Scriptures the leaſt difference may not be omitted: for every ſpeech, ſyllable, note, or accent, and point in divine Scriptures are repleniſhed with their meanings.* And therefore ſeeing *Moſes* teacheth us that the children of *Noah* came from the Eaſt, we may not believe Writers (of little authority) who alſo ſpeak by hear-ſay, and by report, *Ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Beroſus* and *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lyeth Weſt from the place where the Ark of *Noah* reſted after the Floud; and therefore it firſt found ground in the Eaſt, from whence came the firſt knowledg of all things. The Eaſt parts were firſt civil, which

Ezek. 38.

Matth. 12. 42. Matt. 2. 1.

which had *Noah* himſelf for an inſtructor: and directly Eaſt from *Shinaar* in the ſame degree of 35. are the greateſt Grapes, and the beſt Wine. The great Armies alſo which overtopped in number thoſe Millions of *Semiramis*, prove, that thoſe parts were firſt Planted. And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reaſon ſufficient: for my ſelf I build on his words, who in plain terms hath told us, That the Sons of *Noah* came out of the Eaſt into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the Ark reſt on thoſe Eaſtern Mountains, called by one general name *Taurus*, and by *Moſes* the Mountains of *Ararat*, and not on thoſe Mountains of the North-weſt, as *Beroſus* firſt feigned, whom moſt part of the Writers have followed therein. It was, I ſay, in the plentiful warm Eaſt where *Noah* reſted, where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. *Placuit vero* Noacho *agriculturæ ſtudium, in qua tractanda ipſe omnium peritiſſimus eſſe dicitur: ob eamque rem ſua ipſius lingua* Iſh-Adamath (*hoc eſt*) *telluris vir appellatur celebratuſque eſt, The ſtudy of Husbandry pleaſed* Noah (ſaith the excellent learned man *Arias Montanus*) *in the knowledg and order of which it is ſaid that* Noah *excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his own language, a man exerciſed in the earth.* Which alſo ſheweth, that he was no wanderer; and that he troubled not himſelf with the contentions beginning again in the World, and among men, but ſtayed in his deſtined places, and in that part of the World where he was firſt delivered out of the Priſon of the Ark, whereinto God had committed him, to preſerve him and mankind.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the firſt planting of Nations after the Floud; and of the Sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, *and* Japhet, *by whom the Earth was re-peopled.*

§. I.

Whether Shem *and* Ham *were elder then* Japhet.

OF theſe Sons of *Noah*, Which was the eldeſt, there is a queſtion made. St. *Auguſtine* eſteemed *Shem* for the eldeſt, *Ham* for the ſecond, and *Japhet* for the youngeſt: and herein the opinions of Writers are divers. But this we find every where in the Scriptures, and eſpecially in *Moſes*, that there was never any reſpect given to the eldeſt in years, but in virtue; as by the examples of *Henoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *David*, is made manifeſt. In a few words, this is the ground of the controverſie; The *Latine* Tranſlation, and ſo the *Geneva*, hath converted this Scripture of *Geneſis* the 10. *v.* 21. in theſe words: *Unto* Shem *alſo the Father of all the Sons of* Heber, *and elder brother of* Japhet, *were children born.* But *Junius*, agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the ſame words in this manner: *To* Shem *alſo the Father of all the Sons of* Heber, *and brother of* Japhet *the eldeſt Son, were children born:* So the tranſpoſition of the word (*elder*) made this difference. For if the word (*elder*) had followed after *Japhet*, as it is in the vulgar Traſlation placed before it, then had it been as plain for *Japhet*, as it is by theſe Tranſlations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwiſe indifferent) ſeeing Gods bleſſings are not tyed to firſt and laſt in bloud, but to the eldeſt in piety, yet the arguments are ſtronger for *Japhet* then for *Shem*. And where the Scriptures are plainly underſtood without any danger or inconvenience, it ſeemeth ſtrange why any man of judgment ſhould make valuation of conjectural arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the five hundreth year of his life, begat the firſt of his three Sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*: and in the ſix hundreth year (to wit) the hundreth year following, came the general Floud; two years after which, *Shem* begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the year 602. of *Noah*'s life, and in the year of *Shem*'s life one hundred: ſo as *Shem* was but an hundred years old, two years after the Floud: and *Noah* begat his firſt born being 500. years old; and therefore were *Shem* the elder, he had then been an hundred years old at the Floud, and in the ſix hundreth year of *Noah*'s life, and not two years after. Which ſeeing the Scriptures before remembred hath denied him, and that it is alſo written: *Then* Noah *awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger ſon had done unto him* (*to wit*) Ham; of neceſſity the firſt place doth belong to *Japhet*. This *younger ſon*, ſo converted by the Vulgar and *Geneva*, *Juni-*

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 3.

Gen. 11. 10.

Gen. 9. 24.

us

us turns it *filius minimus*, *His youngest son*; but St. *Chrysostom* takes it otherwise, and finds *Cham* to be the middle or second brother, and *Japhet* the youngest son of all: which *Cham* for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakedness he derided) was dis-inherited, and lost the preeminency of his birth, as *Esau* and *Ruben* did. *In Gen.* *Pererius* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but avoweth withal, that the *Hebrew* hath not that precise difference of *younger* and *youngest*, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that *Shem* himself was always named in the first place; yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Japhet*, in the second Verse *Moses* leaveth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Japhet* first. So the first place was given to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weighty respect, that the *Hebrew* Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *David*, and *Christ* our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulgar *Pagninus*, and the *Geneva*, who agree in this conversion, Shem *Frater* Japhet *major*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Junius* and *Tremelius*, Shem *Fratris* Japhet *majoris*; or with *Pererius*, Shem *Frater* Japhet *ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Japhet*, let the Reader judg. But for ought that I have seen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that *Japhet* was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the strength of the former argument, That *Shem's* age at the time of the Floud did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures took no account of smaller numbers) I do not find in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that *Gen. 11. v. 10.* Shem *was an hundred years old, and begat* Arphaxad *two years after the floud*; and again in the 12. Verse: *So* Shela *lived after he begat* Ebar, *four hundred and three years, &c.* so as the number of two years, of three years, of five years, and afterward of two years, were always precisely accounted.

§. II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the World; as that all Histories must yield to Moses: *that the World was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that known great Lords of the first Ages were of the issue of* Ham.

BUt let us go unto the Worlds plantation after the floud, which being rightly understood, we shall find that many Nations have supposed or feigned themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which never saw or approched the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the Scriptures how the sons and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, that they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so far as the story of Nations is therein handled, we must know, that both the truth and antiquity of the Books of God find no companions equal, either in age or authority. All record, memory, and testimony of antiquity whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledg of men, the same hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful observers of time have noted: among which, thus writeth *Eusebius* in the *Proeme* of his Chronology: Moses *is found more antient than all those whom the Grecians make most antient, as* Homer, Hesiod, *and the Trojan War; and far before* Hercules, Musæus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Castor, Pollux, Æsculapius, Bacchus, Mercurius, *and* Apollo, *and the rest of the Gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of* Jupiter, *whom the Greeks have seated in the top and highest Turret of their Divinity.*

For of the three *Jupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the antientest was the son of *Æther* whose three sons begotten on *Proserpina*, were born at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the first King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: *Eduxit* Moses *populum Dei ex Egypto novissimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenienſis Regis*; Moses *brought the children of Israel out of Egypt in the last days of* Cecrops *King of the Athenians*, saith S. *Augustine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of that City it self, but *Theseus* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diversly proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut asunder the purpose in hand, by alledging many authorities in a needless question, but leave it to the proper place. *Cicero de Nat. Deorum, l. 3.* *De civit. Dei l. 18. c. 13.*

The Sons of Japhet were:

- *Gomer*
- *Magog*
- *Madai*
- *Javan*
- *Tubal*
- *Meshach*
- and *Tiras*.

The Sons of *Gomer* were: *Askenaz*, *Riphath*, *Togorma*.

The Sons of *Javan* were: *Elisha*, *Tarshis*, *Kittim*, and *Dodonim*.

First,

Firſt, we are to conſider, that the World after the Floud was not planted by imagination, neither had the Children of *Noah* wings to fly from *Shinaar* to the uttermoſt border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Aſia*, in haſte, but that theſe Children were directed by a wiſe Father, who knew thoſe parts of the World before the Floud, to which he diſpoſed his children after it, and ſent them not as diſcoverers, or at all-adventure, but aſſigned and allotted to every Son and their iſſues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authours, who have no other end than to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Auguſtus* in the fiction of *Æneas*) or elſe to glorifie their own nations; Let us build herein upon the Scriptures themſelves, and after them, upon Reaſon and Nature. Firſt therefore we muſt call to mind, and conſider what manner of face the Earth every where had in the 130. year after the great Inundation, and by comparing thoſe fruitfulleſt Valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform our ſelves thereby, what wonderful Deſarts, what impaſſiable faſtneſs of woods, reeds, briers, and rotten graſs; what lakes and ſtanding pools, and what mariſhes, fens, & bogs, all the face of the Earth (excepting the Mountains) was peſtered withall. For, if in this our Climate (where the dead and deſtroying Winter depreſſeth all vegetative and growing Nature, for one half of the year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty years, theſe our grounds would all over-grow, and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods, or with other offenſive thickets and buſhments: much more did all ſorts of plants, reeds, and trees, proſper in the moſt fruitfull Valleys, and in the Climate of a long and warm Summer, and having withall, the ſtart of 130. years to raiſe themſelves without controlement.

This being conſidered, it will appear, that all theſe people which came into *Shinaar*, and over whom *Nimrod*, either by order or ſtrength, took the Dominion, did, after the confuſion of Languages, and at ſuch time as they grew to be a mighty People, diſperſe themſelves into the Regions adjoyning to the ſaid Valley of *Shinaar*, which contained the beſt part of *Meſopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated, ſome of them towards the South, others towards the Weſt and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both Eaſt and Weſt from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Paleſtina*, which the *Canaanites* firſt poſſeſt; yet could he not enjoy the Lot of his Inheritance on the ſudden, but by time and degrees. For we find that *Abraham*, the true ſucceſſour of *Shem*, dwelt in *Chaldæa*, at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) he reſted at *Charran* in *Meſopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare* he travelled to *Sichem* in *Paleſtina*: and yet there had paſſed between *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themſelves) ſeven Deſcents, before *Abraham* moved out of *Chaldæa*; where, and in *Babylonia*, all thoſe people, by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many years, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Aſſyria*, and founded *Nineveh*. Indeed, the great Maſters of Nations (as far as we can know) were in that Age in the iſſues of *Ham*; the bleſſing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking leſs effect, untill divers years were conſumed; and untill the time arrived, which by the wiſdom of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdoms of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* for many Deſcents together.

§. III.

Of the Iſles of the Gentiles *in* Japhets *Portion: of* Beroſus *his too ſpeedy ſeating* Gomer *the Son of* Japhet *in* Italy; *and another of* Japhets *Sons*, Tubal *in* Spain: *and of the Antiquity of Longinque Navigation.*

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cilia, *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Isles of *Brittanie*, and *Zeland*, with their young ones adjacent.

This partition and portion of *Japheth*, with the part which he held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to
Gen 9. 27. that blessing of God by *Noah*: *Dilatet Deus* Japheth; *Let God spread abroad* (or increase the Posterity of) *Japheth, and let him dwell in the Tents of* Shem. For though *Junius* here useth the word *alliciat*, and not *dilatet*: and the *Geneva*, *persuadeat*; yet the *Septuagint* have *dilatet*, or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing given to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his seed for ever. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the Posterity of *Japheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they should be made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Japhets* Sons, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may believe *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authority the greatest number of all our late Writers have followed) did in the tenth year of *Nimrods* Reign, depart from *Babylonia*, & planted *Italy*: which also *Functius* confirmeth in these words, *Anno decimo* Nimrodi, *&c. In the tenth year of*
Funct. Chronol. Nimrods *Reign*, Gomerus Gallus *planted a Colony in that Land afterward called* Italy: *and in the twelfth year of the same* Nimrods *Reign*, Tubal *seated himself in* Austuria *in* Spain (*now called* Biscay) *which was in the* 140. *and in the* 142. *years after the Floud, according to* Berosus. But this opinion is very ridiculous: For before the confusion of Tongues, the Children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let us therefore consider with reason, what time the building of such a City and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any ready means to perform such a work as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Functius* himself out of his Authour *Berosus* witnesseth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem Montium*; *To the height and magnitude of the Mountains*. Sure that both this City and Tower was almost builded, the Scriptures witness: *but the Lord came down to see the City and Tower which the*
Gen 11. *Sons of men had builded*. Let us then but allot a time sufficient for the making of Brick to such a Work, of the greatest heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that ever was. For where the universal Floud covered the highest Mountains fifteen Cubits; *Let us build us a City and Tower* (saith *Nimrod*) *whose top may reach unto the Heaven*: meaning, that they would raise their work above fifteen Cubits higher than the highest Mountain, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the fear of a second Inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the work. They also began this building upon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which these waters forcibly over-bearing and overflowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest; approved also by the Prophet *Jeremie*, speaking of *Babylon* in these words: *Thou that dwellest upon many waters*. It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantial foundation for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which *Glycas* upon *Genesis* giveth fourty years. For it seemeth that the Tower was near finished when God overthrew it: it being afterward written; *So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the Earth, and they left to build the City*. Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Tower is not then named) that they very near had performed the work of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the City adjoyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted, that till such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the Tower was thrown down) these Nations did not disperse themselves: for *from thence the Lord scattered them upon all the Earth*, (that was) when they perceived not one anothers speech. Now, to Gen. 11.
think that this work, in the newness of the World, (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten years; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same year, could creep through 3000. miles of Desart, with Women, Children, and Cattel: Let those light believers, that neither tye themselves to the Scripture, nor to reason, approve it, for I do not. And if the Ark of *Noah* was 100. years in building, or but near such a time, (and then) when the World had stood 1556. years; it were more than foolishness, and madness it self, to think that such a work as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Floud to the arrival at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. years, and whereof they had spent some part in travelling from the East. Again, if all *Asia* set to their helping hands Pliny.
in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that Work 400. years (or be it but half that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourished, in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plenty of materials and carriages: This Work of the Tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those

thoſe few years remembred. And for concluſion, let all men of judgment weigh with themſelves how impoſſible it was for a Nation or Family of men, with their Wives, and Children, and Cattel, to travel 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and Deſarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we ſhall find it rather a work of 100. years than of 100. days. For in the Weſt *Indies*, of which the *Spaniards* have the experience, in thoſe places where they found neither path nor guide, they have not entred the Countrey ten miles in ten years. And if *Nimrods* people ſpent many years by the account before remembred in paſſing from the Eaſt *India*, or the higher part thereof, which ſtandeth in 115. degrees of Longitude, untill they came into *Shinaar*, which lieth in 79. degrees (the diſtance between thoſe places containing 36. degrees, which makes 720. leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keep the Mountains and hard ground; then the difference between *Babylon* and *Biſcay* is much more: for the body of *Biſcay* lyeth in ten degrees, and *Babylon*, or *Shinaar*, (as aforeſaid) in 79. ſo the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Auſturia*, or *Biſcay*, is 69. degrees, which make 1380. leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* took divers years to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160. miles: or (ſuppoſing that the Ark reſted in *Armenia*) little above 400. miles: there is no cauſe to the contrary, but to allow as many years to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to travel 3000. miles, to Countries leſs known unto them by far, than the Land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradiſe* was known to *Noah* before the Floud: and ſo was the Region of *Eden* by *Moſes* afterward remembred; but what he underſtood of moſt part of the world elſe, it is unknown. And therefore did *Annius* ill adviſe himſelf to plant *Gomer* in *Italy*, and *Tubal* in *Spain*, in the tenth and twelfth of *Nimrods* Reign: *Shall the Earth be brought forth in one day, or ſhall a Nation be born at once?* But it may be objected, that the Sons of *Japheth* might come by Sea, and ſo ſave this great travel through Deſarts by Land. But we never read of any Navigation in thoſe days, nor long after. Surely, he that knoweth what it is to imbarque ſo great a People, as we may juſtly ſuppoſe thoſe Conductors carried with them, will not eaſily believe that there were any Veſſels in thoſe days to tranſport Armies, and (withall) their Cattel, by whoſe milk they lived, and fed their children: For milk and fruit were the banquetting diſhes of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldeſt times, even the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themſelves by the Herds and numbers of their Cattel: who had Flocks of Sheep, and great Droves and Herds of their own, and their own Shepherds and Herdſmen. Now, if *Tubal* had paſt by Sea from any part of *Paleſtina*, *Syria*, or *Silicia*, he might have made good choice within the *Streights*, and not have overgone *Granado*, *Valentia*, and other Provinces in that Tract; paſt the *Streights* of *Gibralter*; diſdained all *Andaluſia* and *Portugal*, with all thoſe goodly Ports and Countreys; and have ſought out the Iron, Woody, and barren Countrey of the World (called *Biſcay*) by a long and dangerous Navigation. But before the journey of the *Argonautæ*, there were ſcarce any Veſſels that durſt croſs the Seas in that part of the World: and yet that which *Jaſon* had (if the tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poor one (God knows) and perchance, ſuch as they uſe this day in *Ireland*: which although it carried but four and fifty paſſengers, yet it was far greater than any of the former times: *Erat enim antea parvarum navigiarum uſus: For in former times they uſed very ſmall veſſels.* I deny not but that the *Tyrians* gave themſelves of old to far-off Navigations, whence *Tibullus* aſcribed the invention of Ships to them:

Diod. Sicul. l. 4 c. 4. fol. 115.

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros.
Tyrus knew firſt how Ships might uſe the Wind.

Tibull. Eleg. 7. Strab. l. 16.

And for thoſe Boats called *Longæ naves*, or Gallies, *Pliny* ſaith, that *Ægeſias* aſcribeth the device to *Paralus*: and *Philoſtephanus*, to *Jaſon*: *Cteſias*, to *Samyras*; and *Saphanus*, to *Semiramis*: *Archimachus*, to *Ægeon*: to which invention the *Erythræi* are ſaid to have added certain numbers of Oars: and then *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* to have increaſed them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to have brought them to four Banks: the *Quinque Remi* firſt to have been uſed by *Neſichthon* the *Salaminian*, with which Veſſels, in thoſe parts of the World, the *Romans* ſerved themſelves in the *Punick* War. But theſe be, perhaps, but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as conſtantly caſt the deviſing of theſe Gallies on *Seſoſtris*, though *Semiramis* uſed them in the paſſage of her Army over *Indus* in *Abrahams* time. So it is ſaid, that *Danaus* was the firſt brought a Ship into *Greece*; and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the invention: and yet *Tertullian* (on the contrary) gives it to *Minerva*: others, to *Neptune*; *Thucydides*, to the *Corinthians*. And ſo ignorant were the people of thoſe Ages, as the *Egyptians* uſed to coaſt the ſhores of the Red-Sea upon raffs, deviſed by King *Erythrus*: and in the time of

Diod. Sicul. l. 1. Plin. l. 7. cap. 56. Thucid. Plin. l. 7. cap. 56. Euſeb. de præp. Evang. c. 1. Tert. de Coron. mil.

Iſai. 66. v. 8.

the *Romans*, the *Britans* had a kind of Boat (with which they croſt the Seas) made of ſmall twigs, and covered over with leather: of which kind I have ſeen at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elſe-where. *Naves ex corio circumſutæ in Oceano* Britannico (ſaith *Textor:*) of which *Lucan* the Poet:

Primum cana ſalix, madefacta vimine parvam
Texitur in puppim, cæſoque induta juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum ſupernatat amnem.
Sic Venetus ſtagnante Pado, fuſoque Britannus
Navigat Oceano.

The moiſtned Oſyer of the hoary Willow
Is woven firſt into a little Boat: (billow
Then cloath'd in Bullocks hide, upon the
Of a proud River, lightly doth it float
Under the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of over-ſwelling *Poe*
Sails the *Venetian*: and the *Britain* ſo
On th'out-ſpread Ocean.

And although it cannot be denied, when *Noah*, by Gods inſpiration, was inſtructed in ſo many particulars concerning the *Ark*, that then many things concerning Navigation were firſt revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference between the *Ark* of *Noah*, and ſuch Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea, ancient Stories ſhew, that it was long after theſe times, ere any durſt preſume upon any long voyages to Sea, at leaſt with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattel; as alſo common reaſon can tell us, that even now, when this Art is come to her perfection, ſuch Voyages are very troubleſome and dangerous. So as it doth appear, that there was not in that Age of *Nimrod* any Ship, or uſe of Ships, fit for any long navigation. For, if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had paſſed themſelves and their people by Sea; the exerciſe of Navigation would not have been dead for ſo many hundred years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men elſe to their fancies, who have caſt Nations into Countreys far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moſes* and the Prophets: to which Truth there is joyned both Nature, Reaſon, Policie, and Neceſſity: and to the reſt, neither probability, nor poſſibility.

§. IV.

Of Gog *and* Magog, Tubal, *and* Meſhech, *ſeated firſt about* Aſia *the Leſs*; *out of* Ezechiel, Chap. 38. 39.

NOw, although many learned and reverend men have formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which alſo hath been and is received; yet I hope I may be excuſed, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, *Arias Montanus*, was alſo in ſome things much miſtaken: and for *Joſephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errours withall; ſo was he in the Plantation of the World very groſs and fabulous; whereby both *Euſebius*, *Hieroſolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that have taken his teſtimonies for currant, have been by him fat miſs-led. But the better to conceive what Regions of the World *Gomer* the Son of *Japheth* poſſeſt, as alſo *Tubal*, it is needfull to begin with *Magog:* becauſe the Scriptures take moſt knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog:* which two names have troubled many Commentators, ſaith *Matth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find moſt judicious in the examination of this Plantation. He takes authority from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapters directeth us, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians:* of which *Gog* was Prince, or chief Conductor, in their Attempts againſt *Iſrael*. For beſides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-eaſt parts of the greater *Aſia*, which *Japheths* Iſſues poſſeſt, all *Aſia* the Leſs was peopled by them. And that thoſe of the Iſſue of *Japheth* (whom *Ezechiel* ſpeaks of) were ſeated hereabout, it may beſt appear, if we conſider the circumſtances of the place, and the dependency upon the former Prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter *Ezechiel* propheſieth of the uniting of the two Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, after their delivery from Captivity. *Chap. 37. v. 19.*

By which Prophecie of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purpoſed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpoſe it is written; *And* David *my Servant ſhall be King over them, and they ſhall have one Sheepherd*, (that is) they ſhall be united as they were in *Davids* time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter, *Ezechiel* propheſieth againſt thoſe Nations, which ſhould ſeek to impeach this Union, and diſturb the people of *Iſrael*, whom God purpoſed to receive to grace, and promiſed to reſtore. And ſo in the ſame Chapter are thoſe Nations coupled together, which infeſted the *Iſraelites* after their return, and ſought to ſubject them: all which were the Subjects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cæloſyrians*, next bordering

ing *Palæſtina*, or the holy Land, followed alſo by the reſt of the Nations of *Aſia* the leſs, which lay North from *Judæa*. The
c. 38. v. 2. words of *Ezechiel* are theſe: *Son of man, ſet thy face againſt* Gog, *and againſt the Land of* Magog, *the chief Princes of* Meſhech (or *Moſoch*) *and* Tubal: and afterward; *Behold, I come againſt the chief Prince of* Meſhech *and* Tubal: and in the ſixth Verſe; Gomer *and all his Bands, and the Houſe of* Togorma *of the North quarters*. Herein *Ezechiel* having firſt delivered the purpoſe of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were that ſhould in vanity aſſayl *Iſrael*. He joyneth them together under their Prince *Gog*, and ſheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Juda*, and how ſeated and joyned together. *Gog* ſignifieth, in the *Hebrew* (ſaith Saint *Hierom*) *tectum* or *covering of a houſe*: and *Pintus* upon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichriſt*: for (ſaith
In Ezech. he) *Antichriſtus erit Diaboli tegumentum ſub ſpecie humana: That Antichriſt ſhall be the covering of the Devil under humane form.* He addeth, that *Magog* is as much to ſay as *Gog*: the Letter (M) being an *Hebrew* Preposition, and importeth as much as *of*, or, *from*: ſo he taketh *Magog* for thoſe people which follow *Antichriſt*. So far *Pintus*; at leaſt in this not amiſs, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one perſon, but for a Nation: with which agreeth this obſervation of *Beroaldus*, *Magog* (ſaith he) in *Hebrew* is written *Ham-Magog*, which ſheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter (*He*) which is uſed but for an *Emphaſis* (which the *Hebrews* call *Heliajedia*) is never added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Magog*, or, according to others, the people of *Gog*) alſo Prince of *Meſhech* (or *Moſoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the firſt Verſe of the 29. Chapter is made manifeſt: *Behold, I come againſt thee* Gog *the chief Prince of* Meſhech *and* Tubal. This muſt needs be meant by the Succeſſors of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) ſeek to make the *Jews* their Tributaries only, but indeavoured by all means, and by all kind of violence, to extinguiſh the Religion it ſelf (which the *Hebrews* profeſs'd) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worſhip and ſerve the mortal and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and
L. 2. de Fide. dead Images. S. *Ambroſe* and *Iſidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Gothy*: belike, becauſe they invaded *Europe*, and ſacked *Rome*, and many other places and cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* derives the *Turks* from the *Scythians*, eſteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: others, of a Region: others, for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as *Junius*, who ſayes that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the *Greeks* Stories call *Gyges*: who in former time having ſlain *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gave his own name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof alſo the *Gygean* Lake; which Lake *Strabo* alſo findeth in *Lydia* (of
Strab. lib. 13. which *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis*. *Plinie* calleth it *Gygeum ſtagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicander* ſet it about the Rivers of *Hillus*, and *Mæander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who, after he had ſubdued the Country about the River *Rhodius* which runneth into the *Helleſpont*, called the Promontory *Trapeſe* after his own name *Gyges*. Theſe Opinions do alſo
Suid. Col. 207. ſeem to ſtrengthen that of *Junius*. For *Magog*, ſaith he, is that part of *Aſia* the leſs, which *Halyattes* obtained, and after him his
Jun. in Ezech. 38. Son *Cræſus*; who (as *Junius* further notes) having maſtered all thoſe Regions as farr South as *Libanus*, in that Border built the City *Gigarta*, or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* ſignifieth the City of *Gog*) ſeated in *Cœloſyria*, whoſe People were the ancient Enemies of the *Jews*.

Now, that *Magog* is found in *Cœloſyria*, *Pliny* affirmeth, ſaying; Cœloſyria *habet* Bambycen, *quæ alio nomine* Hierapolis *vocatur*: *Syris vero*, Magog; Cœloſyria *hath in it* Bambyce, *which in another name is called* Hierapolis; *but of the* Syrians, *Magog*. He further telleth us, that the monſtrous Idol *Atergatis*, called by the *Greeks Derceto*, was here worſhipped. *Lucian* makes mention hereof, ſaying, That the City had anciently another name, which he yet expreſſeth not; forbearing, perhaps, the word *Magog*, as ſounding nothing elegantly in the *Greek*. But if we may
Strab. l. 16. believe *Strabo*, then was *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, the ſame *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the ſame Idol was worſhipped. *Ortelius* is doubtfull whether one of theſe Authors did not miſtake the place of this *Bambyce*, or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough be, that the ſame name and Religion was common to them both. Certain it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palæſtina*, and were both ſubject unto the Kings of the Race of *Seleucus*. Now, I do not condemn the Opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Joſephus*, but grant that, perhaps, *Magog* might alſo be the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithſtanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made Prince of *Magog*; the Nations of *Cœloſyria*, and the North parts

adjoyning be meant by *Magog:* for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might be propagated into *Scythia.* Yet it is not to be denied, that the *Scythians* in old times coming out of the North-east, wasted the better part of *Asia* the less, and possest *Cœlosyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog.* And that to this *Magog Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plain: for this City *Hierapolis* or *Magog* standeth due North from *Judæa*, according to the words of *Ezechiel*, that from the North-quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the *Israelites* were the *Ptolemies*, Kings of *Egypt:* so those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the Successors of *Seleucus*, the Successors of *Alexander Macedon. Gulielmus Tyrius* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the Story of *Tobias. Pliny* takes it not onely to have been called *Bambyce*, as we have said, but also *Edessa:* not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the same name: now, the known name is *Aleppo:* for so *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog.* This City had the Title of *Sacred*, as the *Sacred City*, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatry, and wherein was worshipped the Idol of the Mermaid *Atergates*, or *Atergitis*, according to *Pliny*, which the *Greeks* call *Derceto.*

Lib. 4. cap de bello sacro.

If then we confer the words of *Ezechiel* in the third Verse of the thirty eight Chapter, wherein he joyneth together *Gog*, *Meshech* and *Tubal*; and withal remember that *Hierapolis* was the City of *Magog*, which also is seated directly North from *Judæa:* with whom also *Ezechiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceive) safely conclude, that these Followers and Vassals of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in respect of *Judæa*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a people of the lesser *Asia*, and *Cœlosyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Berosus*, *Josephus*, and whosoever else hath followed them therein, are to be rejected. But if *Josephus* refer himself to latter times, and think that some *Colonie* of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Asia* pass into *Spain* (to wit) from that piece of Land between *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*, (most part possessed by the *Georgians*) then is his judgment of better allowance. For without any repugnancy of opinions, it may be granted, that in process of time these people might from their first habitation, pass into the Countries neer the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after-Ages into *Spain.*

Josephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, saying, that they were antiently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence (saith *Justine*) *they passed into* Spain *to search out the mines of that Region:* having belike understood that it was a Southerly Country, and Mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes*, lived altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in these following Verses, telling how the *Argonautes* did visit them:

Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis:
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant.

The *Calybes* plough not their barren soil,
But undermine high Hills for Iron Veins:
Changing the purchase of their endless toil
For Merchandize, which their poor lives sustains.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was first peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever since an affection to return thither, and to re-people it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were easily drawn to pass over the *Streights* into that Countrey: and after by the *Moors* who held *Granado*, and the South parts, eight hundred years, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel.* And either of these opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth year of *Nimrods* Reign, *Tubal* past into *Spain*, and therein built Saint *Uval:* a poor Town and a poor device, God knows. Certain it is, that we must find *Mosboch* or *Meshech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togarma* not farr off, or else we shall wrong *Ezechiel:* for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togarma* their assistants. And that *Meshech* inhabited *Asia*, *Functius* (though he followed *Berosus*) confesseth, for these be his words: Mesacus, *qui à* Mose Mesech, *priscos Mesos ab Adula monte usque ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hæc regio postea* Cappadocia *dicta est, in qua urbs* Mazica, *&c. hæc est terra* Magog *principalis*; Mesacus, *whom* Moses *calleth* Mesech, *placed the ancient* Mesians *from the Mount* Adulas, *unto the Coasts of* Pontus. *This Region was afterward called* Cappadocia, *in which is the Town* Mazica, *&c. this is the principal Countrey of* Magog. And this doth *Annius* also avow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Meshech* and *Tubal*; and therefore that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spain* lying directly West, and not North from *Judæa.* Also *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth

phecieth of the destruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Mesech* and *Tubal* jointly. And for a final proof, that these Nations were of a Northern Neighbour Land (how far soever stretched) *Ezechiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horsmen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon Horses, even a great multitude, and a mighty.* Then, if any man believe that these troups came out of *Spain* over the *Pyrenes*, and first passed over a part of *France*, *Italy*, *Hungary*, and *Sarmatia*, and imbarqued again about the *Hellespont*, or else compassed all *Pontus*, and *Euxinus*, to come into the lesser *Asia*, which is half the length or compass of the then known World; he may be called a strong Believer, but he shall never be justified thereby. But on the contrary, it is known that *Seleucis* was a Province neighbouring *Palestina* or *Judæa*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magog*) joyned unto it: whose Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Asia* the less, (namely; the *Seleucida*) and held it, til *Scipio Asiaticus* overthrow *Antiochus* the Great: after which yet they possest *Syria*, till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Meshech* be in *Cappadocia*, or under *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the same Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be said. First, he seated himself with *Togarma*, not farr from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward he proceeded further into *Asia* the less; and in long tract of time his valiant Issue filled all *Germany*, rested long in *France* and *Brittany*, and possessed the utmost borders of the Earth, accomplishing (as *Melancthon* well notes) the signification of their Parents name, which is *Utmost bordering*. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their swelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they return upon the Nations occupying the Countreys, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy Restorer of our Antiquities, M. *William Cambden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth signifie *Robbers*; necessity inforcing them to spoil their Neighbours, to whom in their original, they were as near joyned, as afterwards in the seats which they possessed. For that the Warlike Nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accustomed to be beaten by the *Gaules*, the authority of *Cæsar* affirming it, is proof sufficient. But in times following, they pursued richer Conquests, and more easie, though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawn at length into *Asia* the less, and occupied those parts, which had formerly been held by their Progenitours. I say not that they claimed those Lands as theirs by Descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their own Pedigree. Neither can any man therefore deny, that they were of old seated in *Asia*, because in late Ages they returned thither; unless he will think, that all those Nations which from far parts have invaded and conquered the Land of *Shinaar*, may by that Argument be proved not to have issued from thence at the first.

Now, concerning *Samothes*, for his excellent wisdom, sirnamed *Dis*, whom *Annius* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which Brother, *Moses* never heard of, who spake his knowledge of *Japheths* Sons) they must find him in some old Poet: For *Functius*, a great *Berosian*, confesseth: *Quis hic* Samothes *fuerit incertum est*; *Who this* Samothes *was, it is uncertain*; neither is there any proof that he was that same *Dis*, whom *Cæsar* saith the *Gaules* suppose to be their Ancestor; yea, and *Vignier* confesseth with *Functius*: *Nul on ne scayt qui il estoit*; *No man knows who he was.*

In Chron.

Cæsar. Comment. Vigni part. 1. Chron.

§. V.

Against the fabulous Berosus *his Fiction, That the* Italian Janus *was* Noah.

But before I go on with *Noah* his Sons, I think it is necessary to disprove the Fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himself; an invention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wrested) by those Authors of whom himself hath Commented: as the Fragment of *Berosus*, *Fabius*, *Pictor*, *Cato*, *Lavinius* and others. For *Annius* seeks to perswaded us, that *Noah* (surnamed *Janus*) was the same which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italy*, wherein he lived 92. years. This to disprove, by *Moses* silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disprove it. For, if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalne* and *Nineve*, by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great mark to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. years. But it were a needless labour for me to disprove the authority of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, seeing so many learned men have so demonstratively proved that Fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *Assyrian*, in his Oration against the *Greeks*, avoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote onely three Books dedicated to *Antiochus* the Successor of *Seleucus Nicanor*:

Ann. de Etrus. Pict. de ant. sæculo. Cato de origen. Lavin. illust. de Gall.

Joseph. l. 1.

Nicanor: but *Annius* hath devised five Books, wherewith he honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled onely the estate of the *Chaldæans* and *Assyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this Fragment with the business of all the World. And if we may believe *Eusebius* better than *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *Latines* (before *Æneas*) consumed but 150. years: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Æneas* arrival into *Italy*, there past 1126. (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Janus* (who was the first of their Kings) lived at once with *Ruth*, who married *Booz* in the Worlds year (as some reckon) 2717. after the Floud 1064. and *Noah* died 350. years after the Floud: and so there past between *Janus* of *Italy*, and *Noah* surnamed *Janus* 704 years. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Janus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Fannus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Fannus:* which *Latinus* lived at once with *Tantanes* the 27. King of *Assyria*; with *Pelasgus* of *Peloponnesus*; with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampson* Judge of *Israel*. Now, all these five Kings of the *Latines* having consumed but one hundred and fifty years, and the last of them in the time of *Sampson:* then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fifty years, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Janus* lived.

True it is, that the *Greeks* had their *Janus*; but this was not *Noah:* so had they *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, the Son of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Ionies*, who were indeed the children of *Javan*, the fourth Son of *Japheth*. For the vulgar Translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Javan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint*, *Hellas*; which is the same. So had they *Medus* the Son of *Medea*, whom they make the Parent of the *Medes*, though they were descended of a farr more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third Son of *Japheth*.

Ezech. 27. 19, 13 and so the place of *Esai.* 66. 19. (for *Javan*) *Hellada:* and (for the plural *Javanim*) *Hellene.*

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the *British* Language hath remained among us above 2000. years, and the *English* Speech ever since the invasion of the *Angles*, and the same continuance have all Nations observed among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore it is strange, if either *Noah* (by them called *Janus*) had left in *Italy* his Grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spain*, that no plain resemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian*, (which no time could have quite extinguished) should have been found in the Languages of those Countreys. For which reasons we doubt not but these personal Plantations of *Janus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. In *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*, are meerly fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselves with the *Grecian Janus* which commanded them, and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. years (saith *Eusebius*) which was in the time of *Latinus*, the fifth King: which also Saint *Augustine* and *Justine* confirm: and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibility. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanity, I may out of themselves add thus much: That whereas some of them make *Vesta* (others *Camasena*) the wife of this *Janus*, who instituted the holy Fire of the *Vestal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Janus* all their Idolatrous and Heathenish Ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to believe that *Noah* himself (who is said by *Moses* to *have walked with God*, to be a just man, and whom God of all mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and ungrateful, to set up or devise any Heathen, Salvage, or Idolatrous adoration, or have instituted any Ceremony, contrary to that which he knew best pleasing to God himself.

§. VI.

That Gomer *also and his Son* Togorma *of the Posterity of* Japheth, *were first seated about* Asia *the Less: and that from thence they spred Westward into* Europe, *and Northward into* Sarmatia.

TO turn now to the Sons of *Noah*, and the Worlds Plantation after the Floud: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessity taught them; so, when they multiplied in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next Countreys bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth *Colonies* elsewhere, it was in such manner, as that they might repair to each other, and keep intelligence by River: because the Land was yet Desart, and overprest with Woods, Reeds, Boggs, and rotten Marishes. As when *Nimrod* seated in *Babylonia*, *Chush* took the South part of *Chaldæa* down the River of *Gehon*, by which he might pass to and fro from *Babylon* to his own Plantation: those also, which were of the Race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur*, or *Orchoa*, near the Lakes of *Chaldæa*, might by the same River get up to *Babylon*, and receive succour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon *Gehon* Southward, *Moses*, in the description of *Paradise*, calleth the Land of *Chush:* because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Chushite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and stayed not in the East) were for a while oppresst,

preſt, till God afterward by the ſeed of *Abraham* made them his own Nation and victorious. *Havilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and ſon of *Chuſh*, took both Banks of *Tygris*, eſpecially on the Eaſt ſide of the River: by which River his people might alſo paſs to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperial ſeat of which Region of *Havilah* or *Suſian*, was antiently called *Chuſian* or *Chuſan*, afterward *Suſa*. *Chuſh* himſelf took the Banks of *Gehon*, and planted thoſe Countries Weſt-ward, and Southweſt-ward towards *Arabia* the Stony, and the Deſart, where *Ptolemy* placeth the City of *Chuſidia*, firſt *Chuſia*.

Ptol. Aſia Tab. 4.

Seba, and *Sheba*, with the reſt that planted *Arabia fœlix*, had *Tygris*, to convey them into the *Perſian gulf*, which waſheth the banks of *Arabia fœlix* on the Eaſt ſide: ſo as thoſe ſons of *Cuſh* might take Land down the River as they pleaſed. Alſo the City of *Ninive* was by *Nimrod* founded on the ſaid River of *Tygris*, and from thence a *Colonie* paſs'd to *Charran*, ſtanding alſo upon a navigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Japheths* ſons ſettle themſelves together, and took their ſeats in *Aſia* the leſs: from whence they might indifferently ſtretch themſelves Northward, and Weſtward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the Iſles of the *Gentiles*. And it ſeemeth very agreeable to reaſon, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, ſate down firſt of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Paleſtina* and *Phœnicia*: and from thence *Gomer*, or his children, paſs'd on into *Aſia* the leſs, as thoſe of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* ſpred themſelves into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatian*. The firſt *Gomerians*, and firſt Planters in *Aſia* the leſs, held the Country of the *Cymmerians* (witneſs *Herodotus*) the ſame Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-Greeks* called *Galatia*, to whom Saint *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle ſo intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the invincible *Scythians* afterwards diſperſed, and forced from their firſt Plantations) gave names to divers places, as to the Mountains about *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the City of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: alſo *Boſphorus Cymmerius* took appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was alſo a City of that name, called *Cymmerium*: which *Pliny* ſaith (miſtaking the place) had ſometime the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a Town in *Campania*, ſo called of the unhealthful waters ſavouring of Brimſtone, which *Auguſtus* cauſed to be cleanſed by letting in the water of the Lake *Lucrinus*.

Lib. 4.

The children of *Tubal* ranged as far as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moſchici* were Neighbours, which others write *Meſhech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meſchech* and *Tubal*. For theſe *Meſchi* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Moſchi*) inhabit *Syracena* a Province of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountains *Moſchici*, in the Valley between the Mountains *Moſchici*, and the Mountains *Pariardes*: out of whoſe North part ſpringeth the River *Phaſis*; from the Eaſt part *Araxis*; and from the Weſt *Euphrates*: and of this *Meſchech* are deſcended alſo the *Moſcovians* (ſaith *Melanthon*); and it may be, that in proceſs of time ſome of them inhabited thoſe Regions alſo: For *Meſhech* (ſaith *Melanthon*) ſignifieth *extendens*, *enlarging* or *ſtretching forth*. *Togorma* alſo at firſt did inhabit amongſt his Parents and Kindred: The *Togormians* were alſo called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a Tetrarchy of *Phœnicia*, the ſame which *Pliny* calleth *Gabeni*: from whence *Solomon* had his moſt excellent Maſons, which hewed ſtones for the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. Thence the *Togarmians* ſtretched into the leſs *Armenia*, whoſe Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranakartæ*: of which Cities *Tigranes*, ſubdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hieroſolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*; forgetting the prophecy of *Ezechiel* againſt the *Tyrians*: *They of the houſe of Togorma, brought to thy Fairs, Horſes, and horſemen, and Mules*; which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterran Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But *Joſephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I do not deny, but they might be, in the enſuing ages: and ſo might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred years after the twelfth of *Nimrod's* reign. The *Jews* conceive that the *Turks* came of thoſe *Togormians*, becauſe their Emperor is called *Togor*. The *Chaldeans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Iuonicus* affirms, that the *Turks* deſcended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Muſcouia*. But for theſe ſubderivations it were infinit to examine them. Only of the firſt and ſecond Plantation, and of the firſt Nations after the Floud, is the matter which I labour to diſcover; and therein to open the ignorance of ſome, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we muſt *Note*, that thoſe grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of leſs underſtanding, and had not therefore the leading of *Colonies* ſent out, their proper habitations could

1 King. 5. 18.

Jun. in Gen. 10. verſe 3.

Judg. 17. 14.

Note.

could be hardly known: only reason hath taught us, that they dwelt among the rest, and were covered with the fame of others, who took on them the Conduction and Dominion over the rest.

From *Madai* the third son of *Japheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the son of *Medea*.

§. VII.

Of Javan *the fourth son of* Japheth: *and of* Mesech *of* Aram, *and* Meshech *of* Japheth.

OF *Javan* the fourth son of *Japheth* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greeks*: and so the *Latine* and *Greek* Interpreters for *Javan* write *Greece*, as in *Esay*: *Et mittam ex iis qui salvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam: And I will send those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece.* The *Geneva* here useth the word (*Tarshish*) for *Tarsus*, a City in *Cilicia*, though *Tarsis* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneva* use the names *Tubal* and *Javan*, and not *Italy* and *Greece*: keeping the same *Hebrew* words. Of the *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themselves dream that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Ancestors, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it self: who abounding in people, sent Colonies into *Asia* the less, of whom came the *Iones* of those parts. Others derive the *Athenians* from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, the son of *Deucalion*; but the antiquity of *Javan* marrs the fashion of that supposition, who so many years preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion* or *Deucalion*. *Pausanias* tels us that *Xuthus* stole out of *Thessaly* with all his Fathers treasure, and his Brothers portions, and arriving at *Athens*, he was graciously received by *Erictheus*, who gave him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he received two sons, *Ion* and *Achæus*, the supposed Ancestors of the *Athenians*: (For *Attica* was called *Ionia*, saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theseus*;) who, when he had joyned *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a Pillar in that *Isthmos* or *Strait*, which fastneth *Peloponnesus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these words: *Hæc non sunt Peloponnesus, sed Ionia*; *These Countries are not Peloponnesus, but of Ionia*: and on the other side which looketh towards the South, and into *Peloponnesus*, this: *These parts are Peloponnesus, and not Ionia.*

Thucyd.

Strabo out of *Hecatæus* affirmeth that the *Iones* came out of *Asia* into *Greece*, which is contrary to the former opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* transporting certain companies into *Asia* the less, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof than he learned of the *Greeks* themselves, yet I find this conjecture of *Hæcateus* reasonable enough. For though it were to him unknown, yet sure I am that *Asia* the less had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Javan* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Asia* the less in his passage; and from thence past over the neerest way, leaving his own name to some maritimate Province on that side, as he did to that part of *Greece* so called. But yet *Strabo* himself believed, that *Ionia* took the name from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*; for so much he had learned from themselves: which was also the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greeks* in after-times cast themselves into that part of *Asia* the Less, opposite unto them, which they held for divers years. And howsoever the *Greeks* vaunt themselves to be Fathers of Nations, and the most antient; yet all approved Historians (not their own) deride and disprove their pride and vanity therein. For this dispute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) rested between the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Justine* out of *Trogus*, in the War between *Vexorus* of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, witnesseth: which preceded far the reign of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greeks* were all Salvages, without Law or Religion, living like brute Beasts in all respects: and *Cecrops* (saith Saint *Augustine*) lived together with *Moses*.

Lib. 18. de Civ. Dei, c. 10.

The sixth son of *Japheth* was *Meshech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Mosech* (a part of those Nations commanded by *Gog* the chief Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*.) But this we must remember, that between *Mesech* the son of *Aram*, and *Meshech* (or *Mosech*) the son of *Japheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by divers Interpreters diversly written. *Montanus*, with the Vulgar, writeth *Mesech*, the son of *Aram*, *Mes*; the *Geneva*, *Mash*; *Junius*, *Mesch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Psalm*, that either *Meshech* the son of *Japheth*, was the parent of those people, or gave the name to that Province wherein *David* hid himself: or else (which may rather seem) that it took name from *Mesch* the son of *Aram*. For *David* bewayling his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People) useth these words: *Wo is me that I remain in Mesech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Junius* converteth thus; *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam*

tam diu: habito tanquam Scenitæ Kedareni: The *Septuagint* gives it this ſence: *Woe is me* Pſal. 120. v. 5. *becauſe my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar:* with which this of the *Latine* agreeth; *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar:* The *Chaldean* otherwiſe, and in theſe words: *O me miſerum, quia peregrinatus ſum Aſianis, habitavi cum taburnaculis Arabum; O wretch, that I am, for I have travailed among thoſe of Aſia: I have dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians.* But howſoever or which ſoever converſion be taken for the beſt, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Province of *Arabia Petræa*; and the *Chaldean* putteth *Aſia* inſtead of *Meſech*, but the *Hebrew* it ſelf hath *Meſech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is moſt likely, becauſe it anſwers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) ſeeing *Meſch* the ſon of *Aram*, 1 *Chron.* 17. is called *Meſhech*, it is indifferent whether this Nation took name from *Meſhech* or *Meſch* both bordering *Judæa*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for ſo *Ezechiel* makes *Meſech* and *Tubal*. But as for thoſe that take *Meſech* out of the word *Moſoch* (given by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muſcovian*: ſure they preſume much upon the affinity of names, as aforeſaid. Sure I am that *David* never travelled ſo far North (for to him *Muſcovia* was utterly unknown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his perſecution: the ſame being a City on the Mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Moſoch* the Father of the *Muſcovians*: and herein alſo *Melanchton* runs with the tide of common opinion, and ſets *Meſech* in *Muſcovia*, though with ſome better advice of judgment; as firſt ſeated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travailing Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Pſalm*, (*Hei mihi quòd exulo in Meſech*) to ſignifie, *Gentis ejus feritatem inſignem eſſe*; *That the ferity of that Nation exceeded*: which fierceneſs or brutality of the *Muſcovians*, *David* never proved, or (perchance) never heard of. But the ſame ferity or cruelty which thoſe Northern *Muſcovians* had, may aſwell be aſcribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this Country Gen. 25. 13. took name of *Kedar* the ſecond ſon of *Iſmael*, of whom a people of equal fierceneſs to any of the world were begotten, both in thoſe times and long after, even to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Iſmaelites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people:) the ſame being foreſhewed by the ſpeech of the Angel to *Hagar*, Gen. 16. *v.* 12. *And he ſhall be a wilde man: his hand ſhall be againſt every man, and every mans hand againſt him.* Now *Arabia* the *Deſart* (ſaith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians Cedrei* on the Eaſt, and the *Cedrei* Southward, both which joyn together upon the *Nabathæi*. So it appeareth (as before) that *Meſech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Iſrael*, and that *Kedar* alſo did joyn to *Meſech*: all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of *Aſia* the Leſs, commanded by the ſucceſſors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the re-eſtabliſhment of *Iſrael* and *Juda*. But (as I have already ſaid) it might well be, that long after the firſt Plantation the iſſue of *Meſech* (or *Moſoch*) might paſs into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and give names both to *Mazega* in the one, and to the Mountains *Moſchici* in the other, and from thence might ſend people more Northerly into *Muſcovia*, and ſo all opinions ſaved. But all ſalvage Nations over-grown and uncultivated, do (for the moſt part) ſhew a late Plantation, even as civility, letters, and magnificent building, witneſs antiquity.

Tyras, the ſeventh ſon of *Japheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the ſons of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirm. *Joſephus* was the firſt that determined hereof: and becauſe the Scriptures are altogether ſilent, what part of the World *Tyras* peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of diſpute. It followeth now to ſpeak of the Sons of *Gomer*, which were three, *Mont. in Chr.*

Aſcanez, *Riphath*, and *Togorma*.

§. VIII.

Of Aſcanez *and* Riphath, *the two elder Sons of* Gomer.

Aſcanez was the Father of thoſe which the *Greeks* call *Regini*, (ſaith *Joſephus*) but he gives no reaſon why.

Euſebius makes *Aſcanez* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Jews* in their *Thargum* make him the root of the *Germane* Nation; but their expoſitions are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Aſcania* in *Phrygia*, neer the Rivers of *Hilas* and *Cios*: *Melanchton* being of the ſame opinion, that the *Tuiſcones* were deſcended of the *Aſcanez*: (for *Tuiſcones*, ſaith he, is as much to ſay, as of the *Aſcanez*, *præpoſito articulo die Aſcanes*) and that the word ſignifieth, *a Religious Keeper of fire*: it being an antient ſuperſtition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombs of Martyrs. Not far from *Phrygia* was the Lake *Aſcania*, known by that name in the *Romans* time. And among the Kings which came to *Melanch. in Car. lib.* 1.

Hom. Iliad. 2. the ſuccour of *Troy*, was *Aſcanius* (*Deo ſimilis*, ſaith *Homer*) *like unto God:* becauſe he was beautifull and ſtrong: for in the ſame manner doth *Virgil* grace *Æneas*, *Os humeroſque Deo ſimilis*; *In face and body like one of the gods:* *Virgil* alſo remembreth ſuch a River, together with the Hills *Gargara:* as, *Illas ducit amor trans* Gargara, *tranſque ſonantem* Aſcanium; *Appetite leads them both over the mountains* Gargara, *and the roaring* Aſcanius. *Virg. Geor. l. 3.* But this *Pliny* maketh more plain in the deſcription of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Brillion* upon the River *Aſcanius*, which is adjoyning to *Myſia*, and is near the border of the *Trojan* Empire: and the Lake *Aſcanez* he directs us to find by the deſcription of *Pruſia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lyeth farr within the Countries of *Bithynia:* and then from *Pruſia* to *Nicea* are accounted 25. miles, in which way this Lake lieth, even between *Pruſia* and *Nicea*. And ſo *Junius* (as I conceive him) takes them of *Aſcanez*, to be the Inhabitants of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and thoſe North parts of *Aſia*. *Stephanus de Urbibus* makes it a City of *Troâs*, built by *Aſcanius* the Son of *Æneas:* ſaying, that there was another of that name in *Myſia*. Of *Aſcania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolemy* witneſſeth: and *Strabo* giveth *Aſcania* both a Lake, a River, and a Town in *Myſia*, near unto *Cio*; which alſo agreeth with *Pliny*. For *Pliny* findeth *Pruſia* (before ſpoken of) near *Cio*, and calleth the Iſlands before *Troy*, *Aſcanes*.

Now, whether theſe places took name of *Aſcanez* the Son of *Gomer*, or of *Aſcanius* the Son of *Æneas*, it might be queſtioned: ſure it is, that *Aſcanius* which brought ſuccour to the *Trojans*, could not take his name from *Æneas* Son, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn: and it ſeemeth that the Countreys whence thoſe ſuccours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia*, or *Myſia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Aſia* the leſs, which by *Hieremy* is called *Aſcanez*, by the figure *Synechdoche*, as *Junius* thinketh. Out of thoſe teſtimonies therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremy* we ſhall learn of what Nation the *Aſcanez* were, whoſe words are theſe: *Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations againſt her, call up the Kings of* Ararat, Minni, *and* Aſcanez, *againſt her*, &c. meaning, againſt the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as moſt Interpreters conſent, ſo called of the Mountains of *Ararat* which run through it: *Minni*, the leſſer *Armenia*; *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name *Cap. 51. v. 27.* (ſaith *Junius* and others before him:) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coaſts of *Phœnicia*, and *Paleſtina*; and therefore *Meſopotamia* being in elder times but a Province of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the Story of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, and call it *Aram-Padan*. Then if theſe two Nations were of the *Armenians*, and *Aſcanez* joyned with them (who altogether united under *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the ſpoil of the *Babylonian* Empire) we ſhall erre much to call *Askenez Germany*, or *Almain:* for we hear of no ſwart *Ruttiers* at that ſiege. But the *Askenez* were of thoſe Nations which were either ſubject or allied to the *Medes:* of which if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the diſperſion of Nations was in after-times without acount. But for the opinion of *Euſebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Joſephus*, who calls them *Rhegini*; or of the *Jews*, who will have them to be *Almains*; when they confirm it either by Scriptures or Reaſon, I will think as they do.

Of *Riphath*, the ſecond Son of *Gomer*, there is mention in the firſt of *Chronicles*. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* think that he wandered farr off from the reſt of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his Plantation. But I ſee nothing to the contrary, but that he might ſeat himſelf with the reſt of his Family: for there wanted no room or ſoil in thoſe days for all the Sons and Grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well underſtood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphath*, which the *Greeks* afterward s (according to *Joſephus*) called the *Paphlagones:* and *Riphei* (ſaith *Melanchthon*) ſignifieth Giants. Theſe people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia:* the moſt of number and power among them, *Sarmatarū gens maxima Heneti*, *The greateſt number of the* Sarmatians *were the* Heneti; who ſpake the ancient *Polac:* which being firſt called *Riphei* (for the love of ſome of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names, and became *Heneti* (a cuſtom exceeding common in thoſe times) and dwelt firſt in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witneſſeth, and ſo doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks:* Now, when theſe *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) ſought new Regions, they came along the ſhores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North-part of *Europe*, containing *Ruſſia*, *Lituania*, and *Polonia*. From thence thy croſt thwart the Land, and peopled *Illyria*, deſirous (ſaith *Melanchthon*) of a warmer ſoil of Fruit and Wine. Theſe *Heneti*, or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchthon* taketh to be one people, filled all the Land between the *Baltick* and *Adriatick* *Melanct. in Carion.*

Adriatick Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulf *Venedicus* is found in *Ruſſia*. This Nation, after they were poſſeſt of *Lituania* and *Polonia*, diſturbed the Plantation of the *Boii* and *Hermondurii*. Therefore it ſeemeth to me, that of *Riphath*, came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and ſo thinketh *Arias Montanus*, firſt ſeated in *Paphlagonia*, but in courſe of time, Lords of *Sarmatia*, and thoſe other parts before remembred, chiefly between the Rivers of *Viſtula* and *Albis*. The name (ſaith *Melanchthon*) ſignifieth wandering, or wanderers, or *Nomades:* a people which lived by White-meats and Fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the firſt Ages.

Of the third Son of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I have ſpoken already; now therefore of *Javans* children, which were four:

Eliſa, *Tharſis*, *Cethim*, *Dodonim*.

§. IX.

Of the four Sons of Javan: *and of the double ſignification of* Tharſis, *either for a proper Name, or for the Sea.*

OF *Eliſa*, or *Elipha*, came the *Æoles:* and of this *Eliſa*, all the *Greeks* were called *Hellenes*, ſaith *Montanus*. *Melanchthon* makes *Eliſa* the Father of the *Æoles* in *Aſia* ſide: others of *Elis* in *Peloponneſus*; or of both. And ſeeing the *Greeks* were deſcended in general of *Javan*, it is probable that *Æoles* and the *Elei*, took name of *Eliſa* his *Vuſ. 1.* eldeſt Son. *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chap. ſpeaking of *Tyre*, nameth the Iſles of *Eliſa*, *Hyacinthus & purpura de inſulis* Eliſæ *facta ſunt operimentum tuum: Blue Silk and purple, brought from the Iſles of* Eliſa, *was their covering*. The *Chaldæans* for *Eliſa*, write *Italiæ:* but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneva*, and *Junius*, keep the word *Eliſa:* and ſo I think they might do with reaſon. For there was not found any ſuch Purple-Die in *Italy* in thoſe days, nor ſince, that I can read of: but thoſe Iſles of *Eliſa*, were by a better conjecture the Iſles of *Greece*; and the beſt Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it ſelf: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the Coaſt of *Getulia*.

Tharſis the ſecond Son of *Javan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharſis* is the Metropolis. *Montanus*, for *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*, underſtands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reſerving the reſpect due to ſo learned a man) he was much miſtaken in that conjecture. The *Chaldæan Paraphraſt* puts *Carthage* for *Tharſis*, but it hath no authority nor warrant of reaſon therein. So likewiſe, where it is written, that the Ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharſis*, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt* tranſlates *Tharſis* (*Africa.*) But *Solomons* Ships were prepared in the Red-Sea at *Eſion-Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elana*, near unto *Madian*, where *Jethro* (*Moſes* Father-in-law) inhabited; a Province of *Arabia Petrea*, *Idumæa*; or of the *Chuſites*; and they ſailed to the higher part of the *Eaſt-India*. For it had been a ſtrange Navigation to have ſpent three years in the paſſage between *Judæa* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might have been ſailed in ſix or ten days. And if ſo great riches might have been found within the bounds of the *Mediterrane* Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would ſoon have entertained that Trade alſo. But this enterpriſe of *Solomon* is in this ſort written of, in the firſt of *Kings: Alſo King* Solomon *made a Navie of Ships in* Elion-Gaber, *which is beſide* Elath, *and the brink of the Red-Sea in the Land of* Edom: *and* Hyram *ſent with the Navie his ſervants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the ſervants of* Solomon: *and they came to* Ophir, *and fet from thence* 420. *Talents of gold*, &c. But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the World like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word uſed for the Sea in general) ſo, becauſe the *Iſraelites* and the *Phœnicians* knew no other Sea than that of the *Mediterrane* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharſis* had the greateſt Ships, and were the firſt Navigators in thoſe parts with ſuch Veſſels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharſis* uſed often for the Sea. And whereas it is ſaid that the Ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharſis*, that phraſe is not ſtrange at all; for we uſe it ordinarily whereſoever we navigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are ſet out every year, or every three years to the Sea, and therefore *Tharſis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but uſed for the Sea it ſelf. But in this place, *Tharſis* is truly taken for *Tharſis*, the chief City in *Cilicia*, foundedby *Tharſis* the ſecond Son of *Javan*, or by his Succeſſors in memory of their firſt Parent. To this City arrived *Alexander Macedon*, before he gave the firſt overthrow to *Darius*, and caſting himſelf into the River to bathe and waſh his body, he fell into an extreme Fever, and great danger of death: and in this City of *Tharſis* was S. *Paul* born. Now, this agreeth with the reaſon and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other Sons inhabiting *Aſia* the leſs, and that

part of *Syria* adjoyning) *Javan*, who was to pass over the Sea into *Greece*, took the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the *Iones* on that shore: gave the Islands betwen *Asia* the less and *Greece* to *Elisa*, and left *Tharsis* upon the Sea-side in *Cilicia*; of whom that City took name.

The third Son of *Javan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*, saith *Beroaldus*, but I allow better of *Melanchons* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plural (saith he) and signifies *percussores*, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of *Isai.* 23. (according to *Melanchon*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Hæc calamitas ab* Esai *prædicta est, qui capite vicesſimo tertio inquit, venturos esse eversores Tyri ex terra* Cittim; *This calamity* (*saith* Melanchon) *was foreshewed by* Esai *the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the destroyers of* Tyre *were come out of* Cittim. And although the children of *Israel* esteemed all men Islanders, which came to them by Sea, and separate from the Continent (and so also *Cittim* might be taken for *Italy*, saith *Beoraldus*) yet we must take the first performance of the former Prophecie which took effect by the destruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander*, who, after seven Moneths siege, entred that proud City, and cut in pieces seven thousand principal Citizens; strangled two thousand, and changed the freedom of thirteen thousand others into bondage and slavery. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it doth appear plainly in the first of the *Macchabees*, in these words: *After that* Alexander *the* Macedonian, *the Son of* Philip, *went forth of the Land of* Cethim, *and slew* Darius *King of the* Persians, *and* Medes. *Josephus* sets *Cethim* in the Isle of *Cyprus*, in which (saith he) there remaineth the City *Citium*, the Country of *Zeno* the Philosopher (witness *Laertius*;) which City *Pintus* upon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that it stood in S. *Hieroms* time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times by the *Hebrews* were called the Islands of *Cethim*; and in that sence might *Cyprus* be so called also; and yet, because *Tharsis* was the very next Port to *Cyprus*, and directly over against it, it is also very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharsis*: and finding that Island too straight for his people, after they were increased, and that the rest of the Coasts, both in *Asia* and *Greece*, were inhabited by his Father and brothers, he sent *Colonies* over the *Ægean* Sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

Dodonim the fourth Son of *Javan*, and the youngest brother (by the most opinions) sate down at *Rhodes*, as near *Cethim*, *Tharsis*, and *Elisa*, as he could. For *Dodonim* and *Rhodanim* are used indifferently by many Translators: the *Hebrew* (*D*) and the *Hebrew* (*R*) are so alike, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all *Hebricians* affirm. There is also found in *Epirus* the City of *Dodona*, in the Province of *Molossia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted soil in *Cyprus*: so *Dodonim* (seated in a farr less Island) did of necessity send his people farther off; and keeping alongst the Coast, and finding *Peloponnesus* in the possession of *Elisa*, he passed a little further on the Westward, and planted in *Epyrus*. And though the City of *Dodona* was not then built (or perchance not so ancient as *Dodonim* himself) yet his posterity might give it that name in the memory of their first Parent, as it happened all the World over. For names were given to Cities, Mountains, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of *Noahs* children, and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their successors many years after: every of their Families being desirous to retain among them, by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken and grafted else-where. And because great Kingdoms were often by new Conquerers newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished, therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountains and Rivers, as to things (after their judgments) freest from any alteration.

Thus then did *Javan* settle himself and his children in the edge and frontier of *Asia* the less, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Islands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as *Japheth* their Father had done in the body of the lesser *Asia*, together with *Javans* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Mesech*, and the rest, round about him. And in like sort did *Chush* (the Son of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, and the borders thereof towards the West and South-west: and the Sons of *Chush* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it self) travelled Southward in *Arabia fœlix*, and South-westward into *Arabia Petræa*: the rest of his children holding the Regions adjoyning to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chush* in like manner took the way of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palestina* adjoyning. The Sons of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the *Hebrews*, and to those of the Sons of *Shem*, which spread themselves towards

wards the Weſt, and the borders of the *Mediterrane* Sea: of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. But firſt of the Sons of *Cham* or *Ham*; which were four:

Chuſh, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*.

§. X.

That the ſeat of Chuſh *the eldeſt Son of* Ham, *was in* Arabia, *not in* Æthiopia: *and of ſtrange Fables, and ill Tranſlations of Scriptures, grounded on the miſtaking of this point.*

¶. I.

Of Joſephus *his Tale of an* Æthiopeſs, *Wife of* Moſes, *grounded on the miſtaking of the ſeat of* Chuſh.

THat *Ham* was the Father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifeſt in many Scriptures, as in the 105. *Pſalm*, verſ. 51. *Then* Iſrael *came to* Egypt, *and* Jacob *was a ſtranger in the Land of* Ham: and in the 78. *Pſalm*, *He ſlew all the firſt-born in* Egypt, *even the beginning of their ſtrength, in the Tabernacles of* Ham. There is alſo found a great City in *Thebaidai*, called *Cheramis* (as it were the City of *Ham*) of which name *Herodotus* alſo diſcovers an Iſland in the ſame Region. But becauſe *Chuſh* is the elder Son of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to ſpeak firſt of him. Now, though I have already in the deſcription of *Paradiſe* handled this queſtion, and (I hope) proved that *Chuſh* could not be *Æthiopia*: yet ſeeing it cometh now to his turn to ſpeak for himſelf, I will add ſome farther proof to the former. For, the manifeſtation hereof ſets many things ſtreight, which had otherwiſe very crooked conſtructions, and ſenceleſs interpretations. Surely, howſoever the *Septuagint* and *Joſephus* have herein failed, that *Chuſh* could not be *Æthiopia*, but *Arabia* (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy and the Deſart: which Regions *Chuſh* and the *Chuſites* preſently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they firſt ſate down altogether. And there is nothing which ſo well cleareth the Controverſie, as the true interpretation of the place, *Num.* 12. verſ. 1. where *Moſes* his Wife is called a *Chuſite*; together with ſome places which ſpeak of *Nebuchadonezor*'s Conqueſts. For whereas *Joſephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place *Numb.* 12. verſ. 1. as alſo elſe-where, underſtand *Chuſh* for *Æthiopia*, we muſt give credit to *Moſes* himſelf herein; and then it will appear that *Joſephus* was groſly miſtaken, or vainly led by his own invention. For *Joſephus*, preſuming that *Chuſh* was *Æthiopia*, and therefore that the Wife of *Moſes* (which in Scripture, *Numb.* 12. verſ. 1. is called a Woman of *Chuſh*) was a Woman of the Land of *Æthiopia*, feigneth that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Æthiopia*, fell in love with the perſon and fame of *Moſes*, while he beſieged *Saba* her Fathers City; and to the end, to obtain *Moſes* for her Huſband, ſhe practiſed to betray both her Parents, Countrey, and Friends, with the City it ſelf, and to deliver it into *Moſes* hands: The Tale (if it be worth the reciting) lieth thus in *Joſephus*. And after he hath deſcribed the ſtrength of the *Æthiopian* City *Meroe*, which he ſaith at length *Chambyſes* called ſo from the name of his Siſter (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in theſe words: *Hic cum* Moſes *reſidere exercitum otioſum ægrè ferret, hoſte non audente manus conſerere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat* Æthiopum *Regi filia nomine* Tharbis, *&c.* which Tale hath this ſence in *Engliſh*: *When* Moſes *was grieved that his Army lay idle, becauſe the Enemy beſieged durſt not ſally and come to handy-ſtrokes, there happened this accident in the mean while: The* Æthiopian *King had a Daughter called* Tharbis, *who at ſome aſſaults given, beheld the perſon of* Moſes, *and withall admired his valour. And knowing that* Moſes *had not onely up-held and reſtored the falling eſtate of the* Egyptians, *but had alſo brought the conquering* Æthiopians *to the very brink of ſubverſion: theſe things working in her thoughts, together with her own affection, which daily increaſed, ſhe made means to ſend unto him by one of her truſtieſt ſervants, to offer her ſelf unto him, and become his Wife; which* Moſes *on this condition entertained, that ſhe ſhould firſt deliver the City into his poſſeſſion; whereupon ſhe condeſcending, and* Moſes *having taken oath to perform this contract, both the one and the other were inſtantly performed.*

Herod. in Euterpe.

Antiq. l. 2. cap. 5.

¶. II.

A Diſpute againſt the Tale of Joſephus.

THis Tale (whereof *Moſes* hath not a word) hath *Joſephus* faſhioned, and therein alſo utterly miſtaken himſelf, in naming a City of *Arabia* for a City of *Æthiopia*; as he names *Æthiopia* it ſelf to have been the Countrey of *Moſes* his Wife, when (indeed) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Æthiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and modern, teach us, ſaying, that the *Sabaans* are *Arabians*, and not *Æthiopians*; except *Joſephus* can

can perſwade us, that the Queen of *Saba*, which came from the South to hear the Wiſdom of *Solomon*, were a *Negro*, or *Black-Moor*. And though *Damianus à Goes* ſpeak of certain Letters to the King of *Portugal* from *Preſter John*, of the *Abiſſines*: wherein that *Æthiopian* King would perſwade the *Portugals*, that he was deſcended of the Queen of *Saba*, and of *Solomon*; yet it doth no where appear in the Scriptures, that *Solomon* had any Son by that great Princeſs: which had it been true, it is likely that when *Siſhac* King of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and ſackt *Hieruſalem*, his Brother (the Son of *Saba* and *Solomon*) who joyned upon *Egypt*, would both have impeached that enterprize, as alſo given aid and ſuccour to *Roboam* againſt *Jeroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his own obedience. Neither is it any thing againſt our Opinion of *Moſes* his Wife, to have been an *Arabian*, that the Scriptures teach us, that *Moſes* married the Daughter of *Jethro*, Prieſt of *Midian* or *Madian*: which ſtanding on the North-coaſt of the Red-Sea, over againſt the body of *Egypt*, and near *Eſion-Gaber*, where *Solomon* provided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red-Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Idumæa* joyneth to the Tribe of *Juda* by the North; to *Arabia Petræa*, by the Eaſt; to the Mediterrane, by the Weſt; and to the Red-Sea, by the South-eaſt. And if we mark the way which *Moſes* took when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Iſrael* thence, it will appear that he was no ſtranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it ſelf, he had formerly lived fourty years; where it ſeemeth, that beſides his carefull bringing up in *Egypt*, he was inſtructed by *Jethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Joſephus* confeſſeth, and S. *Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*. But on the other ſide, this Text makes much againſt *Joſephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the ſecond, *Therefore* Moſes *fled from* Pharaoh, *and dwelt in the Land of* Madian *or* Midian, and not in *Æthiopia*. And in the third Chapter, it is as plain as words can expreſs, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, *When* Moſes *kept the Sheep of* Jethro *his Father-in-law, Prieſt of* Madian, *and drave the Flock to the Deſart, and came to the mountain of God in* Horeb. Now, that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Æthiopia*, every infant knoweth. And if we may believe *Moſes* himſelf, then was not the Wife of *Moſes* purchaſed in that manner which *Joſephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrey and friends) neither had ſhe the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was ſhe a *Negro*, but a *Madianiteſs*. And as God worketh the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt means: ſo it pleaſed him from a Shepherd to call *Moſes*, and after him *David*, and by them to deliver his People firſt and laſt. For *Moſes* ſitting by a Well (as diſconſolate, and a ſtranger) defended the Daughters of *Reguel* from the other Shepherds, and drew them Water to water their Sheep: upon which occaſion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Jethro*, whoſe Daughter he married, and not for any betraying of Towns or Countreys.

Verſ. 15.

Exod. 2.

From hence alſo came *Jethro* to *Moſes* at *Rephidim*, not far from *Idumæa*, and finding the inſupportable government of ſuch a multitude, he adviſed him to diſtribute this weighty charge, and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Family. And if *Jethro* had been an *Æthiopian*, it had been a farr progreſs for him to have paſſed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moſes*, and to have found *Moſes* in the border of *Idumæa*: the *Ægyptians* hating *Moſes*, and all that favoured him. But the paſſing of *Moſes* through *Arabia Petræa* (which joyneth to *Madian*) proveth that *Moſes* was well acquainted in thoſe parts, in which the ſecond time he wandered fourty years, and did by theſe late travels of his, ſeek to inſtruct the Children of *Iſrael* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and reſt. For he found them nouriſhed up with the milk of Idolatry, and obſtinate in the Religion of the *Heathen*, and finding that thoſe ſtiff Plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perſwaſion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Deſarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from thoſe he might receive fruit, agreeable to his own deſire, and Gods Commandments.

Laſtly, this Opinion of *Joſephus* is condemned by *Auguſtinus Chryſamenſis*, where alſo he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who avowed that *Moſes* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His own words have this beginning: *Mentitur etiam* Apollinaris *duas uxores habuiſſe* Moſen, *&c.* Apollinaris *alſo lyeth, in affirming that* Moſes *had two Wives: and who doth not perceive theſe things feigned by them? for it is manifeſt, that the Wife of* Moſes *was* Zephora, *Daughter to the Prieſt or Preſident of Madian: and that Madian cannot be taken for* Æthiopia *beyond* Egypt; *being the ſame that joyneth to* Arabia: So farr *Chryſamenſis.*

Sixt. Senenſ. Bibl.

§. III.

Chuſh *ill expounded for* Æthiopia, *Ezechiel* 29. 10.

NOw, as *Chuſh* is by the *Septuagint* converted *Æthiopia*, and the Wife of *Moſes* therefore called *Æthiopiſſa:* ſo in the conqueſt of *Nebuchodonoſor* is *Æthiopia* written for *Arabia.* For by the words of *Ezechiel* it is manifeſt that *Nebuchodonoſor* was never in *Æthiopia. Behold* (ſaith *Ezechiel*, ſpeaking of the perſon of this great *Aſſyrian*) *I come upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make the Land of* Egypt *utterly waſte and deſolate, from the Tower of* Seveneh, *even to the borders of the* Black-Moors: which laſt words ſhould have been thus converted: *From the Tower* Seveneh, *to the borders of the* Chuſites, or *Arabians*, between which two is ſituated all *Egypt.* For to ſay, from the borders of *Seveneh* to the *Æthiopians*, hath no ſence at all, *Seveneh* it ſelf being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and joyning to *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the *Black-Moors.* So as if *Nebuchodonoſors* conqueſt had been but between *Seveneh* and the border of *Æthiopia*, it were as much to ſay, and did expreſs no other victory than the conqueſt of all that Land and Countrey, lying between *Middleſex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countries joyn together; or all the North parts of *England* between *Barwick* and *Scotland:* for this hath the ſame ſence with the former, if any man ſought to expreſs by theſe two bounds, the Conqueſt of *England: Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Seveneh* or *Syena* is the South bound of *Egypt*, ſeated in *Thebaida*, which toucheth *Æthiopia.* But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nebuchodonoſor* never entred into any part of *Æthiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and all other (in effect) have written *Æthiopia* for *Chuſh.*

Ezech. 29.

§. IV.

Another place of Ezechiel, *Chap.* 30. *Verſ.* 9. *in the like manner miſtaken.*

AND as the former, ſo is this place of *Ezechiel* miſtaken, by being in this ſort converted: *In die illa egredientur nuncii à facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam* Æthiopiæ *confidentiam:* Which place is thus turned in *Engliſh* by the *Geneveans: In that day ſhall their meſſengers go forth from me in ſhips to make the careleſs* Moors *afraid.* Now, the *Latine* for (ſhips) hath the *Greek* word *Trieres* for *Triremes*, which are Gallies of three banks, and not ſhips. But that in this place the Tranſlation ſhould have been (as in the former) amended by uſing the word *Chuſh*, or *Arabia*, for *Æthiopia*, or the *Black-Moors*, every man may ſee which meanly underſtandeth the *Geography* of the World, knowing, that to paſs out of *Egypt* into *Æthiopia*, there need no Gallies or Ships, no more than to paſs out of *Northampton* into *Leiceſterſhire: Æthiopia* being the conterminate Region with *Egypt*, and not divided ſo much as by a River. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt Nebuchodonoſor* ſhould ſend Gallies alongſt the Coaſt of the Red-Sea, by which an Army might be tranſported into *Arabia* the *Happy* and the *Stony* (ſparing the long wearieſom march over all *Egypt*, and the Deſart of *Pharan*) which Army might thereby ſurpriſe them unawares in their ſecurity and confidence. For when *Nebuchodonoſor* was at *Seveneh* within a mile of *Æthiopia*, he needed neither Gally nor Ship to paſs into it; being all one large and firm Land with *Egypt*, and no otherwiſe parted from it, than one In-land ſhire is parted from another: and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the River but for pleaſure, he could not have done it; for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling over high and ſteepy Mountains) called *Catadupæ Nili*, were at hand.

Laſtly, I have already obſerved, the Sons of every Father ſeated themſelves as near together as poſſibly they could; *Gomer* and his Sons in *Aſia* the leſs; *Javan* and his Sons in *Greece*, and the Iſlands adjoyning; *Shem* in *Perſia* and Eaſtward. So the ſons and grandchildren of *Chuſh* from the River of *Gehon* (their Fathers firſt ſeat) inhabited upon the ſame, or upon ſome other contiguate unto it, as *Nimrod* and *Havilah* on the one ſide, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the reſt) did on the other ſide. And to conclude, in a word, the *Hebrews* had never acquaintance or fellowſhip, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Æthiopian Black-Moors*, as is already remembred in the Chapter of *Paradiſe.*

§. V.

A place, Eſay 18. *v.* 1. *in like manner corrupted, by taking* Chuſh *for* Æthiopia.

AND as in theſe places before remembred, ſo in divers others is the word *Æthiopia* put for *Arabia*, or *Chuſh*, which puts the Story (where it is ſo underſtood) quite out of ſquare; one Kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what ſence hath this part of Scripture, *Iſai.* 18. *Væ terræ Cymbalorum alatum*

rum quæ est trans flumina Æthiopiæ; or, according to the *Septuagint*, in these words: *Væ terræ navium alarum quæ est trans fluvios* Æthiopiæ; *Woe to the Land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of* Æthiopia, *sending Embassadors by Sea, even the Vessels of Reeds upon the waters. Væ terræ umbrosæ oræ; Woe to the Land of the shady coast*, saith *Junius*, The former Translators understand it in this sence; That the waters are shadowed with the sails, which are significatively called the wings of the ships; the other, that the coast of the Sea was shadowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpose: That this Land here spoken of by the Prophet *Isaiah*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that sent this Message to the *Israelites*, which *Isaiah* repeateth, and by the former Translation, every man may see the transposition of Kingdoms: for hereby *Egypt* is transported unto the other side of *Æthiopia*, and *Æthiopia* set next unto *Judæa*; when it is the Land of *Chush* and *Arabia* indeed that lieth between *Judæa* and *Egypt*, and not *Æthiopia*, which is seated under the *Equinoctial* Line. And of this, *Beroaldus* asketh a material question (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia*: *Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit*; *For it cannot be said that he treateth of an unknown Region.* Now, if *Æthiopia* it self be under the *Equinoctial* line, with whom the *Jews* had never any acquaintance, why should any man dream that they had knowledg of Nations far beyond it again, and beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia*? except we shall impiously think that the Prophet spake he knew not what, or used an impertinent discourse of those Nations, which were not discovered in 2000. years after, inhabiting as far South as the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, commonly known by the name of *Bona esperanza.*

§. VI.

That upon the like mistaking, both Terrhaca *in the Story of* Senacherib, *and* Zera *in the Story of* Asa, *are unadvisedly made* Æthiopians.

AND by this Translation is the Story of *Senacherib* utterly mistaken in the cause of his retrait. For *Senacherib* was first repulsed at *Pelusium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Judæa*: when having certain knowledge that *Thirrhaca* (which all the Intepreters called King of *Æthiopia*) was on the way to set on him, he began to withdraw himself: and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he sent threatning Messengers to *Ezechia* King of *Juda*, perswading him to submit himself: the Tenor whereof is set down in the second of *Kings* in these words: *Have any of the gods of the Nations delivered his Land out of the hands of the King of* Ashur? *Where is the god of* Hamah, *&c.* By which proud Embassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Jerusalem*, he then meant to have united that great Army before *Jerusalem*, commanded by *Rabshekeh*, with the other which lay before *Pelusium*, a great City upon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already mastered the most part of all those Cities in *Judæa* and *Benjamin*, with a third Army (which himself commanded) being then at the siege of *Lebna*. But upon the rumor of that *Arabian* Army led by the King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Josephus* calls *Tharsices*) *Rabsakeh* hasted from the siege of *Hierusalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis*, and set down before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleutheropolis*, as some have supposed. But while he had ill success at *Pelusium*, and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himself, whom he least feared, strook his Army before *Hierusalem* by the Angel of his power, so as 158000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Thirrhakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Josephus* himself makes it plain. For he confesseth in the tenth Book, the first Chapter of the *Jews* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacheribs* knowledge, that the Army which was afoot (both to relieve the *Egyptians* and the *Jews*) marched towards him by the way of the *Desart*: Now, the *Desart* which lay indifferent between *Hierusalem* and *Pelusium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which also toucheth on the three *Arabia*'s, to wit, the *Stony*, of which it is a part; the *Desart*, and the *Happy*; and by no other way indeed could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Hierusalem*. But that there is any *Desart* between *Pelusium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath never yet been heard of, or described by any *Cosmographer* or *Historian*. So then this description of the second of *Kings*, Vers. 9. hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (*Chush*) is also translated *Æthiopia*; and in this sence have all the Interpreters (but *Junius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse: *He heard also men say of* Thirrhakeh *King of* Æthiopia, *&c.* whereas it should have been thus converted with *Junius*: *Audiens autem de* Thirrakeh *Rege Chushi*; *He heard also of* Thirrhakeh *King of the* Chushites. For they were the *Chushites* and *Arabians*, whose

Joseph. l. 10. c. 1.

2 King. 19.

Antiq. l. 10.

2 King. 19.

Lib. 1. cap.

whose Houses and Cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very smoak of *Juda* flaming was blown, being their neareſt Neighbours: and so were not the *Æthiopian Black-Moors* under the *Equinoctial*, whom neither War nor Peace (which discovereth all Regions) ever found out, saith *Pliny*. For this King was no more King of *Æthiopia* than *Zerah* was, who invaded *Asa* King of *Juda*, with an Army of a Million, and three thousand Chariots. Indeed, how such an Army, and those Chariots should pass through all *Egypt* (the Kings of *Egypt* being mighty Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how far distant, judge. For Princes do not easily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there ever such strength of *Black-Moors* heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Æthiopians* such Travellers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* also called King of *Æthiopia*. But the word *Chush* being first so converted for *Æthiopia*, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the seats of Kingdoms, or the possibilities of attempts, or invasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

Plin. l. 5. c. 91.

2 Chron. cap. 14.

§. VII.

A farther Exposition of the place, Esai. 18. 1.

COncerning these words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Esay*, *Navium alarum*, *Winged Ships* (so the *Septuagint* turn it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latine*) *sails whistling in the winds*, or *terræ umbrosæ oræ* (after *Junius*) *the Land of a shadowed coast*, or *the Land shadowing with wings*, as our *English Geneva* hath it. The two first interpretations of the *Septuagint* and S. *Hierom*, have one sence in effect. For the sails are commonly called the wings of a Ship; and we use to say ordinarily when our Ships sails slowly, that she wanteth wings (that is) when her sails are either worn, or too narrow: and we also use the same phrase of the wind whistling in the sails. And it may be that the *Egyptians* imployed so many of those small ships, as their sails were said to give a shadow over the Red-Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (upon *Isaiah*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth signifie both to shadow, and to gingle (which is) to make a kind of Cymbaline sound: so as the meaning of this place (saith *Pintus*) is this: *Wo to thee, O* Egypt, *which dost promise to others safeguard, under the shadow of thy wings:* which (indeed) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of *Isaiah:* and this phrase is often else-where used, as in the 16. *Psalm: Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me*; *Defend me under the shadow of thy wings.* The Boats of Reed spoken of are of two kinds; either of basket-Willow covered with hides (as anciently in *Brittain*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built up on both sides with Canes. Of the one sort I have seen in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

§. XI.

Of the Plantation and Antiquities of Egypt.

§. I.

That Mizraim *the chief Planter of* Egypt: *and the rest of the Sons of* Ham, *were seated in order one by another.*

THe second Son of *Ham* was *Mizraim*; who (according to the place of a second brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chush* first possest *Chaldæa* on the West side of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in people, so he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red-Sea, and to the South-east side of *Judæa*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) past over into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*; and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* took the Sea-coast, and held the side of *Palæstina*: and these four brothers possest all that Tract of Land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldæa*, as far to the West as the *Mediterrane* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petræa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*; with the two *Egypts*, whereof the neather is bounded by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterrane* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the upper *Egypt*) stretcheth it self toward the South as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Æthiopians*, or *Black-Moors*. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* Westward, *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their Sons again, and all the Sons of the rest of *Noahs* children, sort themselves.

§. II.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt *began to be known: and of the* Egyptians *Lunary years, which made their Antiquites seem more fabulous.*

THis flourishing Kingdom possest by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name,

and became *Egypt*, at such time as *Ægyptus* (otherwise *Rameſſes*, as some think) the son of *Belus*, chased thence his elder brother *Danaus*, shifting him into that part of *Greece*, now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danai*, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. years after the Floud, in the time of *Josua*, as Saint *Augustine* conjectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homers Odysses* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* were so called at the time of the *Trojane* Warr. And before this, *Egypt* was known by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Osiriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Josephus* citeth in his first Book against *Appion*) numbreth all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moses* departure, who consumed 393. years. By which other men conjecture, that the *Egyptians* took on them that name, 330. years after *Josua*, and about 1000. years after the Floud. But where *Josephus* in the same Book taketh *Israel* to be those *Hycsos*, which he also calleth *Pastores*, or Shepherds, which are said to have reigned in *Egypt* 511. years: whom also he calleth his Ancestors (meaning the Ancestors of the *Jews*) in this I am sure he was grosly deceived, or that he vainly boasted: for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon* faineth, nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many years.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirm (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had Memory and Story of 13000. years; and that the Stars had four times changed their course, and the Sun twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rife among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirm, that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the *Moon*; whereof *Ovid:*

Ante Jovem *genitum terras habuisse feruntur*
Arcades: & Luna *gens prior illa fuit.*

The *Arcadians* the Earth inhabited
Ere yet the *Moon* did shine, or *Jove* was bred.

But for those 13000. years, it may well be true; seeing it is certain that the *Egyptians* reckon their years by Moneths, which makes after that account not above 1000. or 1100. years, whether we take their Moneths or Lunary years to have been of the first kind of 27. days and eight hours; or otherwise 29. days and twelve hours; or after any other of those five diversities of their Lunary years.

§. III.

Of certain vain assertions of the Antiqnity of the Egyptians.

GErardus *Mercator*, in his *Chronologie*, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* Antiquity in this manner: That the sixteenth *Dynasty* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the general Floud: and that therefore the first of the other fifteen reached the Creation, or soon after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer; That therein *Mercator* was first deceiv'd, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty* was at once with the general Floud: which *Eusebius* maketh 292. years after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the shepherds *Dynastia* (being in number 17.) in the time of their first King, *Saltis*, to have been in the year of the World 1846. which *Eusebius* findeth in the Worlds Age 2140. For the 16. *Dynastia* was begun but in the 292. year after the Floud, as they account, and continued 190. years. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynastia* to endure 115. years, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at less than 100. years: for the 28. had but six years, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. years.

Now, *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all these 15. *Dynasties* lasted but 162. years: and that the first of the 15. began but in the 131. year after the Floud: so as where *Mercator* maketh all the 15. to precede the Floud, and the 16. to have been then in being at the time of the Floud, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falshood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former Opinion and Assertion, that it was in the 131. year that *Nimrod*, with the Sons of *Noah*, came into the Valley of *Shinaar:* so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of *Babel:* and that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conveyed *Gomer* into *Italy*, and *Tubal* into *Spain*, in the tenth year of *Nimrods* reign (which was ten years after his arrival into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more unadvised. For he makes *Egypt* possest, and a Goverment established in the very first year of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before all partition, or any expedition farr off, or near, in question: for, *from thence* (that is, from *Babel*) *did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.*

§. IV.

§. IV.

Against Pererius: *That it is not unlikely, but that* Egypt *was peopled within* 200. *years after the Creation; at least, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Floud.*

BUt whereas *Pererius* seeketh to overthrow this Antiquity of the *Egyptians* touching their *Dynasties* (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength in this Opinion of *Pererius* (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that *Egypt* should be peopled within 100. or 200. years after *Adam*, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the general Floud, I do verily believe the contrary: and that not only of *Egypt*, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are these: *Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos* Adami *proles adeò multiplicari potuit, ut ad* Ægyptum *usque habitandum & complendum propagata sit*, &c. *For how could the children of* Adam *be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred years of the World, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill* Egypt? for allowing this (saith *Pererius*) we must also confess, that there were then both the *Assyrians* and other Nations.

Now, seeing that the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our saving-belief, it is lawfull for every man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I do not gainsay any mans opinion out of any crossing or cavelling humours: for I think it the part of every *Christian*, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibility of union, than out of froward subtilty, and prejudicate resolvedness, to maintain factions needless, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore, for this Opinion, that *Egypt* was not planted so soon after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Floud, I say, that there is no reason why we should give a less increase to the Sons of *Adam*, than to the Sons of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the Floud double, and (after a few years) treble, is an infallible proof of their strength and ability, to beget many Children: and at that time, they observed no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinity. And that there was a speedy increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appear by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearfull that the death of *Abel* would have been revenged on him) withdrew himself from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there, by the help of his own issues, built a City (called *Enoch*) after the name of his first-born. Now, if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinaar* with so many multitudes as sufficed to build the City and Tower of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was given but 130. years by *Berosus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly understood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phalegh*) but one hundred and one year: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the Infancie of the first Age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within 130. years the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. years after (that is, by such time as the World had stood 200. years) as well *Assyria*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* might be possest before the Floud, as they were within the same or less time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance or true Story of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire, that all those people, which we increased in the first 100. or 130. years after the Floud, came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*. For, that ever *Noah* himself came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authority to prove it, so all probable conjecture and reason it self denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerfull numbers which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her own Army of three millions (and she left not all her Kingdoms empty) do well prove, that if the World had such plenty of people in so few years after the Floud, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their own account, *Ninus* governed *Babylonia* and *Assyria* but 292. years after the Floud of *Noah*. And these Troops of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Eastern Kingdoms, from *Media* to the *Mediterrane* Sea; when there had now past from the Floud to the time of this her invasion somewhat less or more than 360. years: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confess, that in respect of the strange greatness of *Semiramis* Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be given. And if but one half be true of that which is said, That her Army consisted of 1300000. Foot-men, and 500000. Horse-men, it must needs be, that long before *Semiramis* Reign, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Army was gathered) was full of people: yea, *Arabia* it self (much part whereof is barren)

must long before this time of *Semiramis*, have been plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* having a determination to make himself Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in league with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or sought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well repleniſhed, I see no cause but *Egypt* might also be peopled. Now, if we may believe *Trogus Pompeius* (Epitomiz'd by *Justine*) *Egypt* was a most flouriſhing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was born. For these be his own words, speaking of *Ninus*: *Fuêre quidem temporibus antiquioribus* Vexoris *Rex* Ægypti, *&c. But there were in times more ancient* Vexoris *King of* Egypt, *and* Tanais *King of the* Scythians: of which the one invaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conquests of *Ninus* witness, who subdued with no smal force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterward the *Bactrians*; yea, all that whole body of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias* numbreth the Armies wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoroaster*, at 1700000. Foot-men, and 200000. Horſ-men: and the Stories generally shew, that though *Zoroasters* Army was far short of this, yet it was greater than any that those parts of the World ever since beheld. But to what end should I seek for foraign Authority? for no man doubteth, but that *Egypt* was possest by *Mizraim*, the Son of *Ham*; and that it was an establiſhed Kingdom, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell us. And sure, to prepare and cultive a desolate and overgrown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Laws, and Policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few days: and therefore it must be inhabited in a less time than 200. years after the Floud; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Floud. For if so many millions of men were found within 300. years after the general Floud; so as not onely *Babylon*, and *Assyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Palestina*, yea, the far-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those Nations be compreſt, which 1656. years brought forth before the Floud? even necessity, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the known World; especially, where death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Son, till he had beheld living Nations of his own body.

§. V.

Of some other Reasons against the Opinion of Pererius.

FOr what a strange increase did the long lives of the first Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. years? Surely we have reason to doubt, that the World could not contain them, rather than they were not spread over the World. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in the Age of the World: wherein if one exceed 50. years, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we find no want of people; nay, we know the multitude such, as if by Wars, or Pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the Earth, with all the industry of man, could not give them food. What strange heaps then of Souls had the first Ages, who enjoyed 800. or 900. years, as aforesaid? These numbers, I say, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which have been born in *Brittain* since three or four hundred years before the *Norman Conquest* (saving such as by accident, or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as by *Polygamy* might have been increased. For (to omit, that the Giants and mighty Ones of the first Age observed no Law of Matrimony) it is to be thought, that those Lovers of the World and of Pleasure, when they knew the long and liberal time which nature had given them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could fly from, or eschew. For what humane argument hath better perswasion to make men careless of life, and fearless of death, than the little time which keeps them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many pains and diseases, which this envious old Age of the World mingleth together, and soweth with the seeds of Mankind?

Now, if that *Berosus* or *Annius* may be alledged for sufficient Authours, whom *Pererius* himself in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Josephus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was seated near *Libanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time, I see no cause why *Palestina* (wich is also a Province of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left desolate both all the life-time of *Cain*, and all those times between his death and the Floud, which were by estimation 700. or 800. years. And sure, though this fragment of *Berosus* with *Annius* his Comment

Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or loſt) yet all things in *Beroſus* are not to be rejected. Therefore S. *Hierome*, for ſuch Authours gives a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria*; *Let us chooſe what is good in them, and reject the reſt.* And certainly, in the very beginning of the firſt Book, *Beroſus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moſes*, touching the general Floud: and in that firſt Part *Beroſus* affirmeth, that thoſe mighty men and Giants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded over all Nations, and ſubjected the univerſal Word: and though that phraſe (*Of all the World*) be often uſed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the ſecond of the *Acts*, *That there were dwelling at* Hieruſalem Jews, *men that feared God of every Nation under Heaven:* yet by the words which follow in *Beroſus*, it is plain, that his words and ſence were the ſame: for he addeth, from the Suns riſing to the Suns ſetting; which cannot be taken for any ſmall part thereof. Again, we may ſafely conjecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his Sons at adventure, or left them as Diſcoverers, but directed them to thoſe Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the Earth was more paſſable and eaſie to travel over before the Floud, than after it. For *Pererius* himſelf confeſſeth, that *Attica* (by reaſon of mud and ſlime which the water left upon the Earth) was uninhabited 200. years after *Ogyges* Floud; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleaſure in paſſing into farr Countreys, after the general Deluge, when the Earth lay (as it were) incopled for 100. or 130. years together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautifull, and leſs cumberſome to walk over, in the firſt Age, than after the general overflowing.

§. VI.

Of the words of Moſes, Gen. 10. Verſ. *ult. whereupon* Pererius *grounded his Opinion.*

LAſtly, whereas *Pererius* draws this Argument out of the laſt Verſe of the tenth of *Geneſis*; *And out of theſe were the Nations divided after the Floud: Quo ſignificatur talem diviſionem non fuiſſe ante diluvium*; *By which it appeareth* (ſaith *Pererius*) *that there was no ſuch diviſion before the Floud*; which he alſo ſeeketh to confirm out of the eleventh of *Geneſis*, becauſe the diviſion of Tongues was the cauſe of the diſperſion of the people. This conſequence, *quo ſignificatur*, &c. ſeemeth to me very weak: The Text it ſelf rather teacheth the contrary: *For out of theſe* (ſaith *Moſes*) *were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Floud*; inferring, that before the Floud the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Floud out of theſe onely. But whatſoever ſence may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawn to the times before the Floud, or to any plantation or diviſion in that Age: for if there were none elſe among whom the Earth could be divided after the Floud, but *Noahs* Sons, wherein doth that neceſſary diviſion controul the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alledged that the confuſion of ſpeech was the cauſe of this diſperſion; it is true, that it was ſo for that preſent; but if *Babel* had never been built, nor any confuſion of Languages at all, yet increaſe of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and general plantation: as *Beroſus* ſays well, that when man-kind were exceedingly multiplied, *Ad comparandas novas ſedes neceſſitas compellebat*, *They were driven by neceſſity to ſeek new Habitations*, For we find (as it is before ſaid) that within 300. years after the Floud, there were gathered together into two Armies ſuch multitudes, as the Valley about *Babylon* could not have ſuſtained thoſe numbers, with their increaſe, for any long time; all *Aſia*, the Greater and the Leſſer; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Paleſtina*, and *Egypt*, with *Greece*, and the Iſlands thereof; *Mauritania*, and *Lybia*, being alſo at that time fully peopled. And if we believe *Beroſus*, then not onely thoſe parts of the World, but (within 140. years after the Floud) *Spain*, *Italy*, and *France* were alſo planted: much more then may we think, that within 1656. years before the Floud, in the time of the chief ſtrength of mankind, they were repleniſhed with people. And certainly, ſeeing all the World was overflown, there were people in all the World which offended. *Lib. 3.*

§. VII.

A Concluſion, reſolving of that which is moſt likely, touching the Egyptian *Antiquities: with ſomewhat of* Phut (*another Son of* Ham) *which peopled* Lybia.

THerefore, for the Antiquity of the *Egyptians*, as I do not agree with *Mercator*, nor judge with the *Vulgar*, which give too much credit to the *Egyptians* Antiquities: ſo I do not think the report of their Antiquites ſo fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, that

Egypt

Egypt being peopled before the Floud, and 200. or 300. years more or less after *Adam*, there might remain unto the Sons of *Mizraim* some Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of Stone or Metal) of their former Kings or Governours: which the *Egyptians* having added to the List and Roll of their Kings after the Floud, in succeding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inserted. And that the memory of antiquity was in such sort preserved, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldæans*, and so doth *Epigenes*. For they both write, that the use of Letters, and the Art of Astronomy was known to the *Babylonians* 3634. years before *Alexanders* Conquest: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree, and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was born 1034. years before the Floud, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of *Christ* his coming in judgment, as Saint *Jude* hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgments, and every man to his own reason, I will conclude this Plantation of *Egypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it took the name of *Egypt* from *Egyptus*, the Son of *Belus*, as aforesaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis*, or *Nicopolis*, to the *Mediterrane* Sea, was called the Inferiour *Egypt*; surnamed also *Delta*: because the several branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the River, gave it the form of the *Greek* Letter *Delta* which is the form of a Triangle. That branch, which ran toward the North-east, and embraced the Sea, next unto the Deserts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the City of *Pelusium*, where *Senacherib* was repulsed: The other branch, which yielded it self to the Salt-water towards the North-east, is beautified by that famous City of *Alexandria*: The upper part of *Egypt* is bounded between *Memphis* and *Syene* near *Æthiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of the ancient City of *Thebes*; which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*; and by the *Greeks*, *Diospolis*; in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which signifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding belief. *Josephus* calls *Egypt*, *Mersin* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirms that it had once the name of *Thebais*.

Joseph. l. 1. Antiq. c. 7. Hero. Euterpe.

Phut, the third Son of *Ham*, took the next portion of Land to his Brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whose people were anciently called *Phutei* (saith *Josephus*) and *Pliny* mentioneth the River *Phut* in *Mauritania*: which River from the Mountain *Atlas* (known to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chush*, and *Lud* were *contermini*, and associates with the *Egyptians*.

L. 5. c. 1.

§. XII.

Of the eleven Sons of Canaan, *the fourth Son of* Ham.

¶. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: *with the names of his eleven Sons.*

CANAAN (the fourth Son of *Ham*) possest all that Region, called by the *Romans Palæstina*; in the Scriptures *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*; in the latter times known by the name of the *Holy Land* and *Jurie*: the limits whereof are precisely set down by *Moses*, *Genesis* the tenth, *Then the border of the* Canaanites *was from* Zidon *as thou goest to* Gerar *until* Azzah, *and as thou goest unto* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, *and* Adma, *and* Zeboim, *even unto* Lasha. Now, howsoever these words of the *Hebrew* Text (*as thou goest*) be converted, *Moses* meaning was, that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the North; *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* the East, and the other Cities named, stood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* standeth in a right line from *Gaza* in the way of *Egypt*, the uttermost Territory of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Gen. 10.

Now, the Sons of *Canaan* which possest this Countrey, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven.

1. *Zidon.*
2. *Heth*, or *Chethæus.*
3. *Jebusi*, or *Jebusæus.*
4. *Emori*, or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus.*
5. *Girgeshi*, or *Girgiseus.*
6. *Hevi*, or *Chiveus.*
7. *Arki*, or *Harkeus.*
8. *Seni*, or *Sinæus.*
9. *Arvadi*, or *Arvadæus.*
10. *Zemari*, or *Samareus*, or *Tzemareus.*
11. *Hamathi*, or *Hamatheus*, or *Chamatheus.*

Of which the most renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergesites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Jebusites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were descended of *Zemari*, or *Samareus*, or from some of his.

¶. II.

§. II.

Of the Portions of Zidon *and* Heth.

Zidon the firſt-born of *Canaan*, built the famous City of *Zidon* in *Phœnicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Aſſer*: for *Aſſer*, *Zabulon*, and *Nepthali* had a great part of the ancient *Phœnicia* diſtributed among them; but the *Aſſerites* could never obtain *Zidon* it ſelf.

The ſecond Son of *Canaan* was *Heth*, or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of thoſe ſeven principal Nations (Commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the *Gergeſites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Hevites*, and the *Jebuſites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Berſabe*, and towards *Hebron*, near the Torrent *Beſor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moſes* maketh the uttermoſt limit of *Canaan*, having the Deſart of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Berſabe* (otherwiſe *Puteus juramenti*) four miles from *Gaza*, dwelt *Heth* and his Poſterity, as far to the North-eaſt as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*, and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite*, did *Abraham* buy the Field of *Sarahs* burial. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her ſelf to *Iſaac*, ſaying, *That ſhe was weary of her life for the Daughters of* Heth. The Giants *Anakim* were of theſe *Hittites*, a ſtrong and fierce Nation, whoſe entertainment by the Kings of *Iſrael* againſt them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the ſeventh of the *Kings*; *Iſrael hath hired againſt us the Kings of the* Hittites.

Gen. 10. 19

Gen. 23.

Gen. 27. 46.

King. 7. 6.

§. III.

Of the Jebuſites *and* Amorites.

Jebuſæus, the third Son of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Jebuſites*, and whoſe principal ſeat was *Jebus* (afterward *Hieruſalem*) were alſo a valiant and ſtubborn Nation, and held their City and the Countrey near it, till ſuch time as *David* by Gods aſſiſtance recovered both: yet were not the *Jebuſites* extinguiſhed, but were Tributaries to *Solomon*.

Amoreus was the fourth Son of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* took name, who inhabited that Land to the Eaſt of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, having *Arnon* and the Mountains of *Galaad* on the Eaſt, and *Jordan* on the Weſt: of whom *Og* (King of *Baſan*) and *Sihon* (overthrown by *Moſes*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had alſo many other habitations diſperſed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus*, in the edge of *Cœloſyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had alſo their being in the Mountains of *Juda*, and in *Idumæa*, near the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were ſometimes called *Amorites*: as in *Geneſis* the fifteenth: *For the wickedneſs of the* Amorites *is not yet full*. And that this was alſo a powerfull Nation, we find in the Prophet *Amos*: *Yet deſtroyed I the* Amorite, *before them, whoſe height was like the height of a Cedar, and he was ſtrong as the Oak.*

Deut. 1. Numb. 13.

Amos 2.

§. IV.

Of the Gergeſites, Hevites *and* Harkites.

THe fift Son of *Canaan* was *Gergeſius*, or *Gergeſion* (otherwiſe *Girgaſi*) who inhabited on the Eaſt-ſide of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolemy* ſets the City *Geraſa*, which *Joſephus* calls *Geſera*, in the Territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that Chriſt diſpoſſeſſed the poſſeſſed with devils; and the *Gergeſites* deſired him to depart their Coaſts, becauſe their Swine, filled with the evil Spirits, drowned themſelves in the Sea of *Galilee*: *Gergeſeus* alſo built *Beritus* (ſometime *Geris*) afterward *Fœlix Julia*, three miles from the River *Adonis* in *Phœnicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garriſon: and to which *Auguſtus* gave many large priviledges.

Heveus the ſixth Son, and Father of the *Hevites*, inhabited under *Libanus* near *Emath*. Theſe *Hevites*, howſoever the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomie* the ſecond is remembred) yet many of them remained all the Warr of *Joſua*, and afterward to the time of *Solomon*. For God was not pleaſed utterly to root out theſe Nations, but they were ſometimes made Tributaries to the *Iſraelites*, and at other times ſerved (in their falling away from the true worſhip of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, *Judges* the third: *They remained to prove* Iſrael *by them, whether they would obey the Commandments of God.*

The ſeventh Son was *Araceus*, or *Harki*, who between the foot of *Libanus* and the *Mediterrane* Sea (over againſt *Tripolis*) built the City of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

§. V.

Of Sini *and* Arvadi.

Sineus the eighth Son, *Hieroſolymitanus* ſets at *Caparorſa*, which *Ptolemy* finds in *Judæa*, not farr from *Jebus*; to the South thereof, ſaith *Junius*. But it is more probable,

bable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which Saint *Hierome* calls *Sim*: *Ptolemy*, *Simyra*: *Mela*, and *Pliny*, *Symirus*: *Brochard*, *Sycon* (called *Synochis*) near *Arca*. *Pererius* thinks that *Sineus* inhabited the Desarts of *Sinai*, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brochard*, who took view of all these places, affirming, that *Sineus* built *Sinochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another Nation of *Cini*, written with the letter *C.* (otherwise *Kenæi*) who descended of *Hobab* the Son of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who assisted the *Israelites* in their conduction through the wilderness of *Pharan*. But the *Cinæi* were admitted among the *Israelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephtalims*, beside their inhabitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cinæi*, *Balaam* propheſied, that they should be destroyed by the *Assyrians*.

Judg. 4. *Jos* 19. 33

Gul. Tyr. Vit.

The ninth Son was *Aradeus*, or *Arvadeus*, who in the Isle of *Aradus*, built the City *Arados*: oppoſite against which Island, on the Main of *Phœnicia*, they founded another City of that name, which for oppoſition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this City came Saint *Peter* (saith *Clement*) and in this Isle preached the Gospel, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but we find no such work of his in the *Acts* of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembreth in his Prophecies against the *Tyrians*: *The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy Mariners.*

Cap. 27. *v.* 8.

||. VI.

Of Zemari.

OF *Samareus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth Son, there are divers Opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Cœloſyria* at *Edeſſa*, and founded *Samaraim*, which in *Joſua* is placed in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. There is also *Samarajim* (of the same Orthography) upon the Mountain of *Ephraim* (saith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the second of *Chron.* c. 13. v. 4. which the *Latine* converteth amiss (saith he) by *Semeron*. The *Hieroſolymitan Paraphraſt.* makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the Parent of the *Emiſſani*, which *Pliny* calls the *Hemiſſeni*, in *Cœloſyria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembred. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the *Hebrew* Orthography, and this place in the first of *Kings* (speaking of *Omri*) disproveth: *And he bought the Mountain* Samaria, *or* Shemeron, *of one* Shemar, *for two Talents of Silver, and built in the Mountain; and called the name of the City which he built, after the name of* Shemar, *Lord of the Mountain*, Samaria. But of all these places I shall speak more at large in the Conquest of the *Holy Land*, by the children of *Israel*. Of whomsoever the *Samaritans* were descended, sure I am, that they were ever a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the *Jews* stood up, they always called themselves *Jews*: when it suffered, or sank, they then utterly denied to be of that Nation or Family; for at such time as they were returned from their first captivity, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Assyrians*, and partly of the Naturals.

Beroald. in Chron. l. 4.

1 *Kings* 16. 28.

||. VII.

Of Hamathi.

THE last of *Canaans* Sons was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the *Hebrew*) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath* (saith *Beroaldus*:) of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamatheus* was present. *Josephus*, and Saint *Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*: not that *Antioch* which standeth on the River *Orontes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*, between the Mountain *Cassius*, and the Province of *Pieria*, and *Seleucis*, of which Saint *Peter* was Bishop, and in which Saint *Luke* and *Ignatius* were born; but *Antioch*, surnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* supposeth, which standeth between *Apamea* and *Emesa* in *Cassiotis*. Yet indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* upon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emesa*, are farther off seated from *Canaan*, than ever any of those Nations straggled. And whereas S. *Hierom* setteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epipbania*, in the Tribe of *Nephtali*; it is manifest, that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the North of *Emesa*, hath all the Province of *Laodicea* between it and any part of the Land divided. And if *Libanon* it self were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the Provinces, *Laodicea*, and *Libanica*, are between *Epiphania* and any part of the *Holy Land*: and therefore *Emath* so taken, could not be a part of *Nephtali*, as in the thirteenth of *Josua* is directly proved. For *Josua* counting the Lands that remained unpossest, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sunrising, from *Baalgad* under Mount *Hermon*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is used, that *Emath* was not

in

in *Nephtalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: becauſe *David* accepted
2 Sam. 8. 9. the preſents of *Tohu* King of *Emath*, and (therewithal) conditions of peace: which he would not have done, if that Territory had ever belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would have recovered it without compoſition, and by ſtrong hand, as he did the reſt. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight: For if the promiſe which God made, be conſidered, as it is written in
Cap. 11. v. 24. *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, though ſeated altogether without the bounds of the Land promiſed, according to the deſcription of *Moſes* and *Joſua*: for *Emath* is indeed ſituated on the other ſide of the Mountain of *Hermon*, which joyneth to *Libanus*; and is otherwiſe called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Joſua* 19. *v.* 35. and written in the *Latine* converſion *Emath*, therein (ſaith *Beroaldus*) was S. *Hierom* miſtaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that over the Mountains, and the City in *Nephtalim* ſhould be written *Hamath*: and ſo the *Septuagint* (underſtanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the ſame which indeed belongeth to the *Nephtalims*, ſeated on the South ſide of *Libanus*, to the Eaſt of *Aſſedim*: which City S. *Hierom* writes *Emath*; *Joſephus*, *Hamah*; others, *Ematkin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people *Amathein*; of which (as I take it) *Rabſakeh* vaunteth in the ſecond of
Cap. 18. & 19. *Kings*. *Where is the God of Hamath?*

§. XIII.

Of the Sons of Chuſh (*excepting* Nimrod, *of whom hereafter.*)

The Sons of *Chuſh* were, { *Sheba*, *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, *Sabteca*, *Nimrod.* } And the Sons of *Raama* were, { *Sheba*, and *Dedan*, }

||. I.

That moſt of the Sons of Chuſh *were ſeated in* Arabia the Happy: *and of the* Sabæans *that robbed* Job: *and of the Queen that came to* Solomon.

SEba or *Saba* was the eldeſt ſon of *Chuſh*, the eldeſt Son of *Ham*; to make a difference between Him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the Son of his Brother *Raama* or *Regma* (or *Ragma* after *Montanus*) his name is written with a ſingle (*S*) *Samech*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma* with an (*S*) aſperat, which is the *Hebrew*, *Schin*. *Seba* the eldeſt Son of *Chuſh*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma*, poſſeſs'd both the ſhores of *Arabia fœlix*. *Saba* took that part towards the Red-Sea, as neereſt his Father *Chuſh*, and the Land of the *Chuſites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the Eaſt coaſt of the ſame *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulfe of *Perſia*; of which *Pliny*: *Sabæi, Arabum populi, propter thura clariſſimi, ad utraque maria porrecti is gentibus habitant*; *The Sabæans, people of Arabia, famous for their Frankincenſe, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas* (to wit) *the Perſian, and the Arabian or Red-Sea*. This Country was afterwards called *Arabia, à populi mixtione*, ſaith *Poſtellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolemy*, who ſetteth the City of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or *Red-Sea*, and the City *Rhegama* towards the *Perſian*; with whom alſo we may leave *Sabta*: for ſo much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolemy*, becauſe he remembreth a Nation (called *Stabæi*) near the *Perſian* Sea; and *Maſſabathæ* which deſcended of them. But *Montanus* hath ſent *Regma*, or (as he calls him) *Rhama*, into *Carmania*, for which I ſee no reaſon. *Joſephus*, who only attended his own fancies, hath baniſhed *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinks it ſtrange, that the *Sabæi*, which ſtole away *Job*'s Cattel, ſhould run through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petræa*, and find out *Job* in *Traconitis*, between *Palæſtina* and *Cœloſyria*, 1200. miles off. Now, as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, ſo do I think, that neither the *Sabæi* on the *Red-Sea*, nor thoſe towards the *Perſian* Sea, could by any means execute the ſtealth upon *Job*, which ſoever *Beroaldus* ſhall take for neareſt. But theſe were the *Sabæi* of *Arabia the Deſart*, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth, out of his own experience, that the City *Saba* is ſeated: the ſame which *Ptolemy* calls *Save*, now *Semiſcaſac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia the Deſart*, came thoſe *Magi* or *Wiſe-men*, which worſhipped *Chriſt*, ſaith *Melchior*, whoſe words are theſe: *The Magi came neither out of Meſopotamia* (as *Chryſoſtom*, *Hierom*, and *Ambroſe* ſuppoſed) *nor out of Arabia the Happy, as many wiſe-men do believe, but out of Saba in Arabia the Deſart: which City, when my ſelf was there, was* (*as I judged it*) *called Semiſcaſac*. And to approve this Opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that theſe *Sabæi* were neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well thoſe on the *Perſian* Sea, as thoſe on the *Red Sea*) are ſo diſ-joyned with large Deſarts, as there is no poſſibility for ſtrangers to paſs them, eſpecially with any numbers of Cattel, both in reſpect of the Mountains, of

the ſands, and of the extreme want of water in thoſe parts: *Ubi nec homines, nec beſtiæ videntur, nec aves, imò nec arbores, nec gramen aliquod, ſed nor niſi montes ſaxoſi, altiſſimi, aſperrimi*; *Where there are found neither men, nor beaſts, nor birds, no, not ſo much as trees, or any paſture or graſs, but onely ſharp, and high, ſtony, and craggie mountains.* *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* conceive, that the Queen of *Saba*, which came to viſit *Solomon*, was of the *Sabæi*, on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia fœlix*; but the contrary ſeemes more probable, and that ſhe was Queen of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Solomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, betwixt *Idumæa* and the Red Sea, as far down as *Midian*, or *Madian* and *Ezion Gaber*; and this Queen of *Saba*, which inhabited the Weſt part of *Arabia Fœlix*, being his neighbour, might, without any far travel, enter his Territories, free from all danger of ſurpriſe by any other Prince or Nation.

But, to avoid tediouſneſs, it is manifeſt that *Seba*, or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, with his Sons *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the poſſeſſors of *Arabia* the *Happy*, and the Deſart: onely *Havilah* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the Eaſt ſide of *Chuſh*, who held *Arabia Petræa*. Now, for *Sabta*, there is found of his Name, the City of *Sbbatha*, or *Sabota* in the ſame *Arabia*: of which both *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there was ſometimes found ſixty Temples. *Ezechiel* joineth the Father and the Son together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants.* And that they were the Eaſtern *Arabians*, their Merchandiſe witneſleth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*. For *Joſephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the Parent of the *Ethiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopians Aſtabari*, they be not worthy any farther Anſwer then hath already been given: eſpecially ſeeing theſe Cities, preſerving the memory of the names of *Saba*, and of *Sabta* in *Arabia*, were yet remaining in *Ptolemy*'s time, though in ſome letters changed. As alſo in the coaſts adjoining, the names of other of the brethren of the Family of *Chuſh*, with little alterations, are preſerved. In *Arabia* the Deſart, is found the City of *Sabæ*, or *Save* (now *Semiſcaſac*) with the City of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolemy* himſelf called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the *Happy*, is found the City of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*; which alſo keepeth the ſound of *Rhegma*, the City of *Saptha*, or *Saptah*, not far from the Eaſt-coaſt of *Arabia*: as alſo the *Metropolis* and chief City in the body of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*, and to the Weſt of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea, the great City of *Saba*; and the Nation adjoining, *Sabæi*; and to the South thereof again toward the ſtreight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Sabe*. To all theſe his brothers and nephews which were ſeated on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia*, *Havilah* by the paſſage of *Tygris* was a neighbour, to whom he might paſs by Boat, even unto *Rhegma* the City of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, ſet neer the River of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Perſian* Sea, which ſtood in *Ptolemy*'s time.

Plin. l. 12. c. 14.
Ptol. tab. 6. Aſiæ.
Ezech. 27. v. 22.

II.

Joſephus *his Opinion of* Dedan, *one of the Iſſue of* Chuſh *to have been ſeated in the Weſt* Æthiopia, *diſproved out of* Ezechiel *and* Hieremy.

AND whereas *Joſephus* (whom in this Saint *Hierom* followeth, as not curious herein) ſent *Dedan* the Son of *Raamah* into the Weſt *Æthiopia*, it is ſtrange that *Ezechiel* ſhould couple *Sheba*, and *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15. Verſe, and *Sheba* and *Raamah* in 22. Verſe, to be the Merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in Weſt *Æthiopia*, which is diſtant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) above four thouſand miles. Beſides which, the Merchandiſe that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked *Black-Moors*. For they of *Dedan* (ſaith *Ezechiel*) were thy Merchants in precious cloaths for thy Chariots; and theſe Weſtern *Æthiopians* never ſaw cloth, till the *Portugals*, ſeeking thoſe Coaſts, traded with them: the Merchandiſe of the Countrey being Hides, Elephants Teeth, ſome Gold and Amber, Civet-Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all theſe they exchanged for Linnen, or Iron chiefly.

But in thoſe days, the Weſt part of *Africa*, within the body of the Land, was known onely by imagination: and, being under the burnt *Zone*, was held uninhabitable. And therefore, that the *Negroes* of the Weſt *Æthiopia*, which inhabite about *Serra Liona*, or *Niger*, could either paſs by Sea or Land to *Tyre*, in the bottom of the *Mediterrane* Sea, were a ſtrange, or rather a fooliſh fancy. Now, to put it out of diſpute, that *Dedan* alſo dwelt by the reſt of the children of *Chuſh*, which ſeats they held by that name in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet; let us hear *Hieremy* his own words: *Fly, ye inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the deſtruction of* Eſau *upon him.* Hereby it appeareth, that *Dedan* was

was a Neighbour to the *Idumæans:* and *Idumæa* is a Province of *Arabia Petræa:* and *Dedan*, which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia Fœlix*, joined in that part to *Petræa*, the ſeat of his Grand-father *Chuſh*; which neighbourhood of *Dedan* and the *Idumæans*, is alſo confirmed by *Ezechiel: I will ſtretch out my hand upon* Edom, *and deſtroy Man and Beaſt out of it, and will make it deſolate from* Teman: *and they of* Dedan *ſhall fall by the ſword.*

Ezech. 15. v. 15.

§. XIII.

Of the iſſue of Mizraim: *and of the place of* Hieremie, *Chap. 9. Verſe 7.*

The termination *im* in the *Hebrew*, is commonly a ſign of the plural number, as *aim*, of the dual.

AFter *Chuſh*, it followeth to ſpeak of *Mizraim*'s Sons, whoſe names (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) were plural, to ſignifie the Nations which came of them. *Ludim*, the elder Son of *Mizraim*, was the Father of the *Lybians* in *Africa:* and the reſt of his Brothers diſperſed themſelves into all the Regions adjoining. Among the Sons of *Shem*, there is alſo *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the Son, of *Mizraim* by the ſingular number: the Son of *Shem* being written *Lud*; the Son of *Mizraim*, *Ludim:* and yet theſe Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithſtanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For, that *Ludim* the Son of *Mizraim* was the Parent of the *Lybians* in *Africa*, and that he was ſeated not far from *Mizraim* his Father, appeareth by the Prophet *Hieremie*, who joined them in this ſort together: *Come up ye Horſes, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the* Black-moores, *and the* Lybians *which bear the ſhield:* for thoſe Nations aſſiſted the *Egyptians*, being of one Parent deſcended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joined together. *Æthiopia* (or *Chuſh*) ſaith *Ezechiel*, *c.* 30. *v.* 3. *and* Phut *and* Lud, *and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, ſhall fall with them by the ſword:* which is as much to ſay, as the Sons of *Chuſh* (which were the *Chuſites*) the Sons of *Mizraim* (which were the *Egyptians*) and the *Lybians* (deſcended of his Son *Lud*) with other the Inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Africa*, ſhall fall together. *Hieroſolymitanus* finds alſo in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lidyans*. And I believe it: becauſe *Hieremie* joineth the *Libyans* and *Lydians* together in the place before remembred. But *Libya* in *Africa* is by the *Hebrews* called *Ludim* (ſaith *Arias Montanus*) though 2 *Chron.* 12. 3. they ſeem to be called *Lubim*, or *Lubæi*, a name ſomewhat neer the word *Lybies*, and by which it may ſeem that the truer writing is, not *Libyes*, but *Lybies*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (upon the thirtieth of *Ezechiel*) underſtandeth that which is ſpoken in the third Verſe of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Lybians* at all: for he will have this threatning to be meant againſt the people of *Lyda*, a City (ſaith he) between *Egypt* and *Palæſtina*, which opinion I could not miſlike, if the City of *Lyda* were ſo ſeated. But *Lyda* (which ſhould be written *Lydda*, with a double *d*, and is the ſame City which was afterward *Dioſpolis*, in which S. *Peter* cured *Æneas* of the Palſey) ſtandeth neer the Torrent *Gaas*, not farr from *Joppe* the Port of *Hieruſalem*. Yet it is not impoſſible but that this City might have *Lud* for the Founder: For there are many Cities of one name, founded in all the Regions of the World, and farr aſunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus*, many Cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia* and *Antiochia:* ſo of divers others. S. *Hierome* maketh *Lehabim* to be the Father of *Libya*, who was the third Son of *Mizraim*: and ſo doth *Poſtellus*; and either Opinion may be true.

Chap. 46. v. 9.

The reſt of *Mizraim*'s Sons have no proper Countreys given them in the Scriptures, ſaving *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim*, of whom came the *Philiſtims*, whom the Scriptures call *Peleſet*.

Theſe *Caſluhim* inhabited *Caſſiotis*, a Region lying in the enterance of *Egypt* from *Paleſtina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis*, and the Mountain *Caſſius* are found, not far from whence *Pompey* was buried.

Caphtorim ſeated near *Caſluhim* in that Tract of *Egypt* called *Sethrotis*, not far from *Peluſium*. *Strabo* calls it *Sethrotis*; *Stephanus* and *Pliny*, *Sethroitis*, of the City *Sethron:* which *Ortelius* takes to be the ſame which *Ptolemy* calls *Hercules parva*. Of the *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim* came the *Philiſtims*, which are called by the *Septuagint Allophyli* (which is) *Alienigenæ*, Strangers, or of a ſtrange kindred. Theſe *Philiſtims* inhabited the South part of the Holy Land towards *Egypt*, of whom *Palæſtina* took name. For the *Hebrews* (ſaith *Iſidore*) do not uſe the letter (*p*) but inſteed of it (*ph.*) Their principal Cities were *Gaza*, *Aſcalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron:* and the people of them called *Gaſæi*, *Aſcalonitæ*, *Azotii*, *Gethæi*, and *Accaronitæ: Iſidore* affirms, that *Aſcalon* was firſt called *Philiſtim*; and of that City the Countrey adjoining. But where *Iſidore* had it, I know not.

The firſt known King of the *Philiſtims*, was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abrahams* wife; with whom *Abraham* made a covenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written, that he was alſo King of the *Philiſtims*, in

Basil upon the 33. Psalm. *Hierom* upon the 29. of *Ezechiel.*

these words: *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech King of the Philistims unto Gerar.* Now in regard that this or some antienter *Abimelech* governed the Common-wealth greatly to his glory, the rest of his successors called themselves by the same name. The *Philistims* commanded that Tract of Land upon the Mediterran Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of *Pilgrims* (otherwise *Cæsarea Palæstina*, or *Stratons* Tower) which was the South border of *Phœnicia*, to *Gaza*, or to the River of *Egypt*. The *Anakims* or strong Gyants were of these *Philistims:* and *Goliah* was of *Geth*, one of the five Cities above named. They had sometimes five Kings, saith *Lyranus*. They mastered the *Israelites* at several times above 150. years, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampson* and *Samuel*; but in the end, this yoke was taken off by *David*, and laid on themselves.

It is Objected, that because these Cities and the Countries adjoyning, were held by the Sons of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* dispossess the Sons of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this saith *Pererius*, that although the *Palæstines* or *Philistims* held it in the time of *Josua*, yet at the time of the Promise it was possessed by the *Canaanites*; as in the second of *Deuteronomy*. The *Hevites* dwelt in the Villages unto *Gaza*. And what marvel, if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philistims* were of *Caphtor*, and so of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, besides *Moses*, the Prophet *Jeremy* witnesseth: *The Lord will destroy the Philistims: the remnant of the issue of Caphtor:* and in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philistims* are said to be the reliques of *Caphtorim: Have not I brought up* Israel *out of the Land of Egypt, and the* Philistims *from Caphtor, and* Aram *from Kir?* so I read this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, and *Palæstinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene*, this conversion *Beroaldus* condemneth; where *Caphtor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a City directly West from *Egypt*, between *Ptolomais* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*; but *Kir* in *Asia* under the *Assyrians: Junius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*; and so hath the *Geneva*. But *Pererius* calls *Caphtorim Cappadocia*, according to the Vulgar translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean *Cappadocia* in *Palæstina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Pontus* in the North of *Asia the Less*. For whether they inhabited *Sethreites*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palæstina*, it is not certainly known. And sure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, aswell as he doth *Cyrene:* taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa* but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Teglatphalasser* King of the *Assyrians* carried away the inhabitants of *Damascus* into *Kir:* and so *Josephus* seems to understand this *Kir* of *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene, Media superior:* for it was the manner and policy of the *Assyrians* to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-Media:* because the *Syrians* by the *Assyrians* were therein captived.

Hier. c 47. 4.

Amos c 9. v. 7.

Of which see in the second Book, Chap. 7. Sect. 3. ||. 5.

Cap. 16. v. 9.

§. XV.

Of the issue of Sem.

||. I.

Of Elam, Assur, Arphaxad, *and* Lud.

It remaineth lastly to speak of the Sons of *Sem*, who are these:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Ashur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

THE posterity of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Story of the *Hebrews:* (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.)

Of these five Sons, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the Children of him and *Aram*; the rest are barely spoken of by rehersal of their names, saving that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Ninive*) was also said to be the Father of the *Assyrians*, whose issues, and the issues of *Cham*, instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the *Assyrians*, sometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the virtue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth us that all the East parts of the World were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (saving *India*) which I believe *Noah* himself first inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Havilah* the Sons of *Joctan* afterward repaired: *Hi filii* Sem *ab* Euphrate *fluvio partem* Asiæ *usque ad Oceanum* Indicum *tenuerunt*; *These Sons of* Sem (saith (St.

(St. *Hierom*) *held all thoſe Regions from* Euphrates *to the* Indian *Ocean.*

Joſ. Ant. l. 1. c. 7. Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembred, *Acts* 2. *v.* 9. and the Princes of *Perſia*; which name then began to be out of uſe and loſt, when the *Perſians* became Maſters of *Babylonia*: the Eaſt Monarchy being eſtabliſhed in them. Some prophane Writers diſtinguiſh *Elam* from *Perſia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Suſa* (which the Scriptures call *Suſan*) in *Elam* was the Kings ſeat of *Perſia* (witneſs *Daniel*) *And I ſaw* (ſaith he) *in a Viſion, and when I ſaw it, I was in the palace of* Suſan, *which is in the Province of* Elam. This City is embraced by the River *Euleus* (according to *Ptolemy*) in *Daniel*, *Ulai*: and ſeated in the border of *Suſiana*.

Cap 8. v. 2.

Ptol. Aſiæ tab. 5.

Dan. 8. 2.

Aſſur (as moſt Hiſtorians believe) the ſecond Son of *Sem*, was Father of the *Aſſyrians*, who diſdaining the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Ninive*, of equal beauty and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we ſhall in due place diſprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath been in this Story, and therefore I ſhall not need herein to ſpeak much: for the *Aſſyrians* ſo often invaded and ſpoiled the *Iſraelites*, deſtroyed their Cities, and led them Captives, as both in Divine and Humane letters there is large, and often mention of this Nation.

But howſoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the ſtate of the *Aſſyrians* of any ſuch power, after ſuch time as *Sardanapalus* loſt the Empire. For *Senacherib*, who was one of the powerfulleſt Princes among them, had yet the Mountain *Taurus* for the utmoſt of his Dominion towards the North-eaſt, and *Syria* bounded him towards the Weſt, notwithſtanding theſe vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Eſay* the 37. *Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have deſtroyed: as* Gozan, *and* Haran, *and* Reſeph, *and the children of* Eden *which were at* Telaſſar? *Where is the King of* Hamath, *and the King of* Arphad, *and the King of the City* Sepharuaim, Hena *and* Ivah? All theſe were indeed but petty Kings of Cities, and ſmall Countries, as *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*: *Reſeph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Ituræa*, under *Libanus*: the Iſle of *Eden*: *Sephar*, and others of this ſort. Yea, *Nebuchadonozor*, who was moſt powerful before the conqueſt of *Egypt*, had but *Chaldea*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Paleſtina*, and *Phœnicia*, parts thereof. But in this queſtion of *Aſſur*, I will ſpeak my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whoſe Plantation I have omitted among the reſt of the *Chuſites*, becauſe he eſtabliſhed the firſt Empire: from whom the moſt memorable ſtory of the World taketh beginning.

Iſa. 37. 11.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, ſaith Saint *Hierom* and *Joſephus*; but it muſt be thoſe *Chaldeans* about *Ur*: For the Sons of *Cham* poſſeſt the reſt. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebrews*: For *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela*, *Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth Son of *Shem*, gave name to the *Lydians* in *Aſia* the leſs, is the common opinion, taken from *Joſephus* and Saint *Hierom*; but I ſee not by what reaſon he was moved to ſtraggle thither from his friends.

||. II.

Of Aram, *and his Sons.*

ARam the firſt and laſt Son of *Shem* was the Parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damaſcus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of *Joſephus*) which *Syrus* lived before *Moſes* was born; the ſame which others call the Son of *Apollo*. *Meſopotamia* alſo, being but a Province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Naharajim*, which is as much to ſay, as, *Syria duorum fluviorum*; *Syria compaſſed with two Rivers*, (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the *Greeks Meſopotamia* ſimply.

Eſay 7. 8.

Euſeb. p. 10. *C.*

Ariſe and get thee to Padan Aram (ſaith *Iſaac* to *Jacob*) *to the houſe of Bethuel thy Mothers Father, and thence take thee a wife.* *Strabo* alſo remembreth it by the antient name of *Aram*, or *Aramea*, as theſe his own words converted witneſs: *Quos nos* Syros *vocamus, ipſi* Syri Aramenios & Arameos *vocant*; *Thoſe which we call Syrians* (ſaith he) *themſelves call* Aramenians *and* Arameans.

Gen. 28. 2. ſee Gen. 25. 10. alſo Deut. 23. 4. Judg. 3. Paral. 1. 19. Pſal 59. Strab. l. 1.

Againſt this opinion, that *Aram* the Son of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in general; (and not only of thoſe in *Syria Inter-Amnis*, which is *Meſopotamia*) ſome read, *Geneſ.* 22. 21. *Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where others out of the original read *Kemuel*, the Son of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconvenience for us to underſtand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of ſome one of note; the rather, becauſe in the Hiſtory of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuels* Poſterity could be famous) we find *Meſopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition, ſometimes with *Naharajim*, and ſometimes of *Padan*, to diſtinguiſh it from

from another *Aram*, which (as it seems) then also was called *Aram*. For whereas *Junius* thinks, in his Notes upon *Gen.* 25. 20. that *Padan-Aram* ought to be restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia* (to wit) to that part which *Ptolemy* calls *Ancobaritis* (so called from the River *Chaboras*, which, dividing it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous use of *Padan Aram* and *Aram Naharajim* (which latter appellation questionless comprehends the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seem to refute this Opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it signifieth as much as the yoak of *Syria*, which name agreeth with this Region: because the two Rivers (as it were) yoaked together go along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appear in the name of two Cities, in *Ptolemy*, called *Aphadana* (as *Junius* hath well noted) the one upon *Chaboras*, the other upon *Euphrates*.

The Sons of *Aram* were,
- *Uz*, or *Hus*.
- *Hul*.
- *Gether*, and
- *Mesch*, or *Mes*.

Hierom. in trad. Hebraic.

Uz, or *Hus*, inhabited about *Damascus*, and built that City, saith *Josephus* and Saint *Hierom*. But *Tostatus* mistaking this Opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who also followeth *Josephus*, affirmeth, that *Abraham*'s Steward, *Eliezer*, was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus*, the eldest Son of *Aram*, dwelt neer unto his Father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the same, adjoining to *Arabia* the Desart, and to *Batanea*, or *Traconitis*; whereof the Prophet *Hieremy*: *Rejoyce and be glad, O daughter of* Edom, *that dwellest in the Land of* Hus. *Hus* therefore is seated beyond *Jordan*, in the East Region of *Traconitis*, adjoining to *Basan*, having *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountain *Seir* to the East, *Edrai* to the South, *Damascus* North, and *Jordan* West: having in it many Cities and People, as may also be gathered out of *Hieremy*: *And all sorts of people, and all the Kings of the Land of Hus*. In this Region dwelt *Job*, descended of *Hus*, the Son of *Nahor*, the Brother of *Abraham* (saith S. *Hierom*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Jacob*, saith *Philo*.

Hierom. Lam. chap. 4. v. 21.

Chap. 25. v. 20.

Hul, the second Son of *Aram*, S. *Hierom* makes the Father of the *Armenians*; and *Gether*, the third son, Parent to the *Acarnanians*, or *Carians*: which Opinion (because I find not where to set him) I do not disprove, though I see no reason why *Gether* should leave the fellowship of his own Brethren, and dwell among strangers in *Asia* the less. *Junius* gives *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Desart of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolemy* setteth the City of *Cholle*.

Gether (saith *Josephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Josephus* gave all *Noah*'s children feathers, to carry them far away in all hast. For mine own Opinion, I always keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and think with *Junius* (to wit) That *Gether* seated himself neer his Brothers in the Body of *Syria*, and in the Province of *Cassiotis*, and *Seleucis*, where *Ptolemy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

Junius also giveth to *Mes*, or *Mesch* the North part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, neer the Mountain *Masius*. The certainty of those Plantations can no otherwise be known than by this probability, that *Aram* the Father (of whom that great Region took name) planted his Sons in the same Land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territory for himself and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them in the Desart parts of the World, so far asunder. And as necessity and policy held them together for a while; so ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, set them asunder. For although these Sons of *Aram*, and the Sons of the rest of *Noah*'s children, kept themselves within the bounds of some one large Kingdom; yet therein every one also sought a Province apart, and to themselves; giving to the Cities, therein built, their own names, thereby to leave their memory to their Posterity: the use of letters being then rare, and known to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Provinces: every one emulating and disdaining the greatness of other, as they are thereby to this day subject to invasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Nova Hispania* and *Peru* excepted, because those Countreys are unaccessible to strangers) an easie force wil cast them out of all the rest.

Mes, the fourth Son, is made the Parent of the *Meonians*: of whom somthing hath been spoken already. *Arphaxad*, the third Son of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two Sons, *Phaleg* and *Joctan*: and in *Phaleg*'s time was the Earth divided. *Chap. 8. Sect. 7.*

§. III.

Of the division of the Earth in the time of Phaleg, *one of the Sons of* Heber, *of the issue of* Sem.

THe many People which at the division (at *Phaleg*'s birth) were then living, and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were divided at either. The *Hebrews* (saith *Pererius* out of *Seder Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirm that this partition happned at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was born in the year after the Floud 101. and lived in all 239. years, which numbers added, make 340. And therefore was it so many years after the Floud, ere the children of *Noah* severed themselves. But to this Opinion of the *Hebrews*, and the doubt they make, how in so few years as 101. (the time of *Phaleg*'s birth) so many people could be increased, *Pererius* gives this Answer, That if 70. persons of the Family of *Jacob* increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. years (besides women, children and impotent persons) how much more is it likely, that so soon after the Floud the children of *Noah* might, in a shorter time, bring forth many multitudes, having received the blessing of God, *Increase and multiply, and fill the Earth?* What strength this Answer hath, let others judge: for the children of *Israel* were 70. and had 215. years time: and the Sons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. yeares of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceive that *Phaleg* took that name after the division, in memory thereof: as *Josephus* and S. *Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the division were at *Phaleg*'s death (which happened in the year, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was, by more likely, computation 12. years before his birth) then was the division 38. years after *Ninus*, who governed 52. years: in the 43. year of whose Reign *Abraham* was born. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Assyrians*, 80. years before this division (as this division is placed by the *Hebrews*, *Hierom* and *Chrisostom*) then was the Earth so peopled in all the East and Northern parts, as greater numbers have not been found at any time since. For *Ninus*, associating to himself *Arieus* King of *Arabia*, a People who at that time (saith *Diodorus Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atque armis præstabant, Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men*, subdued many Cities in *Armenia*; received *Barzanis* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and seven Children; vanquished all those Regions between *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, the Kingdom of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Persia*, to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. For the number which followed *Ninus* (already remembred out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoroaster* and others: and *Zoroaster* on the other side who made resistance with 400000. prove it sufficiently, that if the division had not hapned before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no division at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their portions, as they sought to be masters of all, and greater Armies were there never gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this Opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

Joseph l. 1. Antiquit. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 16. c. 11.

Per. in Gen. lib. 15 c. 10.

But for that conceit, that if the division had been made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers born to fill the Earth: It was never meant that the Earth could be filled every where at the very instant, but by times and degrees. And surely, whatsoever mens Opinions have been herein, yet it is certain, that the division of Tongues and of Men must go neer together with the ceasing of the work at *Babel*: and that the enterprise of *Babel* was left off instantly upon the confusion of Languages, where followed the execution of the division; and so neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was born in the year 101. after the Floud, which was the year that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or ten years after he arrived, saith *Berosus*.

Now, if it be objected, That *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whose name signifieth Division) must have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at the time of this confusion and partition: to this Objection, it may answered, That the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures; for *Jacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the Angel; *Abraham* was first *Abram*; and *Edom*, *Esau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principal man in this division, had his first name upon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the *Hebrews*, Saint *Hierom*, and *Chrysostom*, account *Heber* for a great Prophet, if that by giving his Son the name *Phaleg*, he foretold the division which followed: to this I say, I do not find that *Heber* deserved any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his Son: for division and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessity; and this Prophecy (if any such had been) might also have reference to the division, which afterwards

wards fell amongst the *Hebrews* themselves.

But if we give a reasonable time to the Building of the Tower and City of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstrative proof) might be increased: and that upon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (whereupon *Phaleg* took name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

§. IV.

Of the sons of Joctan, *the other Son of* Heber.

The Sons of *Joctan* were,
1. *Elmodad.*
2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph.*
3. *Asamath*, or *Chatzar.*
4. *Jare*, or *Jaraah*, or *Jerath.*
5. *Hadoram.*
6. *Uzal*, or *Uxal.*
7. *Dicklach*, or *Dicla.*
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal.*
9. *Abimael.*
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba.*
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir.*
12. *Havilah*, or *Chavila*, and
13. *Jobab.*

ALl those Sons of *Joctan* (according to Saint *Hierom*) dwelled in the East parts of the World, or *India*, even from the River *Cophe* or *Choas*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certain places of those thirteen Sons cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moses* being general:
Gen. 10. 30. *And their dwelling was from* Mesha *as thou goest unto* Separ *a Mount in the East.* Of all these thirteen Sons, there were only three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*. Concerning whose names, to avoid confusion, it is to be observed, that among the Sons of *Chush*, two of them had also the names of *Sheba* and *Havilah*. *Abraham* had also a third *Saba*, or *Sheba*, his Grand-child by his wife *Ketura*. But *Seba* the Son of *Chush*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Rhegma* his Nephew we have left in *Arabia fœlix*; and *Havilah* the Son of *Chush* upon *Tygris*. *Saba* the Grand-child of *Abraham* was (as some have thought) the Father of the *Sabæans* in *Persia*: of which Nations *Dionysius de Orbis situ* maketh mention; *Primum* Sabæi; *post hos sunt* Passagardæ; *prope verò hos sunt* Tasci: *The first are* Sabæans; *after these be* Passægarde; *and near these the* Tasci. And whereas it is written:
Gen. 25 6. *But unto the Sons of the Concubines which* Abraham *had*, Abraham *gave gifts, and sent them away from* Isaac *his Son* (*while he yet lived*) *Eastward to the East-Country:* Hereupon it is supposed, that this *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* wandered into *Persia*: for *Persia* was accounted the furthermost East-Country in respect of *Judæa*; which also *Ovid* setteth under the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of *Abraham*'s Sons seated themselves on the borders of *Judæa*: I rather choose to leave *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* in *Arabia the Desart*, where *Ptolemy* setteth a City of that name. Metam. II.

But *Saba*, the Son of *Joctan*, the Son of *Heber* (as I conceive) inhabited *India* it self. For *Dionysius Afer* in his *Periegesis* or description of the World) which he wrote in *Greek* Verse, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabæi*. Taxilis *hos inter medios habitatque* Sabæus; *In the middest of these dwell the* Sabæi, *and the* Taxili, saith *Dionysius*. τῶν δ' ἐν μέσσοις ναίει Σαβαῖος Ταξίλις τε.

§. V.

Of Ophir *one of* Joctan's *Sons, and of* Peru, *and of that voyage of* Solomon.

OPhir also was an inhabitant of the East *India*, and (as St. *Hierom* understands it) in one of the Islands plentiful with Gold, which are now known by the name of *Moluccæ*. *Josephus* understands *Ophir* to be one of those great head-lands in *India*, which by a general name are called *Chersonesi*, or *Peninsulæ*: of which there are two very notorious; *Callecut* and *Malacon*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Island, as St. *Hierom* doth, but he sets it at the head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther East.

Arias Montanus, out of the second of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and sixth Verse, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others, *Mare pacificum*. The words, in the second of the *Chronicles*, are these: *And he over-layed the house with precious stones for beauty; and the gold was gold of Parvaim.* *Junius* takes this gold to be the gold of *Havilah*, remembred by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*: *And the gold of that Land is good:* finding a Town in *Characene*, a Province of *Susiana*, called *Barbatia*; so called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Parvaim*: from whence those Kings subjected by *David*, brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which *David* preserved for the inriching of the Temple. Gen. 2. 11. & 12. Plin. l. 6. c. 28.

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceived many men, before *Montanus*, and *Plessis*, who also took *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this Question

ſtion may be a ſubject of no further diſpute; it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: ſure I am, that at leaſt, *America* hath none, no not any City, Village or Mountain ſo called. But when *Francis Piſarro* firſt diſcovered thoſe Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriving in that Region which *Atabaliba* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, riches, and dominion inferior to none) ſome of the *Spaniards*, utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by ſignes (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a River, or Torrent, or Brook that ran by, the *Indians* anſwered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brook, or of Water in general. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly underſtood them, ſet it down in the *Diurnal* of their enterpriſe, and ſo in the firſt deſcription made, and ſent over to *Charles* the Emperor, all that Weſt part of *America* to the South of *Panama*, had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever ſince, as divers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* aſſured me; which alſo *Acoſta* the *Jeſuite* in his natural and moral Hiſtory of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* alſo findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Jucatan*) took that name of *Jottan*, who as he ſuppoſeth navigated from the utmoſt Eaſt of *India* to *America*: it is moſt true, that *Jucatan* is nothing elſe in the language of that Country, but [*What is that?*] or [*What ſay you?*] For when the *Spaniards* aſk'd the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning) one of the Salvages anſwered *Jucatan* (which is) *What ask you*, or *What ſay you?* The like happened touching *Paria*, a Mountainous Country on the South ſide of *Trinidado*, and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men do) the names of thoſe new Regions which they diſcovered, pointed to the Hills afar off, one of the people anſwered, *Paria*, which is as much to ſay, as, *high Hills* or *Mountains*. For at *Paria* begins that marvellous ledg of Mountains, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*, from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South: and ſo hath that Country ever ſince retained the name of *Paria*.

The ſame happened among the *Engliſh*, which I ſent under Sir *Richard Greenevile* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when ſome of my people asked the name of that Country, one of the Salvages anſwered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to ſay, as, *You wear good cloaths*, or gay cloaths. The ſame happened to the *Spaniard* in aſking the name of the Iſland *Trinidado*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that ſelf place which the Sea encompaſſed, they anſwered, *Caeri*, which ſignifieth an Iſland. And in this manner have many places, newly diſcovered, been entituled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we muſt leave *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabout ſuch an Iſland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now, although there may be found Gold in *Arabia* it ſelf (towards *Perſia*) in *Havilah*, now *Suſiana*, and all alongſt that Eaſt *Indian* ſhore; yet the greateſt plenty is taken up at the *Philippines*, certain Iſlands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the Eaſt *India*. And by the length of the paſſage which *Solomons* Ships made from the Red-Sea (which was three years in going and coming) it ſeemeth they went to the uttermoſt Eaſt, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeed theſe that now go from *Portugal*, or from hence, finiſh that navigation in two years, and ſometimes leſs: and *Solomon's* Ships went not above a tenth part of this our courſe from hence. But we muſt conſider, that they evermore kept the coaſt, and crept by the ſhores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the uſe of the compaſs was known, it was impoſſible to navigate a-thwart the Ocean; and therefore *Solomon's* Ships could not find *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull for the *Spaniards* themſelves (had it not been for the plenty of Gold in the Eaſt *India* Iſlands, farr above the Mines of any one place of *America*) to ſail every year to the Weſt part of *America* thither, and there to have ſtrongly planted, and inhabited the richeſt of thoſe Iſlands: wherein they built a City called *Manilia*. *Solomon* therefore needed not to have gone farther off than *Ophir* in the Eaſt, to have ſped worſe: neither could he navigate from the Eaſt to the Weſt in thoſe days, whereas he had no coaſt to have guided him.

Toſtatus alſo gathereth a fantaſtical Opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Countrey, whoſe mountains of Gold are kept by *Griffins*: which mountains *Solinus* affirmed to be in *Scythia Aſiatica*, in theſe words: *Nam cum Auro & Gemmis affluant*, Griphes *tenent univerſa, alites ferociſſimæ*, Arimaſpi *cum his dimicant*, &c. *For whereas theſe Countreys abound in Gold and rich Stones, the* Griffins *defend the one and the other: a kind of Fowl, the fierceſt of all other; with which* Griffins *a Nation of people, called* Arimaſpi, *make Warr.* Theſe *Arimaſpi* are ſaid to have been men with one eye onely, like unto the *Cyclops* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclops*, *Herodotus*, and *Ariſteus* make mention: and ſo doth *Lucan* in his third Book: and *Valerius*

Flaccus lib. 6. Diodorus Siculus lib. 16.

Flaccus: and *D. Siculus*, in the Story of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine own Opinion) I believe none of them. And for these *Arimaspi*, I take it that this name signifying *one-eyed*, was first given them, by reason that they used to wear a vizzard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serve both eyes; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Solinus* borroweth these things out of *Pliny*, who speaks of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called *Gisolitron*, or the Cave of the North-east wind. For the rest, as all Fables were commonly grounded upon some true Stories, or other things done: so might these tales of the *Griffins* receive this moral: That if those men, which fight against so many dangerous passages for Gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of half their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason and understanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not suject themselves to famine, corrupt air, violent heat and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this Fable be feigned in this place, yet, if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wilde Beasts or Serpents defend mountains of Gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the World, especially in *America*, many high and impassable mountains, which are very rich, and full of Gold, inhabited onely with *Tygers*, *Lions*, and other ravenous and cruel Beasts: unto which, if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to find the same warr which the *Arimaspi* make against the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any sense of the Gold, or seek to defend that metal, but being disquieted, or made afraid of themselves or their young ones, they grow inraged and adventurous. In like sort it may be said, that the *Alegartos* (which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend those Pearls which lie in the Lakes of the In-land: for many times the poor *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they dive for the Pearl. And though the *Alegartos* know not the Pearl, yet they find savour in the flesh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they devour.

§. VI.

Of Havilah *the Son of* Joctan, *who also passed into the East-Indies: and of* Mesha *and* Sepher *named in the bordering of the families of* Joctan: *with a Conclusion of this Discourse touching the plantation of the World.*

OF *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*, there is nothing else to be said, but that the general Opinion is, that he also inhabited in the *East-India*, in the Continent, from which *Ophir* past into the Islands adjoining. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Havilah*, it is meant by *Havilah* in the *East-India*, which took name of *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*: but *Havilah* which *Pison* compasseth, was so called of *Havilah*, the Son of *Chus*, as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture: *Saul smote the* Amalekites *from* Havilah, *as thou comest to* Shur, *which is before* Egypt. But, that *Saul* ever made warr in the *East-India*, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteen Sons of *Joctan*, these three, *Saba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*; though at the first seated by their Brethren about the Hill *Masius*, or *Mesh*, *Gen.* 10.30. (to wit) between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*; yet, at length, either themselves, or their issues removed into the *East-India*, leaving the other Families of *Joctan*, to fill the Countreys of their first plantations, which the Scripture defines to have been from *Mesh* unto *Sephar*. And although S. *Hierome* take *Mesh* to be a Region of the *East-India*, and *Sephar* a Mountain of the same (which Mountain, *Montanus* would have to be the *Andes* in *America*) those fancies are farr beyond my understanding. For, the word (*East*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Judæa*, is never farther extended than into *Persia*. But *Mesch* is that part of the Mountain of *Masius* in the North of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the River *Chaboras* springeth, which runneth by *Charran*: and in the same Region we also find for *Sephar* (remembred by *Moses*) *Sipphara* by *Ptolemy*, standing to the East of the Mountain *Masius*; from whence, *Joctan* having many Sons, some of them might pass into *India*, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in process of time.

1 Sam. 15. v. 7.

The other fashion of Planting I understand not, being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this Mountain in the East was no farther off than in those Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is used: as in *Numbers* 23. Balac *the King of* Moab *hath brought me from* Aram, *out of the Mountain of the East*; which was from the East part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia* (witness this place of *Deuteronomy*:) *Because they hired* Balaam *the Son of* Beor, *of* Pethor *in* Aram Naharajim, *to curse thee*: for *Aram Naharajim* was *Syria fluviorum*, which is *Mesopotamia*, as aforesaid.

vers. 7.

Cap. 23. *vers.* 4.

This plantation of the World after the Floud

Floud doth beſt agree (as to me it ſeems) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And theſe be the reports of reaſon and probable conjecture; the guides which I have followed herein, and which I have choſen to go after; making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their own fancies, be they ancient or modern. Neither have I any end herein, private or publick, other than the diſcovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himſelf hath diſguiſed all things: ſo the factious and hireling Hiſtorians of all Ages (eſpecially of theſe later Times) have, by their many Volumes of untrue reports, left *Honour* without a Monument, and *Virtue* without Memory: and (in ſtead thereof) have erected *Statues* and *Trophies* to thoſe, whom the darkeſt forgetfulneſs ought to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and diſſolving nature of time hath worn out or changed the names and memory of the Worlds firſt Planters after the Floud (I mean the greateſt number, and moſt part of them) yet all the footſteps of Antiquity (as appears by that which hath been ſpoken) are not quite worn out, nor over-grown: for *Babylon* hath to this day the ſound of *Babel*; *Phœnicia* hath *Zidon*, to which City the eldeſt Son of *Canaan* gave name; ſo hath *Cilicia*, *Tharſis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hibernian*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumæans*, *Libyans*, *Moors*, and other Nations, have preſerved from the death of forgetfulneſs ſome ſigns of their firſt Founders and true Parents.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Beginning and Eſtabliſhment of Government.

§. I.

Of the proceeding from the firſt Government under the eldeſt of the Families to be Regal, and from Regal abſolute, to Regal tempered with Laws.

IT followeth now, to intreat how the World began to receive Rule and Government, which (while it had ſcarcity of people) under-went no other Dominon than Paternity and Elderſhip. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldeſt of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*Elder*) was always uſed, both for the Magiſtrate, and for thoſe of Age and Gravity: the ſame bearing one ſignification almoſt in all Languages. For, in the Eleventh of *Numbers*, God commanded *Moſes* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and Governours over them: the *Hebrew* bearing the ſame ſence which the *Latine* word *Senes*, or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Suſanna*, *Then the Aſſembly believed them as thoſe that were the Elders and Judges of the people.* And ſo in the words of thoſe falſe Judges and Witneſſes to *Daniel*, *Shew it unto us, ſeeing God hath given thee the Office of an Elder.* *Demoſthenes* uſeth the ſame word for the Magiſtrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giveth two other reaſons for this appellation: *Apud* Lacedæmonios *qui ampliſſimum Magiſtratum gerunt, ut ſunt, ſic etiam appellantur, Senes*; *Among the* Lacedæmonians, *the chief Magiſtrates, as they were, ſo they are called, Eldermen:* And again, *Ratio & prudentia niſi eſſent in ſenibus, non ſummum Concilium Majores noſtri appellâſſent Senatum*; *If reaſon and adviſement were not in old men, our Anceſtours had never called the higheſt Councel by the name of Senate.*

But, though theſe reaſons may well be given, yet we doubt not, but in this name of (*Elders*) for Governours, or Counſellours of State, there is a ſign that the firſt Governours were the Fathers of Families; and under them the eldeſt Sons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniard*, take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordſhip and Dominion: ſignifying (according to *Loyſeau*) puiſſance in propriety, or proper power. The kinds of this *Seignourie*, *Seneca* makes two: The one, *Poteſtas aut imperium, Power or command:* the other, *Proprietas aut dominum*; *Propriety or maſterſhip:* The correlative of the one is the Subject; of the other, the Slave. *Ad Cæſarem* (ſaith he) *poteſtas omnium pertinet*; *ad ſingulos proprietas*; *Cæſar hath power over all, and every man propriety in his own:* And again, *Cæſar omnia imperio poſſidet, ſinguli dominio*; *Cæſar holdeth all in his power, and*

every man poſſeſſeth his own. But as men and vice began abundantly to increaſe: ſo obedience (the fruit of natural reverence, which but from excellent ſeed ſeldome ripeneth) being exceedingly over-ſhadowed with pride, and ill examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the ſoft weapons of Paternal perſwaſions (after man-kind began to neglect and forget the Original and firſt giver of life) became in all over-weak, either to reſiſt the firſt inclination of evil, or after (when it became habitual) to conſtrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided and ſteered by their own fancies, and toſt to and fro on the tempeſtuous Seas of the World, while Wiſdom was ſevered from power, and ſtrength from charity: Neceſſity (which bindeth every nature but the immortal) made both the wiſe and fooliſh underſtand at once, that the eſtate of reaſonable men would become far more miſerable than that of beaſts, and that a general floud of confuſion would a ſecond time over-flow them, did they not, by a general obedience to Order and Dominion, prevent it. For the mighty, who truſted in their own ſtrengths, found others again (by interchange of times) more mighty than themſelves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equal from equal received equal harms. Inſomuch, that the licentious diſorder (which ſeemed to promiſe a liberty upon the firſt acquaintance) proved, upon a better trial, no leſs perillous than unindurable bondage.

Neceſſitas eſt firmum judicium, & immutabilis providentiæ poteſtas.

Theſe Arguments, by Neceſſity propounded, and by Reaſon maintained and confirmed, perſwaded all Nations which the Heavens cover, to ſubject themſelves to a Maſter, and to Magiſtracy in ſome degree. Under which Government, as the change (which brought with it leſs evil, than the former miſchiefs) was generally pleaſing: ſo time (making all men wiſe that obſerve it) found ſome imperfection and corroſive in this cure. And therefore the ſame Neceſſity which invented, and the ſame Reaſon which approved, Sovereign power, bethought it ſelf of certain equal rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundleſs) might alſo diſcern her own limits. For before the invention of Laws, private affections in ſupream Rulers made their own fancies both their Treaſurers and Hangmen; meaſuring by this Yard, and weighing in this Ballance, both good and evil.

For as wiſedom in Elderſhip preceded the rule of Kings; ſo the will of Kings forewent the inventions of Laws. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant; The people were not governed by any other laws than the wills of Princes.* Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did thoſe men's Virtues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor thoſe men's Vices deforme them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt; Love ſees one while too much, another while ſtark nothing.* Hence it came to paſſe, that after a few years (for direction and reſtraint of Royal power) Laws were eſtabliſhed: and that Government which had this mixture of equality (holding in an even Ballance ſupreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regal: the other (which had it not) was known for Tyrannical: the one, God eſtabliſhed in favour of his people; the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regal authority, Princes as they were choſen for their virtues only, ſo did they meaſure their powers by a great deal of moderation. And therefore (ſaith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia juſti erant, & religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dii & dicti; Princes becauſe they were juſt and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.* *De aureo ſæculo, part 1.*

And though (ſpeaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be aſcribed to Reaſon and Neceſſity; yet it was God himſelf that firſt kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they ſaw that they could not live and be preſerved without a Ruler and Conductor: God himſelf by his eternal providence having ordained Kings; and the Law of Nature, Leaders, and Rulers over others. For the very Bees have their Prince; the Deer their Leaders; and Cranes (by order impoſed) watch for their own ſafety. *The moſt High beareth rule over the Kingdoms of Men; and appointeth over it whomſoever he pleaſeth.* *Dan. 5. 21.* *By me* (ſaith *Wiſedom*, ſpoken by the Son of God) *Kings reign; By me Princes rule.* *Prov. 8. 15.* *And it is God* (ſaith *Daniel*) *that ſetteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings.* *Dan. 2. 21.* And that this power is given from God, *Chriſt* himſelf witneſſeth, ſpeaking to *Pilate*; *Thou couldeſt have no power at all againſt me, except it were given thee from above.* *John 19. 11.*

It was therefore by a threefold Juſtice that the World hath been governed from the beginning (to wit) by a Juſtice natural; by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephewes, and Families; in which government the Obedience was called natural Piety: Againe, by a Juſtice divine, drawn from the Laws and Ordinances of God; and the Obedience hereunto was called Conſcience: And laſtly, by a Juſtice civil, begotten by both

both the former; and the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by these three, those of the eldest times were commanded, and that the rule in general was Paternal, it is most evident: for *Adam*, being Lord over his own Children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator; as we read, *Cain* and *Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had been taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankind.

§. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Government, with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane society.

WHat other Policy was exercised, or State founded, after such time as mankinde was greatly multiplied before the Floud, it cannot be certainly known, though it seem by probable conjecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first Age: it being possible that many Princes of the *Egyptians* (remembred among their antiquities) were before the general Floud; and very likely, that the cruel Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some Tyranny in Government, or from some rougher form of Rule, than the Paternal.

Beros. l. 1. *Berosus* ascribeth the rule of the World in those days to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who mastered (saith he) all Nations from the Sun-rising to the Sun-set. But in the second Age of the World, and after such times as the rule of Eldership failed, three several sorts of Government were in several times established among men, according to the divers natures of Places and People.

The first, the most ancient, most general, and most approved, was the Government of one, ruling by just Laws, called *Monarchy*: to which *Tyranny* is opposed, being also a sole and absolute Rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or observation of the Laws of God, or Men. For a lawful Prince or Magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the Keeper of Right and Equity: and of this condition ought every Magistrate to be, according to the rule of *Deut. 16. 18.* Gods word: *Judges and Officers shalt thou make thee in thy Cities: And these shall judg the people with righteous judgment.*

The second Government, is of divers principal Persons established by Order, and ruling by Laws, called *Aristocracy*, or *Optimatum potestas*; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and usurpation of a few great ones) is opposed: as the *Decemviri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Government of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is opposed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent unjust ruling of the confused multitude, seditiously swaying the State, contrary to their own Laws and Ordinances. These three kinds of Government are briefly expresst by *Tholosanus*; *unius, paucorum, & multorum*; *Of one, of few, of many.*

Now as touching the beginning and order of Policy since the second increase of mankind, the same grew in this sort: First of all, every Father, or eldest of the Family, gave Laws to his own issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These, as they were multiplied into many households (man by nature loving society) joyned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the *Latins* call *Vicus*; of the *Greek* οἶκος, which signifies a *House*; or of the word (*Via*) because it hath divers waies and paths leading to it. And as the first House grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called *Pagus* (being a society of divers Villages) so called of the *Greeks* πηγὴ which signifieth a *Fountain:* because many people (having their habitations not far asunder) drank of one Spring or Stream of Water. To this word the *English* Hundreds, or (as some think) Shires, answereth not unfitly.

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation and pride, between the Race of the one and the other, daily increased: so both to defend themselves from out-rage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they began to joyn and set together divers of their Villages, invironing them first with Banks and Ditches, and afterwards with Walls: which, being so compassed, were then called *Oppida*; either *ab opponendo se hostibus, Because walls were opposed against Enemies*; or *ab opibus, because thither they gathered their riches for safety and defence*: as also they were called *Urbes, ab orbe*; because when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (saith *Varro*) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was antiently in this, that *Urbs* signified no other than the very walls and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: so called of *Civis*, and that, *ab eo quod multitudo coivit, of comming together.* But all inhabitants within these walls are not properly Citizens, but only such as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the City,

City, may by turns become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest go under the name of Subjects, though Citizens by the same general name of Subjects are also known. For every Citizen is a Subject, but not every Subject a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen (as the chief Magistrate, if he be to be tearmed one of the Citizens) is no Subject; but of this we need not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken *à Magistro, from a Master*, and the word (Master) from the Adverb *Magis* (as also *Magisteria, Precepts of Art*) or else from the *Greek* word (*Megistos*) and so the *Greeks* call them *Megistanes*, whom the *Latines* call *Magnates*, or *Magistratus*.

The Office and Duty of every Magistrate, *Arist. 5.* *Aristotle* hath written in few words. *A Magistrate or Prince* (saith he) *is the keeper of right and equity*; but the same is best taught by Saint *Paul*, who expresseth both the cause efficient, and final, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together *Rom 13.4.* with their Duties and Office. *A Magistrate is the Minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou do evil, fear: for he beareth not the sword for nought. For he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil.* He also *Ver. 1, 2.* teacheth in the same place; *That every soule ought to be subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained*, and that *whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God*, the giver and fountain thereof: and shall not only be therefore subject to the judgment and con- *Ibid. v. 5.* demnation of Man, but of God: *For ye must be subject* (saith he) *not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake.*

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments, upon those that have resisted Authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any Subject therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with injustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandement of obedience is without distinction. The *Prophets* and *Christ* himself subjected themselves to the power of Magistracy. *Christ* commanded that all due to *Cæsar* should be given unto him: and he payed Tribute for himself and *Peter*. *Hieremy* commanded the *Israelites* (even those *Hierem. 29.7.* that were Captives under Heathen Kings) *Gen. 20. 17. & 21. 26.* to pray for them and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*; and *Jacob* blessed the King of *Egypt*: And *it is acceptable in the sight of our Saviour* (saith *Paul*) *that ye make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority*: and if for such Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did Saint *Chrysostom*, in his Homily to the people, prefer *Monarchical* Government, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they should be wanting: *Præstat Regem tyrannum habere, quàm nullum; Better a tyrannous King, than no King:* to which also *Tacitus* subscribeth: *Præstat* (saith *Tacitus* in the first of his History) *sub malo principe esse, quàm nullo; It is better to have a bad Prince than none at all.* And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no liberty more safe, than to serve them: *Neque enim libertas tutior ulla est* (saith *Claudian*) *quàm Domino servire bono; No liberty* (saith he) *more safe for us than to be servants to the virtuous.* And certainly, howsoever it may be disputed, yet it is safer to live under one Tyrant, than under 100000. Tyrants: under a wise man that is cruel, than under the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as *Agesilaus* answered a Citizen of *Sparta*, that desired an alteration of Government, That kind of rule which a man would disdain in his own house, were very unfit to govern great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erect many Cotages for their many Children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many Housholds joyned themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: so when these Cities and Citizens joyned together, and established Laws by consent, associating themselves under one Governour, and Government; they, so joyned, were called a Common-Wealth: the same being sometimes governed by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the People themselves.

§. III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.

NOw this first Age after the Floud, and after such time as the people were increased, and Families became strong, and they dispersed into several parts of the world, was by antient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Covetousness being as then but green, and newly grown up; the seeds and effects whereof were as yet but potential, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then sought for no larger Territory than themselves could compass and manure: they erected no other magnificent Buildings, than sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest:

tempeſt: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curioſity of dyet, than to maintain life: nor for any other apparel, than to cover them from the Cold, the Rain and the Sun.

And ſure if we underſtand by that Age (which was called Golden) the antient ſimplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be caſt upon thoſe elder times: but if it be taken otherwiſe, then, whether the ſame may be attributed more to any one time than to another (I mean to one limited time and none elſe) it may be doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times have brought forth of both ſorts. And as the infancy of Empiry (when Princes played their Prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the Golden Age; ſo may the beginning of all Princes times be truly called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then beſt purchaſed; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deſervings have commonly the leaſt impediments: and if ever Liberality overflow her banks and bounds, the ſame is then beſt warranted both by policy and example. But Age and Time, do not only harden and ſhrink the openeſt and moſt *Jovial* hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torn eſtates before their eyes, and (withal) perſwadeth them to compaſſionate themſelves. And although there be no Kings under the Sun whoſe means are anſwerable unto other mens deſires: yet ſuch as value all things by their own reſpects, do no ſooner find their appetites unanſwered, but they complain of alteration, and account the times injurious and Iron. And as this falleth out in the Reign of every King, ſo doth it in the life of every man, if his daies be many: for our younger years are our Golden Age; which being eaten up by time, we praiſe thoſe ſeaſons which our youth accompanied: and (indeed) the grievous alterations in our ſelves, and the pains and diſeaſes which never part from us but at the grave, make the times ſeem ſo differing and diſpleaſing: eſpecially the quality of man's nature being alſo ſuch, as it adoreth and extolleth the paſſages of the former, and condemneth the preſent ſtate how juſt ſoever: *Fit hùmanæ malignitatis vitio, ut ſemper veterum laude, præſentia in faſtidia ſint; It comes to paſs* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *by the vice of our malignity, that we alwaies extol the time paſt, and hold the preſent faſtidious:* For it is one of the errors of wayward Age: *Quod ſint laudatores temporis acti; That they are praiſers of fore-paſſed times*, forgetting this advice of *Solomon: Say not then, Why is it that the former daies were better then theſe? For thou doeſt not inquire wiſely of this thing:* to which purpoſe *Seneca; Majores noſtri queſti ſunt, & nos querimur, poſteri querentur, everſos eſſe mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne nefas labi: Our anceſtors have complained, we do complain, our Children will complain, that good manners are gone, that wickedneſs doth reign, and all things grow worſe and worſe, and fall into all evil.* Theſe are uſually the Diſcourſes of Age and Misfortune. But hereof what can we add to this of *Arnobius? Nova res quandoque vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus; quibus cœpit nova fuit & repentina. Whatſoever is new, in time ſhall be made old: and the antienteſt things when they took beginning were alſo new and ſodain.* Wherefore not to ſtand in much admiration of theſe firſt times, which the diſcontentment of preſent times have made Golden, this we may ſet down for certain, That as it was the virtue of the firſt Kings, which (after God) gave them Crowns: ſo the love of their people thereby purchaſed, held the ſame Crowns on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of Subjects to Princes: ſo (relatively) he gave the care and juſtice of Kings to the Subjects; having reſpect, not only to the Kings themſelves, but even to the meaneſt of his Creatures: *Nunquam particulari bono ſervit omne bonum; The infinite goodneſs of God doth not attend any one only:* for he that made the ſmall and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a general love it is, that Princes hold a general obedience: For, *Poteſtas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum: All humane power is rooted in the will or diſpoſitions of men.*

Eccleſ. 7.

Arnob. lib. 2.

Wiſd. 6. 7.

Tacit. in Dial. de Orat.

§. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vain vaunt thereof without virtue.

AND with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authority, began alſo other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the ſame Rule, by which themſelves were choſen; unto whom they gave place, truſt, and power. From which imployments and Offices ſprung thoſe Titles, and thoſe degrees of Honour, which have continued from Age to Age, to theſe daies. But this Nobility, or difference from the vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the Succeſſion of Bloud, but to Succeſſion of Virtue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at length it was ſufficient for

Verus Nobilis non naſcitur ſed fit.

for those whose Parents were advanced, to be known for the Sons of such Fathers: and so there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, upon whom glory or worldly Nobility necessarily descended. Yet hereof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in virtue, were so called: *Hinc dictus Nobilis, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* But after such time as the deserved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his Posterity, Saint *Jerom* judged of the Succession in this manner: *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent; I see no other thing to be affected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kind of necessity bound, not to degenerate from the virtue of their Ancestors.* For if Nobility be *Virtus & antiquæ divitiæ; Virtue and antient riches*, then to exceed in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like, do no otherwise define Nobility, than the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Vives*) be a witness of virtue and well-doing: and Nobility (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of Virtue in a Race or Linage: then are those in whom Virtue is extinguished, but like unto Painted and Printed Papers, which ignorant men worship in stead of *Christ*, our *Lady*, and other *Saints*: men in whom there remain but the dregs and Vices of antient Virtue: Flowers, and Herbs, which by change of soile and want of manuring are turned to Weeds. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains, if in all the rest of their course they run foule, filthy, and defiled? *Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando Cicuta venenosa, ex terra sterili pretiosum Aurum; Out of fruitful ground ariseth sometimes poysoning Henbane, and out of barren soyle precious Gold.* For as all things consist of matter and form, so doth *Charron* (in his Chapter of Nobility) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobility: the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be Virtue, and Quality, profitable to the Common-weal. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of publike Virtue, serving his Prince and Country, and being descended of Parents and Ancestors that have done the like. And although that Nobility, which the same Author calleth personal (the same which our selves acquire by our Virtue and well deservings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both natural by Descent, and also Personal; yet if Virtue be wanting to the natural, then is the personal and acquired Nobility, by many degrees, to be preferred: For (saith *Charron*) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light upon such a one, as in his own nature is a true Villain. There is also a third Nobility, which he calleth Nobility in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour: and these be indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings, with the change of their Fancies, wish they knew well how to wipe off again. But surely, if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthiness, as we have of vanity in deriving our selves of such and such Parents, we should rather know such Nobility (without Virtue) to be shame and dishonour, than Nobleness and glory to vaunt thereof. *What calamity is wanting* (saith *Bernard*) *to him that is born in sin, of a Potshare body and barren mind?* For (according to the same Father) *Dele fucum fugacis honoris hujus, & malè coronatæ nitorem gloriæ, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou mayest consider thy self nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with thy Mytre, or glistering with Jewels, or garnished with Silks, or adorned with Feathers, or stuffed with Gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration, as certain morning clouds, which do or will soon pass over, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poor, and wretched, and miserable man, and blushing, because he is naked, and weeping, because he is born, and repining, because he is born to labour, and not to honour.*

Bern. l. 1. de Consider. ad Eugen. Pap.

Pint. in Ezech.

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference between it and dust: *which if thou dost not believe* (saith St. *Chrysostom*) *look into the Sepulchres and Monuments of thy Ancestors, and they shall easily perswade thee by their own example, that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seem more noble and beautiful than dust, this proceedeth not from the diversity of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.*

Chrys. hom. 3. l. de incomposita Dei natura cont. 5.

For true Nobility standeth in the Trade
Of virtuous life; not in the fleshly Line:
For bloud is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

Phaer.

And howsoever the custom of the World have made it good, that Honours be cast by birth upon unworthy Issues: yet *Solomon* (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the same in his fellow-Princes: *There is an evil* (saith he) *that I have seen under the Sun, as an errour that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth: Folly is set in great excellency.*

Eccles. 10.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus: *and of memorable things about thoſe times.*

§. I.

That Nimrod *was the firſt after the Floud that reigned like a Sovereign Lord: and that his beginning ſeemeth to have been of juſt authority.*

THE firſt of all that reigned as Sovereign Lord, after the Floud, was *Nimrod*, the Son of *Chuſh*, diſtinguiſhed by *Moſes* from the reſt (according to S. *Auguſtine*) in one of theſe two reſpects: either for his eminency, and becauſe he was the firſt of fame, and took on him to command others: or elſe, in that he was begotten by *Chuſh*, after is other children were alſo become Fathers; and of a later time than ſome of his Grand-children and Nephews. Howſoever, ſeeing *Moſes* in expreſs words, calleth *Nimrod* the Son of *Chuſh*, other mens conjectures to the contrary, ought to have no reſpect.

This Empiry of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers, and many later Writers call tyrannical: the ſame beginning in *Babel* (which is) confuſion. But it ſeemeth to me, that *Melanchthon* conceived not amiſs hereof: the ſame expoſition being alſo made by the Authour of that Work, called *Onomaſticum Theologicum*, who affirms that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, *A bitter, or ſevere Governour*, becauſe his form of Rule ſeemed, at firſt, farr more terrible than Paternal authority. And therefore is he in this reſpect alſo called *A mighty Hunter:* becauſe he took and deſtroyed both beaſts and thieves. But S. *Auguſtine* underſtands it otherwiſe, and converts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mighty Hunter againſt God: *Sic ergo intelligendus eſt Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum; So is that Giant to be underſtood, a Hunter againſt the Lord.*

But howſoever this word (*A mighty Hunter*) be underſtood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all thoſe which went with him from the Eaſt into *Shinaar:* ſo, this charge was rather given him, than by him uſurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himſelf, or any of the Sons of his own body, came with this troop into *Babylon:* no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the years of his life excepted) in the ſucceeding Story of the *Hebrews*; nor that *Sem* was in this diſobedient troop, or among the builders of *Babel.*

The ſame is alſo confirmed by divers Hiſtorians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Joctan*, were the Captains and Leaders of all thoſe which came from the Eaſt. And though *Sem* came not himſelf ſo farr as *Shinaar* (his lot being caſt on the Eaſt parts) yet from his Son's Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebrews* (according to the generall opinion) took beginning, who inhabited the Southermoſt parts of *Chaldæa*, about the City of *Ur*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan.*

And becauſe thoſe of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldæa*, were no partners in the unbelieving work of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers conjecture) did they retain the firſt and moſt ancient language, which the Fathers of the firſt Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Iſſues: *In familia* Heber *remanſit hæc lingua*; *In the family of* Heber *this language remained* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine* out of *Epiphanius*) and this Language *Abraham* uſed; yea, it was anciently, and before the Floud, the general ſpeech: and therefore firſt called (ſaith *Cæleſtinus*) *lingua humana: the humane tongue.*

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moſes*, *Ægyptius*, *Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howſoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability reſolve, that none of the godly ſeed of *Sem* were the chief Leaders of this preſumptuous multitude. And ſeeing it is not likely, but that ſome one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by juſt authority, than violence of uſurpation.

§. II.

That Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus *were three distinct Persons.*

BEnzo, and out of him *Nauclerus*; with others, make many *Nimrods*; *Eusebius* confounds him with *Belus*, and so doth Saint *Hierom* upon *Ose*; and these words of Saint *Augustine* seem to make him of the same Opinion: *Ibi autem* Ninus *regnabat post mortem patris sui* Beli, *qui primus illic regnaverat* 65. *annos*; *There did* Ninus *reign after the death of his father* Belus, *who governed in* Babylon *sixty five years.* But it could not be unknown to Saint *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the Establisher of that Empire: *Moses* being plain and direct therein. *For the beginning of* Nimrods *Kingdom* (saith he) *was* Babel, Erec, Accad, *and* Chalne, *in the Land of* Shinaar; wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel.* And certainly, it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus* his time, the World was marvellously replenished. And if S. *Augustine* had undoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authours. And for those words of S. *Augustine* (*qui primus illic regnaverat*; *Who was the first that reigned there*) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words do not disprove that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Julius Cæsar* overthrew the liberty of the *Romane* Common-wealth, making himself perpetual *Dictator*; yet *Augustus* was the first established Emperour, and the first that reigned absolutely by soveraign Authority over the *Romans*, as an Emperour.

The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternity, laying the foundation of soveraign rule, as *Cæsar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with general allowance, exercised such a power. *Pererius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them, both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. years after the Floud (as they account) that *Belus* reigned; but such agreement of times proves it not. For, so *Edward* the third, and his Grand-child, *Richard* the second, were Kings both in one year: the one died; the other in the same year was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is farr more probable than that of *Mercator*; who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For, it is plain, that the beginning of *Nimrod*'s Kingdom was *Babel*, and the Towns adjoining: but the first, and most famous work of *Ninus*, was the City of *Ninive*.

Now, whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* overcame and suppresst the *Babylonians*, the same rather proveth the contrary, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one Person. For *Ninus* established the seat of his Empire at *Ninive* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babilonians* might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered again by strong hand; which was easie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time.

——*Dicitur altam*
Cottilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis *Urbem.*

Semiramis with walls of Brick, the City did inclose.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod mighty*; so *Justine* hath the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercator*'s Arguments; it may be answered, that such an addition might have been given to many other Kings as well. For, if we may believe *Justine*; then were *Vexoris* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, mighty Kings before *Ninus* was born. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the undertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference between them.

For, whereas *Mercator* conceiveth, that it was too early, for any that lived about the time of the confusion of Languages, to have invaded and mastered those Cities so farr removed from *Babel*, namely, *Erech*, *Accad*, and and *Chalne*: which work he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have *Nimrod* to have been long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one Person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I do not find that supposition true, That ever *Nimrod* invaded any of these Cities; but that he founded them, and built them from the ground, being the first after the Floud, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hand.

Besides, whereas these Cities, in many mens opinions, are found to stand farr away from *Babylon*, I find no reason to bring me to that belief. The City of *Accad*, which the *Septuagint* calls *Archard*; and *Epiphanius*, *Arphal*; *Junius* takes it to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for

for the Region thereabout, the Coſmographers (ſaith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene*. Others underſtand *Niſibis* and *Ninive*, to be one City: ſo do *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*, but all miſtaken. For *Niſibis*, *Accad*, and *Charran*, are diſtinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accedene* to be a Region of *Meſopotamia*, the ſame which *Arias Montanus*, out of S. *Hierom*, calls *Achad*: and ſo do the *Hebrews* alſo call *Niſibis*, which ſeemeth to be the cauſe of this miſtaking. As for the City of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*; S. *Auguſtine*, *Oreg*; and *Pagninus*, *Erec*; this place *Junius* underſtands for *Aracca* in *Suſiana*: but there is alſo a City in *Camagena*, called *Arace*; and indeed, likelihood of name is no certain proof, without the aſſiſtance of other circumſtances.

Concerning the third City (called *Chalne*) ſome take it for *Caliniſis*: of which *Am. Mercellinus*. S. *Hierom* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hieroſolymitanus*, for *Cteſiphon*: others do think it to be the *Agrani* upon *Euphrates*, deſtroyed and razed by the *Perſians*. But let *Moſes* be the Moderator and Judge of this Diſpute, who teacheth us directly, that theſe Cities are not ſeated in ſo diverſe and diſtant Regions; for theſe be his words: *And the beginning of his Kingdom* (ſpeaking of *Nimrod*) *was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne in the Land of Shinaar*: ſo as in the Valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldæa* (being all one) we muſt find them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) think, with *Viterbienſis*, that theſe four made but one *Babylon*, than that they were Cities farr removed, aud in ſeveral Provinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* preciſely diſtinguiſh *Chalne* from *Babylon*. *Go you* (ſaith *Amos*) *to Chalne, and from thence go you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philiſtims*. The *Geneva* Tranſlation, favouring the former Opinion, to ſet theſe Cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginal note expreſſing that *Shinaar* was here named, not that all theſe cities were therein ſeated, but to diſtinguiſh *Babylon* of *Chaldæ*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*: but I find little ſubſtance in that conceit. For ſure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod's* Empire, there was no ſuch *Babylon*, nor any City at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great City of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not farr from the place where ſtood *Memphis* the ancient City, but not ſo ancient as *Babylon* upon *Euphrates*. Now, that *Chalne* is ſituate in the valley of *Shinaar*, it hath been formerly proved in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote ſituation of theſe three Cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were diſtinct and ſucceſſive Kings.

Lib. 23.

Cap. 6. v. 2.

§. III.

That Nimrod, *not* Aſſur, *built* Ninive; *and that it is probable, out of* Eſay 23. 13. *that* Aſſur *built* Ur *of the* Chaldees.

NOw, as of *Nimrod*; ſo are the Opinions of Writers different touching *Aſſur*, and touching the beginning of that great State of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*: a controverſie wearifomly diſputed without any direct proof, concluſion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are ſilent, the voice of reaſon hath the beſt hearing) the Interpretation of *Junius* is moſt agreeable; who, beſides all neceſſary conſequence, doth not diſ-join the ſence of the Scriptures therein, nor confuſe the underſtanding thereof. For in this ſort he converteth the *Hebrew* Text: *Erat enim principium Regni ejus* Babel, & Erec, & Accad, & Chalne, *in terra* Shinaaris: *è terra hac proceſſit in* Aſſyriam, *ubi ædificavit* Niniven (which is) *For the beginning of his Kingdom was* Babel, *and* Erech, *and* Accad, *and* Chalne, *in the Land of* Shinaar: *and he went forth of this Land into* Aſſyria, *and built* Ninive. So as *Junius* takes *Aſſur* in this place, not for any Perſon, but for the Region of *Aſſyria*; the Land being ſo called in *Moſes* time, and before it. For certainly, the other conſtruction (where the word *Aſſur* is taken for *Aſſur* the Son of *Shem*) doth not anſwer the order which *Moſes* obſerveth through all the Books of *Geneſis*, but is quite contrary unto it. For, in the beginning of the tenth Chapter, he ſetteth down the Sons of *Noah*, in theſe words: *Now theſe are the generations of the Sons of* Noah, Shem, Ham, *and* Japheth, *unto whom Sons were born after the Floud*: then it followeth immediately; *The Sons of* Japheth *were* Gomer, *&c.* ſo as *Japheth* is laſt named among *Noah's* Sons, be he eldeſt or youngeſt, becauſe he was firſt to be ſpoken of: with whom (having laſt named him) he proceeds and ſets down his Iſſue, and then the Iſſue of his Sons: firſt, the Iſſue of *Gomer*, *Japheth's* eldeſt Son; and then ſpeaks of *Javan* and his Sons: for of the reſt of that Family he is ſilent. Anon after, he numbereth the Sons of *Ham*, of which *Chuſh* was the eldeſt: and then the Sons of *Chuſh* and *Mizraim*; and afterwards of *Canaan*; leaving *Shem* for the laſt, becauſe he would not diſjoin the Story of the *Hebrews*. But after he beginneth with *Shem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*,

unto *Abraham*, and so to *Jacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the Son of *Shem*, in the middle of the Generations of *Ham*, had been against order; neither would *Moses* have past over so sleightly the erection of the *Assyrian* Empire in one of the Sons of *Shem*, if he had had any such meaning: it being the Story of *Shem*'s Sons which he most attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the Sons of *Chush*, because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter, he returns to speak of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleventh he maketh no report of *Shem*, till such time as he had finished so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the Issue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Israel*. And of *Junius* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Calvin*: to which I conceive *P. Comestor*, *in historia Scholastica*, gave an entrance, who, after he had delivered this place in some other sence, he useth these words: *Vel intelligendum non est de* Assur, *filio* Sem, *&c. sed* Assur (*id est*, *Regnum* Assyriorum) *inde egressum est*, *quod tempore* Sarug *proavi* Abrahami *factum est*; (which is) *Or else it is not to be understood of* Assur *the Son of* Sem, *&c. but* Assur (*that is*, *the Kingdom of the* Assyrians) *came from thence* (*videlicet*, *from* Babylon) *or was made out of it*: *which happened in the time of* Sarug *the great Grand-father of* Abraham. After which he reconcileth the difference in this sort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first Erector of the *Assyrian* Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*; *Respecting the beginning*; but others conceive that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true, *Quantum ad Regni ampliationem*; *Regarding the inlargement of the Empire*. To this I may add the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Assur* to be the Son of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbiensis*, Saint *Hierom*, and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly, *Torniellus*: who (saith he) took upon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Assyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus*, after his Conquest in *Africa*: and that *Assur* was a common name to the Kings of *Assyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Psal.* 81. *Esay* 10. *Ose.* 5. &c. But to help the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the Son of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Archbishop of *Mentz* in the year of *Christ* 854. an ancient and Learned Writer, understands this place with *Comestor*, or *Comestor* with him, agreeing in substance with that Translation of *Junius*: to which words of *Moses* he giveth this sence: *De hac terra* Assyriorum *pullulavit imperium*, *qui ex nomine* Nini, Beli *filii*, Ninum *condiderunt*, *urbem magnam*, &c. *Out of this Land grew the Empire of the* Assyrians, *who built* Ninus *the great City*, *so named of* Ninus *the Son of* Belus. On the contrary, *Calvin* objecteth this place of *Esay*: *Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *this was no People*, Assur *founded it by the inhabitants of the Wilderness*; than which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diversity in the Translation and Understanding; insomuch as *Michael de Palatio* upon *Esay* (though in all else very diligent) passeth it over. But *Calvin* seemeth hereby to inferr, that because *Assur* founded the State of the *Chaldæans*, therefore also *Assur*, rather than *Nimrod*, established the *Assyrian* Empire, and built *Nineve*: contrary to the former translation of *Junius*, and to his own Opinion. Now, out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hierom's* Translation) it may be gathered, that *Assur* both founded and ruined this Estate or City of the *Chaldæans*, by *Esay* remembred: unto which City, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians*, that they cannot trust or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this City of *Chaldæa*, and that Estate, an example unto those *Phœnicians*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which City of *Chaldæa*, being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the *Assyrians* utterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and fore-telleth them, that their own City of *Tyre* (invincible, as themselves thought) should also soon after be overturned by the same *Assyrians*: as (indeed) it was by *Nebuchodonosor*. And these be the words after *Hierom*: *Ecce terra* Chaldæorum, *talis populus non fuit*, Assur *fundavit eam*, *in captivitatem traduxerunt robustos ejus*, *suffoderunt domos ejus*, *posuerunt eam in ruinam* (which is) *Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *such a People there were not* (or, *this was no People*, after the *Geneva*) Assur (*or the* Assyrians) *founded it*, *they carried away their strong men captive*, *they undermined their Houses*, *and ruined their City*. The *Septuagint* express it but in a part of another Verse, in these words: *Et in terra* Chaldæorum, *& hæc desolata est ab* Assyriis, *quoniam murus ejus corruit*, making the sence perfect by the preced ing verse, which altogether may be thus understood: *If thou go over to* Chittim (which is *Macedon*, or *Greece*) *yet*

Torniel. Annal. sacr. in Gen. 10.

Esay 23. 13.

yet thou ſhalt not reſt (ſpeaking to the *Tyrians*) *neither in the Land of the* Chaldæans, *for this is made deſolate by the* Aſſyrians, *becauſe their walls fell together to the ground. Pagninus* and *Vatablus* convert it thus: *Ecce terra* Chaſdiim, *iſte populus non erat illic olim; nam* Aſſur *fundavit eam navibus, erexerunt arces illius; contriverunt ædes ejus, poſuit eam in ruinam:* which may be thus Engliſhed: *Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *this People was not once therein inhabiting: for* Aſſur *built it a harbour for Ships, they erected the Towers thereof; and again brake down the houſes thereof, and ruinated it. Junius*, in the place of Ships, ſets the word (*pro Barbaris*) that is, *for the Barbarians*: and the *Geneva*, *by the Barbarians*. But this is undoubted, that the Prophet *Eſay* (as may be gathered by all the ſence of the Chapter) did therein aſſure the *Tyrians* of their future deſtruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choice to note the calamities of thoſe places, Cities, and Regions, by whoſe trade the ſtate and greatneſs of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharſis*, from the *Macedonians*, and other *Grecians*, under the name of *Cittim*; alſo by the *Egyptians*, *the Chaldæans*, and the reſt. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Town of the World moſt renowned. And (as it appears in our Diſcourſe of *Paradiſe*) not the leaſt part of her chief merchandize came in by the City *Ur*, or *Urchoa* in *Chaldæa*, where the body or chief ſtream of *Euphrates* (even that ſtream which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*, which now falleth into *Tygris*) had his paſſage into the *Perſian* Gulf: though now it be ſtopped up. For, as we have heretofore noted, the *Arabians* (that deſcended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*) dwelling on the Eaſt banks of the *Perſian* Gulf, trading with the *Tyrians* (as thoſe of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) tranſported their merchandize by the mouth of *Tygris*, that is, from *Teredon*; and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Ur*, or *Urchoa*: and and then by *Babylon*, and thence by River and over Land, they conveyed it into *Syria*, and ſo to *Tyre*; as they do this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Ur* of the *Chaldees* was a Port Town, and one of thoſe Cities which had Intelligence, trade, and exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it ſtood by the great Lakes of *Chaldæa*, through w^ch^, that part of *Euphrates* ran, which paſſage is now ſtopt up. *Ejus curſum vetuſtas abolevit* (ſaith *Niger.*) And *Pliny*: *Locus ubi* Euphratis *oſtium fuit, flumen ſalſum; Time hath worn away the channel of* Euphrates: *the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of ſalt water.* Theſe things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound the City of the *Chaldees*, whoſe calamities *Eſay* here noteth for terrour of the *Tyrians*, to be the City anciently called *Ur*; and by *Hecataus*, *Camerina*; by *Ptolemy*, *Urchoa*; and by the *Greeks*, *Chaldæopolis*, *the City of Chaldæa*: which the Sons of *Shem*, until *Abrahams* time, inhabited. And whereas, in all the Tranſlations, it is ſaid, that *Aſſur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be underſtood, that *Aſſur* the Founder was the Son of *Shem*; and *Aſſur* the deſtroyers were the *Aſſyrians*, by whom thoſe that inhabited *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, were at length oppreſſed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-ſeeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Carran*, and ſo into *Canaan*. And if the *Hebrew* word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* converted (*by Ships*) do bear that ſence, the ſame may be the better approved, becauſe it was a Port Town: and the River ſo farr up as this City of *Ur* was in ancient time navigable, as both by *Pliny* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (*for the* Barbarians) or (*by the* Barbarians) be alſo in the *Hebrew* Text, it is no leſs manifeſt, that the moſt barbarous *Arabians* of the Deſart were and are the confronting, and next People of all other unto it. For *Chaldæa* is now called *Arachaldar*, which ſignifieth Deſart Lands, becauſe it joineth to that part of *Arabia* ſo called: and *Cicero* (calling thoſe *Arabians* by the name of *Ituræans*) addeth, that they are, of all other People, the moſt Salvage; calling them, *Homines omnium maximè barbaros.*

So as this place of *Eſay*, which breedeth ſome doubt in *Calvin*, proveth in nothing the contrary Opinion, nor in any part weakneth the former Tranſlation of *Junius*, nor the Interpretation of *Comeſtor* and *Rabanus*. For though other men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that *Aſſur* is in this place diverſly taken (as for the Son of *Shem*, when he is ſpoken of as a Builder of *Ur*; and when as a Deſtroyer thereof, then for the *Aſſyrian* Nation) yet certainly the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumſtances ſeem to enforce it. And ſo this Founding of the City of the *Chaldees* by *Aſſur* (into which the moſt of the Poſterity of *Shem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were ſeparate for the Idolatry of the *Chuſites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themſelves) hath nothing in it to prove the ſame *Aſſur* built *Nineve*, or that the ſame *Aſſur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Aſſur*, who was the Son of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the Son of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the firſt notorious ſacrificer to Idols; and the firſt that ſet up a Statue or Image to be honoured as God. Now, if *Aſſur* muſt be of that Race,

Race, and not of the Family of *Shem*, as he must be, if he founded *Ninive*, then all those which seek to give him the honour thereof, do him by a thousand parts more injury, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed *Assur*, whom they make the Founder of *Ninive* (and so the Son of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly, he was very unworthy, and obscure, and not like to be the Founder of such an Empire, and such a City, if no man have vouchsafed to leave to Posterity his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire again, or quitted it to *Ninus*: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farr differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the Story of that Age written by prophane Authours, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the first works and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moses*; and that these works being finished within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the work of *Ninus*, lying neer unto the same stream that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which work his Grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to pass, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundress of the City which she onely finished: so also *Ninus* of *Ninive*: *Quam quidam* Babylonem *potuit instaurare*; *She might repair or renew* Babylon, saith S. *Augustine*. For so did *Nebuchodonosor* vaunt himself to be the Founder of *Babylon* also, because he built up again some part of the wall, over-born by the fury of the River: which work of his stood till *Alexander*'s time, whereupon he vaunted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I have built?*

Dan. 4. 27.

§. IV.

Of the Acts of Nimrod *and* Belus, *as farr as now they are known.*

BUt to return to the Story, it is plain in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugium*, and *Julius Africanus* surnamed *Saturne*) was the establisher of the the *Babylonian Monarchy*, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those four Cities before remembred; *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*; and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Assyria*, and in *Assyria* built four more Cities (to wit) *Ninive*, *Rehoboth*, *Celah*, and *Resen*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* it self, and those adjoining; and that his travels were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that work of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Ninive*, and the other Cities of *Assyria* which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his Successours in many years after: to whose undertakings time had given so great an increase of People; and the examples and patterns of his beginning, so great advancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycas*) all these Nations were called *Meropes*, *à sermonis linguarum terræque divisione*; *By reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.*

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Jupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114. years; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firm ground of all those great Fens and overflown Marishes which adjoined unto it. For any of his Warrs or Conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprise against *Sabatius* King of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia*, which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whose Son and Successour *Barzanes* became subject and Tributary to *Ninus*, that followed the Warr to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begun.

§. V.

That we are not to marvel how so many Kingdoms could be erected about these times: and of Vexoris *of* Egypt, *and* Tanais *of* Scythia.

THat so many Kingdoms were erected in all those Eastern parts of the World so soon after *Nimrod* (as by the Story of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold (namely) Opportunity, Example, and Necessity. For Opportunity, being a Princess liberal and powerfull, bestoweth on her first Entertainers many times more benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wisdom ought; by whose presence alone the understanding minds of men receive all those helps and supplies, which they either want or wish for: so as every Leader of a troop (after the division of Tongues, and dispersion of People) finding these fair offers made unto them, held the power which they possest, and

and governed by discretion all those People, whom they conducted to their destined places. For, it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was first divided, mankind straggled abroad like Beasts in a Desart; but that by agreement they disposed themselves; and undertook to inhabite all the known parts of the World, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were Peopled in *Ninus* his time, would not have been possest in many hundreds of years after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and travelled farr off (order being the true Parent of prosperous success) undertake so difficult enterprises without a Conductor or Commander. Secondly, the example of *Nimrod*, with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessity resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their own Travels; nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence; nor those which sought after any proportion of greatness, either possess the same in quiet, or rule and order their own Ministers and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the undertakings and Conquests of *Ninus* (the Son of *Belus*) made it apparent; for he found every where Kings and Monarchies, what way soever his Ambition led him in the Warrs.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to us known, when he first took on him Soveraignty and sole commandment of all those the Children of *Noah*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*: though in his life-time others also raised themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his Son and Successour) found *Sabatius* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerfull to resist his attempts; which *Sabatius* I take to be the same, which *Justine* calls *Tanais*; and should conjecture, that *Mizraim* had been his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some errour (as *Justine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seems to me, righty accounted by the Judicious and Learned *Reineccius*, all one with the great *Sesostris*, that lived certain Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65. years, according to the common account.

See more of this, *l.* 2. of this first Part, *cap.* 2. *Sect.* 6.

§. VI.

Of the name of Belus, *and other names affines unto it.*

WHence this second King and Successor of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bell*, or *Belus*, question hath been made; for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by *Ninus*, than assumed by *Belus* himself.

Cyrillus against *Julian*, calls the Father of *Ninus*, *Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himself to be called a god; which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence derived. But *Bel*, as many Writers have observed, signifieth the Sun in the *Chaldæan* Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a god. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by divers others of the *Chaldæan* Princes and *Babylonian Satrapæ*: so was it used (in imitation) by the chief of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians have conceived.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertain (as in affinity) those voices of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphagor*, *Belsebub*, and *Beelsephon*. Those that that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldæan*, convert the word *Baal* by the *Latine*, *Princeps militiæ*, *Chief in the Warr*; though *Daniel* was so called (saith *Suidas*) *Ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum*; *In honour of his expounding secrets*. Saint *Hierom* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to have the same signification: and saith, that the Idol of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memory of his Father set up to be worshipped: to which, that he might add the more honour and reverence, he made it a Sanctuary and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith *Lyranus*) came Idolatry, and the first use of Images into the World. *Isidore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old, or ancient; adding, that as among the *Assyrians* it is taken for *Saturn*, and the *Sun*: so, in the *Punick* or *Carthaginian* Language, it signifieth God: *Glycas* makes it an *Assyrian* name properly; and *Josephus* a *Tyrian*. He also affirmeth, that the Idol which the *Moabites* worshipped (by them erected on the Mountain *Phegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the same which the *Latines* call *Priapus*, the god of Gardens; which also was the Opinion of Saint *Hierom*. But, that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say, as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idol of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* soundeth (God) and *Sebub* (Flies

Hier. in *Ose.* c. 2.

Lyr. in *Sapien. Salom.* c. 11.

Isid. l. 8. c. 11.

Hieron. in *Ose.* c. 4. & 9.

(Flies or Hornets) by which name (notwithstanding) the *Jews* express the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet *Ose* teacheth us the propher signification of this word from the voice of God himself; *And at that day (saith the Lord) thou shalt call me* Ishi, *and shalt call me no more* Baalim: *for I will take away the name of* Baalim *out of their mouths.* For, although the name of *Baal*, or *Bahal*, be justly to be used towards God; yet in respect that the same was given to Idols, God hath hated it, and forbad it. And the using of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldæans* for the Sun, was not, because it properly signifieth the Sun, but because the Sun there was worshipped as God: as also the Fire was; *tanquam Solis particula.* As for the words compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belsephon*; *Belsephon* is expounded out of *Facius*, *Dominus speculæ, vel custodiæ: The Lord of the Watch-tower, or of the Guard:* the other word noteth the Idol, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is written *Belpeor*, or *Baalpeor:* and *Peor* (they say) is as much as *Denudavit*; and therefore the word joined, expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the Son of *Saturn:* for it was used among the Ancients, to name the Father *Saturn*, the Son *Jupiter*, and the Grand-child *Hercules.* *Saturni dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regumque qui urbes condiderunt senissimi; primogeniti eorum* Joves *&* Junones; Hercules *vero nepotes eorum fortissimi. The ancientest of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called* Saturns; *their first-born*, Jupiters *and* Junones; *their valiant Nephews*, Hercules. But this *Belus* (saith *L. Vives*) was famous by reason of his Warlike Son, *Ninus*, who caused his Father to be worshipped as a God by the name of *Jupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (transported by Dreams of their Antiquities) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (say they) upon *Lybia* the Daughter of *Epaphus*, begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was Father to *Ægyptus.* They add, that this *Belus*, carrying a Colony to the River of *Euphrates*, there built a City, in which he ordained Priests after the *Egyptian* manner. But, were there any *Belus* the Son of *Epaphus* and *Isis*, or of *Neptune* and *Lybia*, or (with *Eusebius*) of *Teglonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Isis* (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*) the same was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we speak, but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* so much vaunted.

Aucto. de æquit l. 1.

Diod. l 3.

§. VII.

Of the worshipping of Images, begun from Belus *in* Babel.

AS for the *Babylonians Belus*, he was the most ancient *Belus*, and the Inventor of *Astronomy*, if *Pliny* say true: from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his *Statue* or Image was honoured as a God, the same Author affirmeth, that it did remain in his time.

Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus: *Over the River*, saith he, *there are Gardens, where they say the ruines of* Belus *his Tomb, which* Xerxes *brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramis made of Brick, a furlong high, and on every side it had a furlong in breadth.* It appears by *Cyril* against *Julian*, that he obtained divine worship yet living: for so he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus.*) *Arbelus, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitatis nomen accepisse: Perseverârunt igitur* Assyrii, *& finitimæ illis gentes sacrificantes ei.* Arbelus, *a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was ever honoured by their subjects with title of Deity*; (or with the name of God) *the Assyrians therefore, and the bordering Nations have persevered, sacrificing to him.* Even *Arius* also, whom *Suidas* calls *Thuras*, who succeeded next after *Ninus*, was made an Idol-God among them, if we credit *Suidas.*

Strab. lib. 13. c 3.

L. 1. cont. Julian.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninias*) *Thuras* reigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*; a man of sharp and fierce disposition, who bidding battel to *Caucasus*, of the stock of *Japheth*, slew him. The *Assyrians* worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus far *Suidas.* Neither is it unlikely but that any among Idolatrous Nations were Deified in their life-times, or soon after: though I deny not, but that the most of their Images and *Statuæ* were first erected without divine worship, onely in memory of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiveth; and so afterward the Devil crept into those wooden and brazen carcasses, when Posterity had lost the memory of their first invention. Hereof *Isidore* speaketh in this manner: *Quos autem* Pagani *Deos asserunt, homines fuerunt, & pro uniuscujusque vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud suos post mortem cæperunt: sed (Dæmonibus persuadentibus) quos illi pro sua memoria honoraverunt, minores Deos existimârunt: ad ista vero magis excolenda accesserunt Poetarum figmenta;*

They

They were men (ſaith he) *whom the* Pagans *affirmed to be gods: and every one for his merits or magnificence, began after his death to be honoured of his own: But, at length (the Devils perſwading) they accounted them leſſer gods, whoſe memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the Opinions (concerning the honour of the dead) much more ſuperſtitious.*

And, that the worſhipping of Images was brought in by the *Pagans*, and *Heathen* Nations, it is not *Iſidore* alone that witneſſeth; but *Gregory: Gentilitas* (ſaith he) *inventrix & caput eſt Imaginum; Gentiliſm is the inventreſs and ground of Images:* and *Ambroſe*; *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei*; *The* Gentiles *adore wood, as it were the Image of God.* *Euſebius* alſo affirmeth as much, and calleth the worſhipping of images, a cuſtom borrowed of the *Heathen*. The like ſaith S. *Auguſtine* againſt *Adimantus*. *Et verentur* (ſaith *Lactantius*) *ne Religio vana ſit, ſi nihil videant quod adorent*; *They fear their Religion would be vain, ſhould they not ſee what they worſhip.*

Greg. Neocæſar. Ambr. in Pſal. 108. Euſeb. l. 7. cap. 18. Aug. c. 13. Lact. lib. 2. cap. 2.

And (out of doubt) the Scholemen ſhift this fearfull cuſtom very ſtrangely. For, ſeeing the very workmanſhip is forbidden, how can the heart of a wiſe *Chriſtian* ſatisfy it ſelf with the diſtinction of *Doulia*, and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but ſome difference of worſhipping of thoſe Images after they are made? And it is of all things the moſt ſtrange, why religious and learned men ſhould ſtrain their wits to defend the uſe of thoſe things, which the Scriptures have not only no where warranted, but expreſly in many places forbidden, and curſed the practicers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Devil was ſo ſtrongly and ſubtilly rooted, as neither expreſs the Commandment of God himſelf, *Thou ſhalt not make any graven Image*, nor all the threatning of *Moſes* and the Prophets after him, could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any perſwaſions lead the hearts of men from it. For, where ſhall we find words of greater weight, or plainer inſtruction than theſe? *Take therefore good heed to your ſelves (for ye ſaw no Image in the day that the Lord ſpake unto you in* Horeb, *out of the midſt of the fire) that ye corrupt not your ſelves, and make you a graven Image, or repreſentation of any Figure, whether it be the likeneſs of Male or Female.*

And, beſides the expreſs Commandment, *Thou ſhalt make thee no graven Image*, and the prohibition of many Scriptures; ſo it is written in the Book of *Wiſdom*, That, *the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredom: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither ſhall they continue for ever.*

And whereas the Scholemen affirm, that the Prophets ſpake againſt the Worſhipping of the *Heathen* Idols, it is manifeſt, that *Moſes* ſpake of Images of the living God, and not of *Baal*, and the reſt of that nature, *For you ſaw no Image* (ſaith *Moſes*) *that day that the Lord ſpake unto you in* Horeb. Surely it was excellently ſaid of *Baſil*; *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumſcribas eum mente tua: Do not imagine any form to be in God, leſt thou limit or circumſcribe him in thy mind too.* Now, if the great *Baſil* thought it a preſumption unlawfull to repreſent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and minds, how farr do thoſe men preſume, that put him under the greaſie Pencil of a Painter, or the ruſty Axe or other Inſtrument of a Carpenter or Carver?

For as this diſhonour to the infinite and incomprehenſible God, began in *Babel:* ſo did the Devil tranſport and ſpread this invention into all the Regions adjoining, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romans*, for a while, reſiſted the erection of theſe Idols and Images, refuſing to ſet them in their Temples for 170. years; obſerving the Law of *Numa*, who thought it impiety to reſemble things moſt beautifull, by things moſt baſe. But, *Tarquinius Priſcus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanity of the *Grecians* (a Nation of all others under the Sun moſt deluded by Satan) ſet up the Images of their gods; which (as S. *Auguſtine* witneſſeth) that learned *Varro* both bewailed, and utterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth; *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis ſupplicant, genu poſito illa adorant; & cum hæc ſuſpiciant, fabros, qui illa fecere, contemnunt*; *The Images of the gods are worſhipped, thoſe they pray unto, with bended knees thoſe they adore; and while they ſo greatly admire them, they contemn the Handicraftſmen that made them:* which alſo *Sedulius* the *Poet* in this ſort ſcoffed at:

Aug. de Civit. l. 4. c. 31.

Heu miſeri qui vana colunt, qui corde ſiniſtro
Religioſa ſibi ſculpunt ſimulachra, ſuumque
Factorem fugiunt, & quæ fecere, verentur!
Quis furor eſt? quæ tanta animos dementia ludit?
Ut volucrem, turpemque bovem, torvumque Draconem,
Semi-hominemque-canem ſupplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worſhip vanities,
And conſecrate dumb Idols in their heart,
Who their own Maker (God on high) deſpiſe,
And fear the work of their own hands & art!

What fury? what great madneſs doth beguile
Mens minds? that man ſhould ugly ſhapes adore
Of Birds, or Bulls, or Dragons, or the vile
Half-dog-half-man on knees for aid implore.

And though this device was barbarous, and firſt, and many years practiſed by Heathen Nations onely, till the *Jews* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to ſcorn the ignorant ſtupidity of his Nation: but *Juſtin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sybils* inveighed againſt Images: and *Hoſpinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the ſouls of men to erect and adore thoſe bables. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witneſs, that the *Perſians* did not erect or ſet up any *Statue* of their Gods. *Lycurgus* never taught it the *Lacedæmonians*, but thought it impiety to repreſent immortal natures by mortal Figures. *Euſebius* alſo witneſſeth, in his Sixth Book, *de præparatione Evangelica*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brackmans* in *India*, that Images ſhould be worſhipped. The ſame do *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the antient *Germans*. Many other Authours might be remembred, that witneſs the diſdain which the Heathen themſelves had of this childiſh Idolatry: of which *Hoſpinian* hath written at large in his Tract, *de origine imaginum*. And it was truly ſaid, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt, All ill examples have ſprung from good beginnings*. The Heathen, at firſt, made theſe *Statuæ* and Images, but in memory of ſuch remarkable men, as had deſerved beſt of their Countries and common-wealths: *Effigies hominum* (ſaith *Pliny*) *non ſolebant exprimi, niſi aliqua illuſtri cauſa perpetuitatem merentium: Men are not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for ſome notable cauſe to be perpetually remembred*. And though of the more antient *Papiſts*, ſome have borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appears in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis literarum, ut per ea diſcerent homines Deum inviſibilem cognoſcere: Images* ſay they, (and ſo before them the Heathen ſaid) *are inſtead of Letters, whereby men might learn to know the inviſible God:* in which underſtanding, perhaps, they no otherwiſe eſteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal*, or *Bel*, ſet up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterward the moſt reverenced Idol of the world, by which ſo many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himſelf) were miſled and caſt away: ſo thoſe very ſtocks and ſtones, and painted canvaſes (called the pictures of *Chriſt*, our *Lady*, and others) were by thouſands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but eſteemed to have life, motion, and underſtanding. *On theſe ſtocks we call* (ſaith the Book of *Wiſdom*) *when we paſs through the raging waves, on theſe ſtocks more rotten than the Ship that carries us.*

This Heathen invention of Images became ſo fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to diſtinguiſh them into degrees and orders; as *Dii conſentes, ſeu majorum gentium, ſelecti, Patritii, inſigniores. dii medii: Counſelling gods, or gods of the mightieſt Nobility, ſelect gods, Patrian, gods of mark, and Common gods* (which the *Romans* called *Medioxum*) *dii infimi*, and terreſtrial *Heroes*, and multitudes of other gods, of which S. *Auguſtine* hath made large mention, in his Book, *de Civitate Dei*. But (ſaith *Lactantius*) among all thoſe miſerable ſouls, and rotten bodies, worſhipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretenſis* (by what good Angel moved I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the unknown God, which ſtood with the ſame title and dedication, even to the times of S. *Paul:* who made them firſt know to whom theſe Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might diſcern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obſcure and ſtinking miſt wherein the Devil had ſo many years led and miſ-led them. And it ſufficed not that the multitude of theſe gods was ſo great in general, or that every Nation had ſome one which took particular and ſingular care of them, as *Jupiter* in *Crete*, *Iſis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens*, *Minerva*, in *Samos*, *Juno*, in *Paphos*, *Venus*, and ſo of all other parts; but every City, and almoſt every Family, had a god apart. For, as it is written in the ſecond of *Kings*, the men of *Babel* made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Aſhima*, and the *Avites* made *Nibhaz* and *Tartak*, and the *Sepharvaims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which, how plainly hath the Prophet *Eſay* derided? *Men cut down Trees, rind them, burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm themſelves by the fire thereof, and of the reſidue he maketh a god; an Idol, and prayeth unto it: but God hath ſhut their eyes from ſight, and their heart from underſtanding*. It is therefore ſafeſt for a *Chriſtian*, to believe the Commandments of God, ſo direct againſt Idolatry, to believe the Prophets, and to believe S. *Paul*, who ſpeaketh thus plainly and feelingly, *My beloved, flie from Idolatry; I ſpeak as unto them which have underſtanding, judge ye what I ſay.*

Lib. 14.

Cap. 17. v. 18. 31.

Cap. 44.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Of the Warrs of Ninus: *and laſtly, of his Warr againſt* Zoroaſter.

UNto this *Belus* ſucceeded *Ninus*, the firſt that commanded the exerciſe of Idolatry, the firſt that injuriouſly invaded his Neighbour Princes, and the firſt that, without ſhame or fear, committed Adultery in publick. But, as of *Belus* there is no certain memory (as touching particulars) ſo of this *Ninus* (whoſe Story is gathered out of profane Authors) I find nothing ſo warrantable, but that the ſame may be diſputed, and in the greateſt part doubted. For, although that piece of *Beroſus*, ſet out and commented upon by *Annius*, hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as *Chrytæus* noteth) to the underſtanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnaſſeus*, and others: yet, *Lodovicus Vives*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; proving directly, that it cannot be the ſame *Beroſus* which lived in *Alexander*'s time, cited by *Athenæus* and *Joſephus*: and whoſe *Statue* the *Athenians* erected, ſaith *Pliny*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the ſucceſſion of the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Princes, even from *Nimrod*, to the eighteenth King *Aſcatades*, and to the times of *Joſua*. For of *Metaſthenes* an Hiſtorian, of the Race of the *Perſian* Prieſts, there are found but certain Papers; or ſome few lines of the *Chaldæan* and *Aſſyrian* Monarchies: but he afterwards, in the collection of the *Perſian* Kings, is not without his errours.

Aiben. lib. 14. Joſeph. cont. Appian. l. 1. & 7.

Cteſias, or *Cnidus* (a City joining to *Halicarnaſſeus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his Hiſtory out of the *Perſian* Records, and reacheth as farr upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and, though in the Story of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approveth him in ſome things, and *Athenæus*, *Pauſanias*, and *Tertullian* cite him; yet ſo baſe and apparent are his flatteries of the Times and Princes with whom he lived, and ſo incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and eſpecially of *Semiramis*; as whatſoever his reports were, times have conſumed his Works, ſaving ſome very few excerptions lately publiſhed.

And therefore in things uncertain, ſeeing a long diſcourſe cannot be pleaſing to men of judgment, I will paſs over the acts of this third *Aſſyrian*, in as few words as I can expreſs them. S. *Auguſtine* affirms, that *Ninus* maſtered all *Aſia*, *India* excepted. Others ſay that he wan it all, ſave *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia*, the companion of his Conqueſts, with whom he entred into a ſtreight league of amity, becauſe he commanded many people, and was his kinſman, and a *Chuſite*, and the neereſt Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His firſt enterprize was upon *Syria*, which he might eaſily ſubdue, both becauſe he invaded it on the ſudden, and becauſe it lay next him: and alſo becauſe the *Arabians* and their King *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) aſſiſted him in the Conqueſt thereof.

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his Warr againſt *Zoroaſter*: for from *Armenia*, he bent himſelf that way toward the Eaſt; but, that, ever he commanded the leſſer *Aſia*, I do not believe, for none of his Succeſſors had any poſſeſſion therein.

His third Warr was againſt *Pharnus*, King of the *Medes*, whom it is ſaid that he overthrew, and cruelly murthered with his ſeven Children, though others affirm, that they all died in one battel againſt him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaſter* before the building or amplifying of *Ninive*, or after, it is uncertain. It is ſaid, that he made two Expeditions into *Bactria*: and, that finding little or ill ſucceſs in the firſt, he returned, and ſet the work of *Ninive* forward: and then a ſecond time entred *Bactria* with 1700000 Foot, and 200000 Horſe, and 100000 ſix hundred Chariots: being encountred by *Zoroaſter* with four hundred thouſand. But *Ninus* prevailing, and *Zoroaſter* being ſlain, he entred farther into the Countrey, and beſieged the chief City thereof, called *Bactra*, or *Bactrion* (ſaith *Stephanus*) which by a paſſage found, and an aſſault given by *Semiramis* (the Wife of *Menon*) he entred and poſſeſt. Upon this occaſion *Ninus* both admiring her judgment and valour, together with her perſon and external beauty, fancied her ſo ſtrongly, as (neglecting all Princely reſpects) he took her from her Huſband, whoſe eyes he threatned to thruſt out, if he refuſed to conſent. He therefore yielding to the paſſion of love in *Ninus*, and to the paſſion of ſorrow in himſelf, by the ſtrong perſwaſions of ſhame and diſhonour, caſt himſelf headlong into the Water, and died.

Aug. de civit. Dei.

Steph. de Urb.

What fury? what great madneſs doth beguile
Mens minds? that man ſhould ugly ſhapes adore
Of Birds, or Bulls, or Dragons, or the vile
Half-dog-half-man on knees for aid implore.

And though this device was barbarous, and firſt, and many years practiſed by Heathen Nations onely, till the *Jews* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to ſcorn the ignorant ſtupidity of his Nation: but *Juſtin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sybils* inveighed againſt Images: and *Hoſpinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the ſouls of men to erect and adore thoſe bables. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witneſs, that the *Perſians* did not erect or ſet up any *Statue* of their Gods. *Lycurgus* never taught it the *Lacedæmonians*, but thought it impiety to repreſent immortal natures by mortal Figures. *Euſebius* alſo witneſſeth, in his Sixth Book, *de præparatione Evangelica*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brackmans* in *India*, that Images ſhould be worſhipped. The ſame do *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the antient *Germans*. Many other Authours might be remembred, that witneſs the diſdain which the Heathen themſelves had of this childiſh Idolatry: of which *Hoſpinian* hath written at large in his Tract, *de origine imaginum*. And it was truly ſaid, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt, All ill examples have ſprung from good beginnings*. The Heathen, at firſt, made theſe *Statuæ* and Images, but in memory of ſuch remarkable men, as had deſerved beſt of their Countries and common-wealths: *Effigies hominum* (ſaith *Pliny*) *non ſolebant exprimi, niſi aliqua illuſtri cauſa perpetuitatem merentium: Men are not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for ſome notable cauſe to be perpetually remembred*. And though of the more antient *Papiſts*, ſome have borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appears in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis literarum, ut per ea diſcerent homines Deum inviſibilem cognoſcere: Images* ſay they, (and ſo before them the Heathen ſaid) *are inſtead of Letters, whereby men might learn to know the inviſible God:* in which underſtanding, perhaps, they no otherwiſe eſteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal*, or *Bel*, ſet up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterward the moſt reverenced Idol of the world, by which ſo many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himſelf) were miſled and caſt away: ſo thoſe very ſtocks and ſtones, and painted canvaſes (called the pictures of *Chriſt*, our *Lady*, and others) were by thouſands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but eſteemed to have life, motion, and underſtanding. *On theſe ſtocks we call* (ſaith the Book of *Wiſdom*) *when we paſs through the raging waves, on theſe ſtocks more rotten than the Ship that carries us.*

This Heathen invention of Images became ſo fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to diſtinguiſh them into degrees and orders; as *Dii conſentes, ſeu majorum gentium, ſelecti, Patritii, inſigniores. dii medii: Counſelling gods, or gods of the mightieſt Nobility, ſelect gods, Patrian, gods of mark, and Common gods* (which the *Romans* called *Medioxum*) *dii infimi*, and terreſtrial *Heroes*, and multitudes of other gods, of which S. *Auguſtine* hath made large mention, in his Book, *de Civitate Dei*. But (ſaith *Lactantius*) among all thoſe miſerable ſouls, and rotten bodies, worſhipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretenſis* (by what good Angel moved I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the unknown God, which ſtood with the ſame title and dedication, even to the times of S. *Paul:* who made them firſt know to whom theſe Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might diſcern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obſcure and ſtinking miſt wherein the Devil had ſo many years led and miſ-led them. And it ſufficed not that the multitude of theſe gods was ſo great in general, or that every Nation had ſome one which took particular and ſingular care of them, as *Jupiter* in *Crete*, *Iſis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens*, *Minerva*, in *Samos*, *Juno*, in *Paphos*, *Venus*, and ſo of all other parts; but every City, and almoſt every Family, had a god apart. For, as it is written in the ſecond of *Kings*, the men of *Babel* made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Aſhima*, and the *Avites* made *Nibhaz* and *Tartak*, and the *Sepharvaims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which, how plainly hath the Prophet *Eſay* derided? *Men cut down Trees, rind them, burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm themſelves by the fire thereof, and of the reſidue he maketh a god; an Idol, and prayeth unto it: but God hath ſhut their eyes from ſight, and their heart from underſtanding.* It is therefore ſafeſt for a *Chriſtian*, to believe the Commandments of God, ſo direct againſt Idolatry, to believe the Prophets, and to believe S. *Paul*, who ſpeaketh thus plainly and feelingly, *My beloved, flie from Idolatry; I ſpeak as unto them which have underſtanding, judge ye what I ſay.*

Lib. 14. Cap. 17. v. 18. 31. Cap. 44.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Of the Warrs of Ninus: *and laſtly, of his Warr againſt* Zoroaſter.

UNto this *Belus* ſucceeded *Ninus*, the firſt that commanded the exerciſe of Idolatry, the firſt that injuriouſly invaded his Neighbour Princes, and the firſt that, without ſhame or fear, committed Adultery in publick. But, as of *Belus* there is no certain memory (as touching particulars) ſo of this *Ninus* (whoſe Story is gathered out of profane Authors) I find nothing ſo warrantable, but that the ſame may be diſputed, and in the greateſt part doubted. For, although that piece of *Beroſus*, ſet out and commented upon by *Annius*, hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as *Chrytæus* noteth) to the underſtanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnaſſeus*, and others: yet, *Lodovicus Vives*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; proving directly, that it cannot be the ſame *Beroſus* which lived in *Alexander*'s time, cited by *Athenæus* and *Joſephus*: and whoſe *Statue* the *Athenians* erected, ſaith *Pliny*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the ſucceſſion of the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Princes, even from *Nimrod*, to the eighteenth King *Aſcatades*, and to the times of *Joſua*. For of *Metaſthenes* an Hiſtorian, of the Race of the *Perſian* Prieſts, there are found but certain Papers; or ſome few lines of the *Chaldæan* and *Aſſyrian* Monarchies: but he afterwards, in the collection of the *Perſian* Kings, is not without his errours.

Athen. lib. 14. Joſeph. cont. Appion. l. 1. & 7.

Cteſias, or *Cnidus* (a City joining to *Halicarnaſſeus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his Hiſtory out of the *Perſian* Records, and reacheth as farr upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and, though in the Story of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approveth him in ſome things, and *Athenæus*, *Pauſanias*, and *Tertullian* cite him; yet ſo baſe and apparent are his flatteries of the Times and Princes with whom he lived, and ſo incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and eſpecially of *Semiramis*; as whatſoever his reports were, times have conſumed his Works, ſaving ſome very few excerptions lately publiſhed.

And therefore in things uncertain, ſeeing a long diſcourſe cannot be pleaſing to men of judgment, I will paſs over the acts of this third *Aſſyrian*, in as few words as I can expreſs them. S. *Auguſtine* affirms, that *Ninus* maſtered all *Aſia*, *India* excepted. Others ſay that he wan it all, ſave *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia*, the companion of his Conqueſts, with whom he entred into a ſtreight league of amity, becauſe he commanded many people, and was his kinſman, and a *Chuſite*, and the neereſt Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His firſt enterprize was upon *Syria*, which he might eaſily ſubdue, both becauſe he invaded it on the ſudden, and becauſe it lay next him: and alſo becauſe the *Arabians* and their King *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) aſſiſted him in the Conqueſt thereof.

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his Warr againſt *Zoroaſter*: for from *Armenia*, he bent himſelf that way toward the Eaſt; but, that, ever he commanded the leſſer *Aſia*, I do not believe, for none of his Succeſſors had any poſſeſſion therein.

His third Warr was againſt *Pharnus*, King of the *Medes*, whom it is ſaid that he overthrew, and cruelly murthered with his ſeven Children, though others affirm, that they all died in one battel againſt him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaſter* before the building or amplifying of *Ninive*, or after, it is uncertain. It is ſaid, that he made two Expeditions into *Bactria*: and, that finding little or ill ſucceſs in the firſt, he returned, and ſet the work of *Ninive* forward: and then a ſecond time entred *Bactria* with 1700000 Foot, and 200000 Horſe, and 100000 ſix hundred Chariots: being encountred by *Zoroaſter* with four hundred thouſand. But *Ninus* prevailing, and *Zoroaſter* being ſlain, he entred farther into the Countrey, and beſieged the chief City thereof, called *Bactra*, or *Bactrion* (ſaith *Stephanus*) which by a paſſage found, and an aſſault given by *Semiramis* (the Wife of *Menon*) he entred and poſſeſt. Upon this occaſion *Ninus* both admiring her judgment and valour, together with her perſon and external beauty, ſancied her ſo ſtrongly, as (neglecting all Princely reſpects) he took her from her Huſband, whoſe eyes he threatned to thruſt out, if he refuſed to conſent. He therefore yielding to the paſſion of love in *Ninus*, and to the paſſion of ſorrow in himſelf, by the ſtrong perſwaſions of ſhame and diſhonour, caſt himſelf headlong into the Water, and died.

Aug. de civit. Dei.

Steph. de Urb.

CHAP. XI.

Of Zoroaster, *supposed to have been the chief Authour of Magick Arts: and of the divers kinds of Magick.*

§. I.

That Zoroaster *was not* Cham, *nor the first inventer of Astrologie, or of Magick: and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.*

ZOroaster, King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincentius* supposeth to be *Cham* the Son of *Noah*: a fancy of little probability. For *Cham* was the Paternal Ancestour of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whose Son was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that Book which was called *Scripturæ Cham*, devised by some wicked Knave, and so entituled; of which *Sixtus Senensis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gave the invention of *Magick* to *Cham* the Son of *Noah*: so did *Comestor* in his Scholastical History; which Art (saith he) with the seven Liberal Sciences he writ in fourteen Pillars: seven of which were made of Brass, to resist the defacing by the Waters of the Floud; and seven of Brick, against the injury of fire. There was also another devised Discourse, which went under the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like this of *Comestor*. These be *Cassianus* words: Cham (*filius* Noah) *qui superstitionibus istis & sacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, sciens nullum se posse super his memorialem librũ in Arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat cum patre justo*, &c. Cham *the* (*the Son of* Noah) *who was infected with these superstitions and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any Book or memorial of that nature into the Ark, wherein he was to remain with his godly Father, caused the Precepts and Rules thereof to be graven in Metal, and hard Stone.* *Cassian in Collat. cap. 21.*

Saint *Augustine* noteth that *Zoroaster* was said to have laught at his birth, when all other children weep; which presaged the great knowledge which afterward he attained unto; being taken for the Inventer of natural *Magick* and other Arts; for the Corrupter, saith *Pliny* and *Justine*. But I do not think that *Zoroaster* invented the doctrine of the *Horoscopes*, or *Nativities*: or first found out the nature of Herbs, Stones, and Minerals, or their Sympathetical, or Antipathetical workings; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldæa* is also made the Inventer. I rather think that these knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his Sons. For *Abraham*, who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster* (as *Josephus* reporteth) was no less learned herein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living: differing from the wisdom of after-times in this, that he knew, and acknowledged, the true cause, and giver of life and virtue to Nature, and all natural things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed, and universal power) admired the Instruments, and did attribute proper strength to the things themselves (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisdom, *Which being one, and remaining in it self, can do all things, and reneweth all.* *Wisd. c. 7.*

Now, whether this *Zoroaster* (overthrown by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the *Magician*, *Ctesias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Pliny* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authours report, then *Zoroaster*, slain by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is also the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Again, *Josephus*, and *Cedrenus* affirm, that *Seth* first found out the Planets, or wandring Stars, and other motions of the Heavens: for if this Art had been invented by *Zoroaster*, he could not have attained to any such excellency therein, in his own life-time; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular judgment, he might add somewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leave it by writing to Posterity. *Scalig. in Euseb. Joseph. l. 1. Antiq. c. 4.*

But of this *Zoroaster*, there is much dispute: and no less jangling about the word and Art of *Magick*. *Arnobius* remembreth four, to whom the name of *Zoroaster*, or *Zorcastres* was given: which by *Hermodorus* and *Dinon* seemeth to be but a *cognomen*, or name of art, and

and was as much to ſay, as *Aſtrorum cultor*. The firſt, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the ſame that *Ninus* overthrew: the ſecond, a *Chaldæan*, and the *Aſtronomer* of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaſter Pamphylius*, who lived in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaſter Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hoſtianes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: between whom and *Cyrus*, there paſt threeſcore and eighteen years. *Suidas* remembreth a fifth, called *Perſomedus ſapiens*: and *Plato* ſpeaketh of *Zoroaſter* the Son of *Oromaſdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now, of what Nation the firſt and chief *Zoroaſter* was, it is doubted. *Pliny* and *Laertius* make him a *Perſian*. *Gemiſtheus*, or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Steuchius*, make him a *Chaldæan*. But by thoſe Books of one *Zoroaſter*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a *Chaldæan* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldæan*) was as often given to the learned Prieſts peculiarly, as for any diſtinguiſhment of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldæi* and *Magi* divers; *Picus*, the ſame. But that this *Zoroaſter* was a *Chaldæan* both by Nation and Profeſſion, it appeareth by his Books, which (ſaith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldæan* Tongue; and the Comment in the ſame Language. Now, that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of thoſe Books of *Zoroaſter*, which in an Epiſtle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he ſaith, to be intituled, *Patris* Ezre Zoroaſtris & Melchior *magorum oracula*.

§. II.

Of the name of Magia; *and that it was anciently far divers from Conjuring and Witchcraft.*

Pic. Mir. fol. 81. NOw, for Magick it ſelf; which Art (ſaith *Mirandula*) *Pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt; Few underſtand, and many reprehend; Et ſicut Canes ignotos ſemper allatrant; As Dogs bark at thoſe they know not:* ſo they condemn and hate the things they underſtand not: I think it not amiſs (leaving *Ninus* for a while) to ſpeak ſomewhat thereof.

It is true, that many men abhorr the very name and word (*Magos*) becauſe of *Simon Magus*, who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *goes* (that is) familiar with evil Spirits, uſurped that Title. For Magick, Conjuring, and Witchery, are farr differing Arts, whereof *Pliny* being ignorant, ſcoffeth thereat. For *Nero* (ſaith *Pliny*) who had the moſt excellent Magicians of the Eaſt, ſent him by *Tyridates* King of *Armenia*, who held that Kingdom by his grace, found the Art, after long ſtudy and labour, altogether ridiculous.

Plin. l. 30. Hiſt. Nat. Porphyr. & Apul.

Magus is a *Perſian* word primitively, whereby is expreſt ſuch a one as is altogether converſant in things Divine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Art of Magick is the Art of worſhipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epiſtles expounding the word (μάγος) ſaith, that the *Perſians* called their gods μάγους: whence he addeth, that *Magus* is either ὁ κατὰ φύσιν θεός, or θεραπευτὴς θεῶν (that is) that *Magus* is a name ſometimes of him that is a God by nature; ſometimes of him that is in the ſervice of God: in which latter ſence it is taken, *Mat.* 2. *v.* 1. And this is the firſt and higheſt kind: which *Piccolominie* calleth divine Magick: and theſe did the *Latines* newly entitle *Sapientes*, or *Wiſemen*: *For, the fear and worſhip of God is the beginning of knowledge.* Theſe Wiſemen the *Greeks* call Philoſophers: the *Indians*, *Branchmans*; which name they ſomewhat neerly retain to this day, calling their Prieſts *Bramines*; among the *Egyptians* they were tearmed Prieſts; with the *Hebrews* they were called *Cabaliſts*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*, and *Phariſees*: amongſt the *Babylonians* they were differenced by the name of *Chaldæans*: and among the *Perſians*, Magicians: of whom *Arnobius* (ſpeaking of *Hoſtianes*, one of the ancient Magicians) uſeth theſe words: *Et verum Deum merita majeſtate proſequitur, & Angelos miniſtros Dei, ſed veri ejus venerationi novit aſſiſtere. Idem dæmonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos; Soſtenes* (for ſo *M. Felix* called him, not *Hoſtianes*) *aſcribeth the due Majeſty to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are miniſters and meſſengers which attend the Worſhip of the true God. He alſo hath delivered that there are Devils earthly, and wandering, and enemies to man-kind.*

Plato in Alcib.

Piccol. de Deſin. Prov. l. 7. John Hug. Linſchot.

In octavio Minutii Felicis cum Arnobio p. 360.

His Majeſty alſo, in his firſt Book of *Demonologie*, *ch.* 3. acknowledgeth, that in the *Perſian* Tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much a contemplator of divine and heavenly ſcience; but unjuſtly ſo called, becauſe the *Chaldæans* were ignorant of the true Divinity. And it is alſo right which *His Majeſty* avoweth, that under the name of *Magick*, all other unlawfull Arts are comprehended, and yet doth *His Majeſty* diſtinguiſh it from Necromancy, Witchcraft, and the reſt: of all which he hath written largely, and moſt learnedly. For the Magick which *His Majeſty* condemneth, is of that kind whereof the Devil is a party. *Daniel* in his ſecond Chap. nameth four kinds of thoſe *Wiſemen*: *Arioli*, *Magi*, *Malefici*, and *Chaldæi*. *Arioli* the old *Latine* Tranſlation calleth *Sophiſtas*: *Vatablus* and *Pagninus*, *Genethliacos*, or *Phyſicos*, or

Dæmon. l. 2. c. 1.

Philoſophers,

Philosophers, or (according to the note of *Vatablus*) *Naturalists: Nempe sunt Magi apud Babaros, quod Philosophi apud Græcos (scilicet) divinarum humanarumque rerum scientiam profitentes*; *For the Magi are the same with the* Barbarians, *as the Philosophers are with the* Grecians (that is) *men that profess the knowledge of things both divine and humane.* The *Greek* and the *English* call them *Inchanters*; Junius, *Magicians*; Castalion, *Conjecturers*: in the *Syrian*, they are all four by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*; *The Wisemen of Babel.*

The second sort *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *English*, call Astrologers; *Hierom* and the *Septuagint*, Magicians.

The third kind are *Malefici* or *Venefici*; in *Hierom*, *Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, Witches, or Poisoners: in *Junius*, *Præstigiatores*, or Sorcerers, as in *English*.

That Witches are also rightly so called *Venefici*, or *Poisoners*; and that indeed there is a kind of *Malefici*, which, without any Art of Magick or Necromancie, use the help of the Devil to do mischief, *His Majesty* confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Book: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of their practice, to mix the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Devil prepared; and at other times to make Pictures of Wax, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things which the Devil by other means bringeth to pass.

The fourth, all Translators call *Chaldæans:* who took upon them to foretell all things to come, as well natural as humane, and their events: and this they vaunted to perform by the influences of the Starrs, by them observed, and understood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are, the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of *Magick*, having chiefly sought (as is the manner of all Impostures) to counterfeit the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferiour degrees.

A second kind of *Magick*, was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinds of Agriculture and Husbandry: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Starrs into those lower Elements.

Philo Judæus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magick*, or *Astrologie*, together with the motions of the Starrs, and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in *Chaldæa: Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem* (saith *Jo. Damascen*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature.* *Josephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that *he instructed the* Egyptians *in Arithmetick and Astronomie, who before* Abraham's *coming unto them knew none of these Sciences.*

De vit. sanct. Glyc. Annal fol. 180.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* against *Garsias*: Alexander & Eupolemon *dicunt, quòd* Abraham *sanctitate & sapientiâ omnium præstantissimus*, Chaldæos *primùm, deinde* Phœnices, *demum* Ægyptios *Sacerdotes Astrologiam & divina docuerit*; Alexander (saith he, *meaning* Alexander Polyhistor) *and* Eupolemon *affirm, that* Abraham, *the holiest and wisest of men, did first teach the* Chaldæans, *then the* Phenicians; *lastly, the* Egyptian *Priests, Astrologie, and divine Knowledge.*

The third kind of *Magick* containeth the whole Philosophy of Nature; not the brablings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost virtues, and draweth them out of Nature's hidden bosome to humane use: *Virtutes in centro centri latentes*; *Virtues hidden in the center of the center*, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villa nova*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before these, in elder-times, and who better understood the power of Nature, and how to apply things that work to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyanæus*, remembred by S. *Hierom* to *Paulinus*; in some mens Opinion, *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*: among the *Indians*, *Thespian*: among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes*: among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*: the *Hyperboreans* (as is supposed) *Abbaris*: and the *Italians*, *Petrus Aponensis*. The *Magick* which these men profest, is thus defined: *Magia est connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant, non sine eorum sine admiratione qui causam ignorant: Magick is the connexion of natural agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise man, to the bringing forth of such effects as are wonderfull to those that know not their causes.* In all these three kinds, which other men divide into four, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned; especially in the first and highest. For in his Oracles he confesseth God to be the Creator of the Universal: he believeth of the * *Trinity*, which he could not investigate by any natural knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of *Paradise*: approveth the immortality of the Soul: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Love, discoursing of the Abstinence and Charity of the *Magi*: which Oracles of his, *Psellus*, *Ficinus*, *Patritius*, and others, have gathered and translated.

See upon his Comment. in *Aug. de civit. Dei l. 18. c. 2.*

* *Totus in mundo lucet Trias, cujus Monas est princeps Cunctis namque perfecit pater. & menti tradidit secundæ. Psel. & Ficin. de præp. Evang. l. 1. cap. 7.*

Of

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Euseb.* in the *Theologie* of the *Phœnicians*, using *Zoroaster's* own words: *Hæc ad verbum scribit* (saith *Eusebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilium, sempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, sibi-ipsi simillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater juris, sine doctrina justitiam perdoctus, naturâ perfectus, sapiens, sacræ naturæ unicus inventor*, &c. *Thus writeth* Zoroaster, *word for word. God, the first incorruptible, everlasting, unbegotten, without parts, most like himself, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, having learned justice without teaching, perfect, wise by nature, the onely inventer thereof.*

Lib. 2. fol. 26. *Sixtus Senensis*, speaking of the wisdom of the *Chaldæans*, doth distinguish those wise men into five orders (to wit) *Chascedim*, or *Chaldæans: Asaphim*, or *Magicians: Chartumim* (which he translates *Ariolie*, or *Sophists*) *Mechasphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Wiches*, or *Poisoners*; and *Gazarim*, *Augures*, or *Aruspices*, or *Diviners*.

Chascedim were those which had the name of *Chaldæans*, which were *Astronomers: Hi cœlorum motus diligentissimè spectârunt*; *These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heavens:* whom *Philo*, in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

Asaphim were in the old *Latine* translation called *Philosophers:* of the *Septuagint*, and of *Hierom*, *Magicians: Qui de omnium tam divinarum quàm humanarum rerum causis Philosophati sunt*; *Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well divine as humane:* of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the Son of *Beor*) to be *Laert. l. 1.* the first: but *Laertius* ascribeth the invention of this Art to *Zoroastres* the *Persian*.

Chartumim, or *Inchanters*, the Disciples (saith S. *Augustine*, *Pliny*, and *Justine*) of another *Zoroastres:* who corrupted the admirable wisdom of the *Magi*, which he received from his Ancesters.

Mechasphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those which we have spoken already out of *His Majesties* Book of *Dæmonologia*.

Gazarim, or *Aruspices* (after S. *Hierom*) which divine from the intrails of Beasts slain for sacrifices: or by *Gazarim*, others understand *Augures*, who divine by the flying, singing, or feeding of Birds.

By this distinction, we may perceive the difference between those wise men which the Kings of *Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profession of the *Magi* among the antient *Persians* was most honest. For as *Peucer de Divinitat. in c. de mag. fol. 135, 136.* *Peucer* truly observeth, *Præerant religioni Persicæ, ut in populo Dei Levitæ, studiisque veræ Philosophiæ diditi erant: nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiamque percepisset*; *The Magi* (saith he) *were the chief Ministers of the* Persian *Religion, as the Levites among Gods people, and they were given to the studies of true Philosophy: neither could any be King of the* Persians, *who had not first been exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the Magi.* *Sixtus Senensis*, in the defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kinds of *Magick*, his own words are these: *Et ne quem moveant præmissa* Polychronii & Theophili *testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam*; *Bibl. l. 6. fol. 424.* *alteram ubique ab* Origine *damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum dæmonibus inita, aut verè, aut apparenter, operatur*; *alteram ab* Origine *laudatam, quæ ad practicen naturalis Philosophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium*; *That the testimonies of* Theophilus *and* Polychronius (*saith he*) *may not move any man, it is to be understood that Magick is of two sorts, the one every where condemned by* Origen; *which worketh (whether truly or seemingly) by covenants made with devils; the other commended by* Origen, *which appertaineth to the practick part of natural Philosophy, teaching to work admirable things by the mutual application of natural virtues, agent and suffering reciprocally.*

This Partition *Hierom* doth embrace in the first of his Commentaries upon *Daniel*, where considering of the difference which *Daniel* makes between these four kinds of wise Men formerly remembred, he useth this distinction: *Quos nos hariolos; cæteri* [illegible] (*id est*) *incantatores interpetati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt*; *Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur*; *Malefici, qui sanguine utuntur, & victimis, & sæpe contigunt corpora mortuorum: porro in* Chaldæis *Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quòd sint Philosophi* Chaldæorum: *& ad artis hujus scientiam, Reges quoq; & Principes ejusdem gentis omnia faciunt*; *unde & in nativitate domini Salvatoris, ipsi primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes sanctam* Bethlehem, *adoraverunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente*; *They, whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, seem to me, such as perform things by words*; *Magicians, such as handle every thing philosophically*; *Witches, that use blood and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the* Chaldæans, *I take them to be signified by the name of Conjecturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custom takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwise reputed in their own Nation: for they*

they are the Philosophers of the Chaldæans: *yea, King and princes of that Nation do all that they do, according to the knowledge of this Art: whence, at the nativity of the Lord our Saviour, they first of all understood his birth, and coming unto holy* Bethlehem, *did worship the Child: the Starr from above shewing him unto them.* By this therefore it appeareth, that there is great difference between the doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuse of the word. For though some Writers affirm, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere facto utitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunque*; *That he is called a Magician now-a-days, who having entred league with the Devil, useth his help to any matter:* yet (as our Saviour said of *Divorce*) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of *Magick* is of the wisdom of Nature; other Arts which undergo that title, were invented by the falshood, subtilty, and envie of the Devil. In the latter, there is no other doctrine, than the use of certain ceremonies, *Per malam fidem*; *By an evil faith:* in the former, no other ill, than the investigation of those virtues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that work, to things that suffer. And though by the *Jews* those excellent *Magicians*, *Philosophers*, and *Divines*, which came to worship our Saviour *Christ*, were tearmed *Mechaschephim*, or *Mecasphim*; yet had they no other reason than common custom therein. *Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit*; *Common custom* (saith S. *Hierom*) *understandeth Witches, under the name of Magicians: And antiquity* (saith *Peter Martyr*) by the word (*Magi*) *understood good and wise men. Quid igitur expavescis Magi nomen formidolose, nomen Evangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, sed sapientem sonat, & Sacerdotem? O thou fearfull one* (saith *Ficinus*) *why doubtest thou to use the name of* Magus, *a name gratious in the Gospel, which doth not signifie a Witch, or a Conjurer, but a wise man, and a Priest?* For what brought this slander to that Study and Profession, but onely idle Ignorance, the Parent of causeless admiration? *Causa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ (re vera) opera naturalia sunt: veruntamen quia procuratione dæmonorum, naturas ipsas vel conjungentium, vel commiscentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta sunt, opera dæmonũ credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus hujusmodi est Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi impropriè vocant. The marvellousness of some works, which (indeed) are natural, hath been the cause of this slander: but because these works have been done by procurement of devils, joining the natures together, or mingling them, or howsoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the works of the devils by the ignorant. Among these works is natural Magick, which men call very improperly, Necromancy.*

Hierom. in Daniel. Pet. Mart. Loc.

Mar. Ficin. part. prim. fol. 573.

Gul. Parisien de Leg. cap. 14.

Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further: *For by understanding* (saith he) *the uttermost activity of natural agents we are assisted to know the Divinity of Christ:* for otherwise (to use his own words) *Ignoratis terminis potentiæ, & virtutis rerum naturalium, stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia; The terms or limits of natural power and virtue not understood, we must needs doubt, whether those very works which Christ did, may not be done by natural means:* after which he goeth on in this sort: *Ideo non hæreticè, non superstitiosè dixi, sed verissimè & Catholicè per talem Magiam adjuvari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi: Therefore I said not heretically, not superstitiously, but most truly and Catholickly, that by such Magick we are furthered in knowing the Divinity of Christ.* And seeing the *Jews* and others, the enemies of *Christian Religion*, do impudently and impiously object, that those Miracles which *Christ* wrought, were not above nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula*, a man for his years, fuller of knowledge than any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reason avow, that the uttermost of Nature's works being known, the works which *Christ* did, and which (as himself witnesseth) no man could do, do manifestly testifie of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a Pencil, and by a power infinitely Supreme and Divine; and thereby those that were faithless, were either converted, or put to silence.

Fol 80.

§. III.

That the good knowledge in the antient Magick is not to be condemned: though the Devil here, as in other kinds, hath sought to obtrude evil things, under the name and colour of good things.

SEeing therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a *Magician* (according to the *Persian* word) is no other than, *Divinorum Cultor, & Interpres: A studious Observer and Expounder of Divine things:* and the Art of it self (I mean the Art of Natural *Magick*) no other, *Quàm naturalis Philosophiæ absoluta consummatio*; *than the absolute perfection of natural Philosophy:* Certainly then, it proceeds from ignorance, and no way sorteth with

with wiſe and learned men, *promiſcuè*, and without difference and diſtinction, to confound lawfull and praiſe-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to uſe S. *Pauls* words) *with thoſe beggerly rudiments*, which the Devil hath ſhuffled, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth graceleſs men. For, if we condemn natural *Magick*, or the wiſdom of Nature, becauſe the Devil (who knows more than any man) doth alſo teach Witches and Poiſoners the harmfull parts of Herbs, Drugs, Minerals, and Excrements: then may we, by the ſame rule, condemn the *Phyſician*, and the Art of Healing. For the Devil alſo in the Oracles of *Amphiaraus*, *Amphilochus*, *Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in Dreams, what Herbs and Drugs were proper for ſuch and ſuch Diſeaſes. Now, no man of judgment is ignorant, that the Devil from the beginning hath ſought to thruſt himſelf into the ſame employment among the Miniſters and Servants of God, changing himſelf for that purpoſe into an Angel of Light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thruſt in his Prophets among thoſe of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of *Aſtrologie*, by giving a divine power to the Stars, teaching men to eſteem them as gods, and not as inſtruments. And (as *Bunting* obſerveth) it is true, that judicial *Aſtrologie* is corrupted with many ſuperſtitions: but the abuſe of the thing takes not away the Art, conſidering that heavenly bodies (as even general experience ſheweth) have, and exerciſe their operation upon the inferiour. For the Sun and the Starr of *Mars* do drie; the Moon doth moiſten, and govern the Tides of the Sea. Again, the Planets, as they have ſeveral and proper names, ſo have they ſeveral and proper virtues: the Stars do alſo differ in beauty, and in magnitude; and to all the Stars hath God given alſo their proper names, which (had they not influences and virtues different) needed not: *He counteth the number of the Stars, and calleth them by their names.* But, into the good and profitable knowledge of the celeſtial influences, the Devil ceaſeth not to ſhuffle in his Superſtitions: and ſo to the knowledge of the ſecret virtues of Nature hath he faſtened his doctrine of *Characters*, Numbers, and Incantations; and taught men to believe in the ſtrength of Words and Letters (which, without Faith in God, are but Ink or common breath) thereby either to equal his own with the All-powerfull Word of God, or to diminiſh the glory of God's creating Word, by whom are all things.

Bunt. in chro.

Pſal. 147.

Moreover, he was never ignorant, that both the wiſe and the ſimple obſerve when the Sea-birds forſake the ſhores, and flie into the Land, that commonly ſome great ſtorm followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow, betoken fair weather; that the crying of Crows, and bating of Ducks, foreſhew Rain: for they feel the air moiſtned in their quils. And it is written in *Hieremy* the Prophet, *Even the Stork in the air knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow.* Hereupon, this enemy of Man-kind, working upon theſe as upon the reſt of Gods creatures, long time abuſed the *Heathen*, by teaching them to obſerve the flying of Fowls, and thereby to judge of good or ill ſucceſs in the Warr: and (withall) to look into their entrails for the ſame, as if God had written the ſecrets of unſearchable providence in the Livers and Bowels of Birds and Beaſts. Again, becauſe it pleaſed God ſometimes by Dreams, not only to warn and teach his Prophets and Apoſtles, but *Heathen* Princes alſo; as *Abimelech* to reſtore *Sara* to *Abraham*; becauſe he admoniſhed *Joſeph*, and by a Dream informed *Jacob*, *Laban*, *Pharao*, *Solomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the Eaſt, and others. For as it is remembred in *Job*: *In Dreams and Viſions of the night, when ſleep falleth upon men*, &c. *then God openeth the ears, that he might cauſe man to return from his enterpriſe*; therefore, I ſay, doth the Devil alſo practiſe his Divinations by dreams, or (after *Pariſienſis*) *divinitatis imitationes, his mock-divinity.* This in the end grew ſo common, as *Ariſtides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his own Dreams: *Mithridates* of thoſe of his *Concubines.* Yea, the *Romans*, finding the inconvenience hereof, becauſe all Dreams (without diſtinction of caſes) were drawn to Divination, forbad the ſame by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (*aut narrandis ſomniis occultam aliquam artem divinandi*) it may appear. Likewiſe by the Law of God, in *Deuteronomy*, *Chap.* 13. ſeducing Dreamers were ordered to be ſlain. Yet it is to be contemned, not that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his Dream for two grievous diſeaſes that oppreſt him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolemie*'s poiſoned wound; nor that which Saint *Auguſtine* reporteth of a *Millanoiſe*, whoſe Son (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a Dream, where the Acquittance lay to diſcharge it: not that of *Aſtyages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reaſon of all which, for as much as the cauſe is not in our ſelves, this place denieth diſpute.

Gen. 12. v. 17.

Job 33. 17.

G. Pariſien. de leg. 24. cap.

Codex. de maleſic. & Mathemat. leg. & ſi accepta.

Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda.

§. IV.

That Daniel's *misliking* Nebuchodonosor's *condemning of the Magicians, doth not justifie all their practices.*

BUt it may be objected, that if such Divinations as the *Heathens* commonly used, were to be condemned in them, who took on them very many and strange Revelations, how came it to pass, that *Daniel* both condemned the hasty sentence of *Nebuchodonosor* against the *Magicians* of *Chaldæa*, and in a sort forbad it? especially considering that such kind of people God himself commanded to be slain. To this, divers answers may be given. First it seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldæans*, because they acknowledged that the Dream of the King, which himself had forgotten, could not be known to any man by any Art, either Natural or Diabolical: *For there is none other* (said the *Chaldæans*) *that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh:* and herein they confessed the power of the Ever-living God.

Deut 13. *and* 18. *Levit.* 20.

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that upon good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any evil or unlawfull Arts, but were meerly *Magicians* and *Naturalists:* and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgment, which proceeded with fury without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by *Daniel*'s instruction: for himself had been taught by them, and was called chief of the Inchanters: of which some were tearmed *Soothsayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldæans*, others *Magi*, or *Wise-men:* and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbad the execution of that judgment, because it was unjust. For howsoever those men might deserve punishment for the practice of unlawfull Arts (though not unlawfull according to the law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltless. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the King's thought, which the Devil himself could not know. So then, in *Daniel*'s dislike, and hindring of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the *Magicians*, there is no absolute justifying of their practice and profession.

§. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemn the right use of them.

NOtwithstanding this mixture every where, of good with evil, of falshood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: The good, The truth, The purity in every kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbare to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Devil, in the Image of *Baal*, *Astaroth*, *Chemoth*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like, was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of *Astrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may believe the most ancient and religious Historians) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehort wise and learned men in these days from attributing those virtues, influences, and inclinations to the Starrs and other lights of Heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

Euseb. ex Artapan. & Polyh.

The Sympathetical, and Anipathetical working of Herbs, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmost virtues, sometimes taught by the Devil, and applied by his Ministers to harmfull and uncharitable ends, can never terrifie the honest and learned *Physician* or *Magician* from the using of them to the help and comfort of Man-kind: neither can the illusions, whereby the Devil betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observations of Dreams; so farr as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make use of them.

Lastly, the prohibition to mark flying of Fowls (as signs of good or evil success) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crows against Rain, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be given. For, if we confound Arts with the abuse of them, we shall not onely condemn all honest Trades and enterchange amongst men (for there are that deceive in all Professions) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulness all excellent knowledg and all learning, or obscure and cover it over with a most scornfull and beggarly ignorance: and (as *Pliny* teacheth) we should shew our selves, *Ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaque lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Unthankfull towards those, who with pains and care have discovered unto us light in this light.*

Deut. 18. 10.

Indeed, not only these natural knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the *Mathematicks* also, and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently learned

Cusa Com. Theol c. 1. learned, judge of it in this sort: *In speculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili quæritur, elucet; non modò remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate; In the Glass of the Mathematicks, that Truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledg; not in an obscuring, but in a neer and manifest representation.*

§. VI.

Of the divers kinds of unlawfull Magick.

IT is true, that there are many Arts, if we may so call them, which are covered with the name *Magick:* and esteemed abusively to be as branches of that Tree, on whose root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of *Necromancy*, or *Goetia:* and of this again there are divers kinds. The one is an Invocation at the Graves of the dead, to whom the Devil himself gives answer in stead of those that seem to appear. For certain it is, that the immortal souls of men do not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soul: and therefore the soul is not to be found in the Graves.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute, or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring, or raising up Devils, of whom they hope to learn what they list. These men are so distract, as they believe, that by terrible words they make the Devil to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keep out a Mouse) they therein (as they suppose) insconce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtless, they forget that the Devil is not terrified from doing ill, and all that is contrary to God and goodness, no, not by the fearfull Word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to sit in Gods seat, that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour *Christ*, whom himself called the Son of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch, will yet resolve himself, that he can draw the Devil out of Hell, and terrifie with a Phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which the Devils seem to use, is but thereby to possess themselves of the bodies and souls of those which raise them up; as *His Majesty* in his Book aforenamed hath excellently taught: *That the Divels obedience is onely, secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; nespective*, that is, *upon bargain.*

Sunt in mundo genus quoddam potestatum valde divisum, indiscretum, & inconsideratum; &, quod neque verum à falso, neque possibile discernit ab impossibili, L. Vives. in cap. 11. lib. 10. Aug. de Civit. Dei, Cusa. exerc. l. 2.

I cannot tell what they can do upon those simple and ignorant Devils, which inhabit *Iamblicus* imagination; but sure I am, the rest are apt enough to come uncalled: and always attending the cogitations of their servants and vassals, do no way need any such inforcement.

Or, it may be that these Conjurers dealt altogether with *Cardans* mortal Devils, following the opinion of *Rabbi Avornathan* and of *Porphirius*, who taught that these kind of Divels lived not above a thousand years: which *Plutarch* in his Treatise *de Oraculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great God *Pan*. For, were it true, that the Divels were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alway fear those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the Familiar of *Simon Magus*, when he had lifted him up in the air, cast him headlong out of his claws, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this, perhaps, were done by S. *Peter*'s Prayers (of which S. *Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same pranks at other times, upon his own accord, the Devil played with *Theodotus*; who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to have been) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like success had *Budas*, a principal Pillar of the *Manichæan* Heresie, as *Socrates* in his Ecclesiastical History witnesseth: and for a manifest proof hereof, we see it every day, that the Devil leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himself a *Pegasus*, to convey them in haste to places far distant, or at least makes them so think: *For those that received not the truth* (saith S. *Paul*) *God shall send them strong illusions.* Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) *His Majesty* in the 2d Book, & the 4th Chap. of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are meerly illusive. Another sort there are, who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glasses & Crystals; of whom *Cusanus: Fatui sunt Incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt spiritum includere, quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore: They are foolish Inchanters, which will shut up their spirits within their nails, or in Glass: for a spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.*

Euseb. hist. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 16.

Lib. 1. c. 21.

2 Thess. 2.

Exerc. 1. lib. 2.

There is also another art besides the aforementioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magick*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven and communicate withall. But the administring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator; so, seeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man so absurd to think (except the Devil have corrupted his understanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heaven

by threats. Wherefore let the Professours thereof cover themselves how they please by a professed purity of life, by the ministery of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in general; yet all those that tamper with immaterial substances, and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, or men of evil faith, and in the power of *Satan*. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Devils, which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked Divinations; as by fire, called *Pyromantia:* by water, called *Hydromantia:* by the air, called *Mataeotechnia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other, is *Fascination* or *Witchcraft:* the Practicers whereof are no less envious and cruel, revengeful and bloudy, than the Devil himself. And these accursed creatures, having sold their souls to the Devil, work two ways; either by the Devil immediately, or by the Art of poisoning. The difference between *Necromancers* and *Witches*, *His Majesty* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) command; the other obey the Devil.

There is another kind of petty *Witchery* (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falconry, yet was it no more to be admired then *Mahomet*'s Dove, which he had used to feed with Wheat out of his ear: which Dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet*'s shoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to find his breakfast: *Mahomet* perswading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice. And certainly, if *Banks* had lived in elder times, he would have shamed all the *Inchanters* of the World: for whosoever was most famous among them, could never master or instruct any Beast as he did his Horse.

Ælian. l. 6 Nat. Hist.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marsians*, a people of *Italy*, practised: *Colubros disrumpit Marsia cantu:* inchanting Marsia *makes the Snakes to burst.*) That it hath been used, it appears, *Psal.* 58. 6. though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may be in this kind, and even by natural causes it may be done. For, there are many fumes that will either draw them out, or destroy them; as womens hair burnt, and the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other *Magick* or Inchantments than to draw out a Mouse with a piece of tosted Cheese.

Lucil. in Satyr.

§. VII.

Of divers ways by which the Devil seemeth to work his wonders.

BUt to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we do not give to the Devil any other dominion than he hath (not speak of his ability, when he is the Minister of Gods vengeance; as when *Egypt*, according to *David*, was destroyed by evil Angels) he otherwise worketh but three ways. The first is, by moving the cogitation and affections of men: The second, by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And, that they cannot work what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giveth three causes: the first, a natural impotency: the second, their own reason disswading them from daring overmuch, or indeed (and that which is the onely certain cause) the great mercy of the Creator, *Tenens eos ligatas* (saith the same Author) *velut immanissimas belluas.* S. *Augustine* was of opinion, that the Frogs which *Pharaoh*'s Sorcerers produced, were not natural, but that the Devil (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appear to be such. For, as *Varius* observeth, those Frogs of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof, saith Saint *Augustine: Nec sanè Dæmones naturas creant, sed quæ à Deo creatæ sunt commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt: The Devils create not any creatures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seem to be that which they be not:* of which in the 83. Question he giveth the reason. *Dæmon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet* (that is) *The Devil fills with certain clouds all passages of the understanding, by which the beams of the mind is wont to open the light of reason.*

Sinl. perif. de univers. p. 2. cap. 70.

Maxima vis est phantasiæ ad errores.

And, as *Tertullian* in his Book *de Anima* rightly conceiveth, if the Devil can possess himself of the eyes of our minds, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazel those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Devil entreth in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soul: for the fantasie is most apt to be abused by vain apprehensions.

Aquinas, on the contrary, held, that those Frogs were not imaginary, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *Magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to *Thomas*) *Per aptam & idoneam*

neam agentium & patientium applicationem: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceived by that sleight of false semblance; and S. *Augustine* in another case like unto this (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his companions into Birds, *per activa cum passivis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perswaded that S. *Augustine* doth believe that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiensis*, a man very learned also, confirmeth. For, speaking of natural *Magick*, he useth these words: *De hujusmodi autem operibus, & subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumq; animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verùm adhibitis adjutoriis, ipsa seminanaturæ confortant, & accuunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed potentia Dæmonum*, &c. to which he addeth: *Qui autem in his docti sunt, talia non mirantur, sed solem Creatorem in his glorificant: In such works* (saith he) *the sudden generation of Frogs and Lice, and Worms, and some other creatures is: in all which, Nature alone worketh; but by means strengthening the seeds of Nature, and quickning them; in such wise, that they so hasten the work of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant, not to be the work of Nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they think it done by the powers of Devils. But they who are learned in these Arts, marvel not at such working, but glorifie the Creator.* Now, by these two ways the Devils do most frequently work (to wit) by knowing the uttermost of nature, and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or unsearchable power, but of God onely.

For, shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, & tempests; and can infect the air, as well as move it or compress it; who knows not that these things are also natural? Or, may it be objected that he foretelleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion. It is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? In elder Ages he stole his knowledge out of the Predictions of the Prophets: and foretold the death of *Saul*, at such time as he was in his own possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancy of the world to this day, and observed the success of every counsel: he that by reason of his swift motions can inform himself of all places, and preparations: he that is of counsel with all those that study and practise subversion and destruction: he that is Prince of the air, and can thence better judge, than those that inhabite the earth: if he should not sometimes, yea, if he should not very oftentimes ghess rightly of things to come (where God pleaseth not to give impediment) it were very strange. For we see, that wise and learned men do oftentimes by comparing like causes, conceive rightly of like effects before they happen: and yet, where the Devil doubteth, and would willingly keep his credit, he evermore answereth by Riddles: as

Diabolus magnum habet rerum usum: quæ res multum habet momenti in quovis negotio. Aug. de Anima, cap. 26, 27, &c.

Eph. 2. 2. & 6. 12.

Crœsus *Halym penetrans magnam subvertit opum vim:*
If *Crœsus* over Halys go,
Great Kingdoms he shall overthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own Kingdom, or of his Enemies. And thus farr we grant the Devil may proceed in Predictions, which otherwise belong to God only, as it is in *Esay*: *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods; shew us at all times, and certainly what is to come. Solius enim divinæ intelligentiæ est, occulta nosse & revelare; It is onely proper to Gods understanding and wisdom to know and reveal hidden things.*

Gui. Parisiensis de legib. c. 24.

§. VIII.

That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the Devil: and that it was not the true Samuel *which appeared to* Saul.

TO conclude, It may be objected, that the Devil hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of *Samuel*, raised by the Witch of *Endor*; which, were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that some of the Devil's acts exceeded all the powers of Nature, false semblance, and other illusions. *Justin Martyr* was sometime of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed; and so was *Ambrose*, *Lyra*, and *Burgensis*; from which Authorities those men borrow strength which so believe. But *Martyr* changed his opinion; and so did S. *Augustine*, who at first seemed to be indifferent: For, in his Questions upon the Old and New Testament, he accounteth it detestable to think it was *Samuel* which appeared: and these be his words elsewhere to the same effect: *In requie sunt animæ piorum à corpore separatæ, impiorum autem pœnas luunt, donec istarum ad vitam æternam, illarum verò ad æternam mortem quæ secunda dicitur, corpora reviviscant; The souls of the godly separated from their bodies, are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the just rise to eternal life, and of the wicked to an eternal and second death.*

Just. Mart. in colloq. cum Tryphone in resp. ad Ortho. quæst. 55. Ambr. in Luc. l. 2. c. 1. Lyra in Reg. 1. Aug. ad Simp. l. 2. q. 3. De civit. Dei. l. 13. cap. 8.

And

And (besides S. *Augustine*) *Justin Martyr*, *Hilarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostom*, and others, believed firmly, and taught it: that the souls of men, being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (saith *Cyril*) *quum à corporibus sanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris bonitati divinæ commendari*; *We must believe, when the souls of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodness, as into the hands of a most dear Father.* If then they be in Heaven, the power of the Devil cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, *Ab inferno nulla est redemptio*; *From Hell there is no redemption.* For, there are but two habitations after death: *Unum* (saith *Augustine*) *in igne æterno*; *alterum in regno æterno*; *The one in eternal fire*; *the other in Gods eternal Kingdom.* And though it be written in *Jure Pontificio*, that many there are who believe, that the dead have again appeared to the living; yet the *Gloss* upon the same Text finds it ridiculous: *Credunt, & male, quia sunt Phantasmata* (saith the Gloss) *They believe, and they believe amiss, because they be but Phantasmes*, or *apparitions.* For, whereas any such voice hath been heard, saying, I am the Soul of such a one: *Hæc oratio à fraude atque deceptione diabolica est*; *That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Devil*, saith *Chrysostom.* Likewise of the same, saith *Tertullian*: *Absit ut animam cujuslibet sancti, nedum Prophetæ, à dæmonio credamus extractam*; *God forbid that we should think that the Soul of any holy man, much less of a Prophet, should be drawn up again by a Devil.*

Aug. de ver. Apost. 18. *Just. Mart. ad Orthod.* q. 75. *Hilar. Psal. in fine. Tertul. de anima in fin. Athanas.* q. 13. *Chrysost. hom* 9. *in Evang. Matth.* 2615. *Episcopi.*

It is true, that the Scriptures call that apparition, *Samuel*; so do they the wooden Images, *Cherubims*: and false brazen gods are gods, and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26. of *Ecclesiasticus* (a Book not numbred among the *Canonical* Scriptures, as S. *Augustine* himself in this Treatise, if it be his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth) yet *Syracides*, following the literal sence and phrase of the Scriptures, proveth nothing at all: For, though the Devil would willingly perswade, that the souls (yea, even of just men) were in his power; yet so farr is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods just and mercifull nature, and so contrary to all divine reason, as S. *Augustine* (or whosoever wrote that Book before cited) might rightly tearm it a detestable opinion so to think. For, if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that he refused to answer him, either by *Dreams*, by *Urim*, or by his *Prophets*: it were sottish to conceive, that he would permit the Devil, or a wicked Witch, to raise a Prophet from the dead in *Saul*'s respect; it being also contrary to his divine Law, to ask counsel of the dead: as in *Deut.* 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it was the Devil, and not the Soul of a dead body, that gave answer and advice.

1 *King.* 17. 22. 2 *King.* 4. 34. *Nullus enim magus aut dæmon mortuum vere unquam excitavit. Wier. de fascin.*

But because *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raised some from the dead by the power of God; those Devils which Saint *Augustine* calleth *Ludificatores animantium sibi subjectorum*; *Mockers of their own vassals*, casting before their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, and framing sounds to their ears, like the voices of men, do also perswade their graceless and accursed attendants, that themselves both possess, and have power over, the souls of men. *Eludit Diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, saith L. Vives; *The Devil beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine.* These then are the bounds of the Devil's power, whom, if we will not fear, we must fear to sin. For, when he is not the instrument of God's vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himself his voluntary vassal: *Potest ad malum invitare, non potest trahere*, saith S. *Augustine*; *He can allure, but he cannot enforce to evil.* Such as think otherwise, may go into the number remembred by *Lucretius*:

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CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, *and of his Wife* Semiramis, *and of other her Acts.*

§. I.

Of the magnificent building of Ninive *by* Ninus: *and of* Babylon *by* Semiramis.

BUt to come back to *Ninus*, the amplifier and finisher of *Ninive:* whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is uncertain. As for the City it self, it is agreed by all profane Writers, and by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compass 440. *stadia*, or furlongs; the walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had such a breadth, as three Chariots might pass on the Rampire in front: these walls were garnished with 1500. Towers, which gave exceeding beauty to the rest, and strength, no less admirable for the nature of those times.

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Howsoever *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her, after his death, the sole Rule of the *Assyrian* Empire: of which *Ninus* was said to be the first *Monarch*, because he changed his seat from *Babylon* in *Chaldæa*, to *Ninive* in *Assyria*. *Justine* reports, that *Semiramis* (the better to invest her self, and in her beginning without murmure or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented her self to the people in person of her Son *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, who bare her external form and proportion without any sensible difference.

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This report I take also to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable Acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that Letter which she sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her own name. And were it true that her Son *Ninias* had such a stature at his fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very

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Ælian. lib. 7. ex Dione.

This report I take also to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable Acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that Letter which she sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her own name. And were it true that her Son *Ninias* had such a stature at his fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very

very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that she could have held the Empire from him 42. years after by any such subtilty (for so long she reigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true, that *Ninias*, or *Zameis* (being wholly given to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his mothers prosperous government and undertakings.

§. III.

Of Semiramis *Parentage and Education, and Metamorphosis of her Mother.*

SOme Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to have been of base Parentage, calling her after the name of her Country, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* calls her after the name of her City wherein she was born, *Semiramis Ascalonitis*, of *Ascalon*, the antient City and *Metropolis* of the *Philistims*. Others report her to be the Daughter of *Derceta*, a *Curtizan* of *Ascalon*, exceeding beautifull. Others say, that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis*, the mother of *Semiramis*, was sometimes a Recluse, and had profest a holy and a religious life; to whom there was a Temple dedicated, seated on the bank of a Lake adjoining to *Ascalon*; and afterward falling in love with a goodly young man, she was by him made with child, which (for fear of extreme punishment) she conveyed away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high Reeds which grew on the banks of the Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wilde Beasts) the same was fed by certain Birds, which used to feed upon, or neer those Waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adjoining to this Lake, had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her dishonour and breach of Vow; notwithstanding which, she was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the Poets have feigned) changed by *Venus* into a Fish, all but her face, which still held the same beauty and humane shape. It is thought, that from this *Derceta*, the invention of that Idol of the *Philistims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a Mans face, and a Fishes body; into whose Temple when the *Ark* of God was brought, the Idol fell twice to the ground: and at the second fall there remained only the trunk of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For so S. *Hierom* hath converted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius*, write it by *Dagon* onely, which signifieth a Fish, and so it onely appeared: the head thereof by the second fall being sundred from the body.

For my self, I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philistims*, was an Idol representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary Sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this City being maritimate (as all those of the *Philistims* were, and so were the best of *Phœnicia*) used all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the petty gods which attended him.

§. IV.

Of her Expedition into India, *and death after discomfiture: with a note of the improbability of her vices.*

BUt for her Pedigree, I leave it to *Assyrian Heralds*; and for her vicious life, I ascribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacy & ease do more often accompany licentiousness in men and women, than labour and hazzard do. And if the one half be true which is reported of this Lady, then there never lived any Prince or Princess more worthy of Fame than *Semiramis* was, both for the works she did at *Babylon*, and elsewhere, and for the Warrs she made with glorious success: all but her last enterprise of *India*, from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report, that she never returned: and that of all her most powerfull Army, there survived but onely twenty persons; the rest, being either drowned in the River of *Indus*, dead of the Famine, or slain by the Sword of *Staurobates*. But, as the multitude which went out are more than reason hath numbred; so were those that returned, less than could have escaped of such an Army, as consisted of four Millions and upwards. For these numbers, which she levied by her Lievtenant *Dercetæus* (saith *Suidas*) did consist of Foot-men three Millions; of Horse-men one Million; of Chariots, armed with hooks on each side, one hundred thousand; of those which fought upon Camels as many; of Camels for burthen, two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all uses, three hundred thousand; of Gallies with brazen heads, three thousand, by which she might transport over *Indus* at once, three hundred thousand souldiers: which Gallies were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. The incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had every Man and Beast but fed on grass) are taken from the Autho-

Suid. f. 8. 45. lit. S.

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rity of *Cteſias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: ſo *Diodorus* himſelf hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* Expedition into *Greece* and afterwards; whoſe Army (though the ſame was farr inferiour to that of *Semiramis*) yet it had weight enough to over-load the belief of any reaſonable man. For all Authours conſent, that *Xerxes* tranſported into *Greece*, an army of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to paſs the *Helleſpont*) three thouſand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the ſeveral Provinces whence thoſe Gallies were taken, hath collected the number.

But of what multitude ſoever the Army of *Semiramis* conſiſted, the ſame being broken, and overthrown by *Staurobates*, upon the banks of *Indus*, *Canticum cantavit extremum*; *She ſang her laſt ſong*; and (as Antiquity hath feigned) was changed by the gods into a Dove (the Bird of *Venus*) whence it came, that the *Babylonians* gave a Dove in their Enſigns.

§. V.

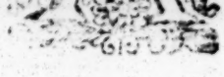
Of the Temple of Belus *built by* Semiramis; *and of the* Pyramides *of* Egypt.

AMong all her other memorable and more than magnificent works (beſides the wall of the City of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, invironed with a wall carried fourſquare of great heighth and beauty, having on each ſquare, certain brazen Gates curiouſly engraven. In the *Core* of the ſquare, ſhe raiſed a Tower of a furlong high, which is half a quarter of a mile; and upon it again (taking a *Baſis* of a leſs circuit) ſhe ſet a ſecond Tower; and ſo eight in all, one above another, upon the top whereof the *Chaldean* Prieſts made the Obſervation of the Starrs; becauſe this Tower over-topped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruines of this Tower, have many Travellers been deceived; who ſuppoſe that they have ſeen a part of *Nimrod*'s Tower, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel* (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple, one hundred thouſand talents of Frankincenſe every year (ſaith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nebuchodonoſor* adorn with the ſpoils of *Hieruſalem*, and of the Temple of *Solomon*: all which veſſels and ornaments *Cyrus* re-delivered. This Temple *Xerxes* evened with the ſoil; which *Alexander* is ſaid to have repaired, by the perſwaſions of the *Chaldæans*. I deny not that it might have been in his deſire ſo to do; but he enjoyed but a few years after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not perform any ſuch work. The *Egyptians* (ſaith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and level ground, and given to the ſame ſuperſtition of the Stars that the *Chaldæans* were, erected in imitation, and for the ſame ſervice and uſe, the *Pyramides* by *Memphis*, which were *conſpicuæ undique navigantibus*, ſaith *Pliny*. Of theſe *Pyramides*, *Bellonius*, a carefull obſerver of Rarities (who being in *Egypt*, mounted by ſteps to the top of the higheſt) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui ſeroit a ſa ſommite, & tirant une fleche in l' air, a peine pouroit l' envoyer hors de ſa baſe q' elle ne ſe tombaſt ſur les degrez*; *The beſt Archer ſtanding on the top of one of theſe Pyramides, and ſhooting an arrow from thence into the air, as farr as he can, with great difficulty ſhall be able ſo to force the ſame, but that it will fall upon ſome of the degrees or ſteps.*

Procl in Timæo lib. 1.

Bellon. l. 2.



Finis Libri primi.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the TIMES, from the Birth of *Abraham*, to the Deſtruction of *Solomon's* Temple.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time of the Birth of Abraham: *and the uſe of this Queſtion, for the ordering of the Story of the* Aſſyrian *Empire.*

§. I.

Of ſome of the Succeſſours of Semiramis: *with a brief tranſition to the Queſtion, about the time of the Birth of* Abraham.

AFter the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, ſucceeded her in the Empire, on whom *Beroſus Annianus* beſtows the conqueſt of *Bactria*, and the overthrow of *Zoroaſter*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Juſtine*, *Oroſius*, and all other approved Writers. For *Ninias* being eſteemed no man of Warr at all, but altogether feminine, and ſubjected to eaſe and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now, becauſe there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of jealouſie he every year changed his Provincial Governours, and built Colleges for the *Chaldæan* Prieſts, his Aſtronomers: nor by *Arius* his ſucceſſour, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that he reduced again the *Bactrians* and *Caſpians*, revolted (as it ſeemeth) in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the ſucceſſour of *Arius*; but that he added ſumptuoſity, invented Jewels of Gold and Stone, and ſome Engines for the Warr: I will, for this preſent, paſs them over, and a while follow *Abraham*, whoſe ways are warrantable (till we meet theſe *Aſſyrians* again in this Story) by whom, and by whoſe iſſues, we ſhall beſt give date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* living at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes*, or *Balanius*. For, otherwiſe, if we ſeek to prove things certain by the uncertain, and judge of thoſe times, which the Scriptures ſet us down without errour, by the reigns of the *Aſſyrian* Princes; we ſhall but patch up the Story at adventure, and leave it in the ſame confuſion, in which, to this day, it hath remained. For, where the Scriptures do not help us, *Mirum non eſt in rebus antiquis, Hiſtoriam non conſtare*; *No marvel if then in things very antient, Hiſtory want aſſurance.* Plutarch. in Theſe.

The better therefore to find out, in what Age of the World, and how long, theſe *Aſſyrian* Kings reigned, as alſo for other good cauſes, we muſt firſt aſſure the time of *Abraham's*

braham's Birth, and in what year the ſame happened after the Floud. Now, ſince all agree that the three and fourtieth year of *Ninus*, was the birth-year of *Abraham*; by proving directly out of the Scriptures, in what year after the Floud, the birth of *Abraham* happened, we ſhall thereby ſet all the reſt in ſquare and order. But of this time there is much jangling between thoſe *Chronologers*, which follow the *Hebrew* account, and others: the moſt part making 292. or 293. years; others 352. years between *Abraham's* Birth and the Floud: a matter often diſputed, but never concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we find him in *Annius*) makes but 250. years from the Floud to *Ninus*: then ſeeing that *Abraham* was born in the three and fourtieth year of *Ninus*, according to *Euſebius* and Saint *Auguſtine*, it followeth, by the addition of thoſe two numbers, that the year of *Abraham's* Birth, was in the year after the Floud 293. or, as the moſt part of all *Chronologers* gather, the year 292.

Now, ſince I do here enter into that never reſolved Queſtion, and Labyrinth of times, it behoveth me to give Reaſon for my own Opinion: and with ſo much the greater care and circumſpection, becauſe I walk aſide, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather chooſe to endure the wounds of thoſe darts, which Envie caſteth at Novelty, than to go on ſafely and ſleepily in the eaſie ways of ancient miſtakings: ſeeing to be learned in many errours, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diverſity.

§. II.

A Propoſal of Reaſons or Arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham *was born in the year* 292. *after the Floud, and not in year* 352.

THoſe who ſeek to prove this account of 292. years, between the general Floud and *Abraham's* Birth, ground themſelves; firſt, on theſe words of the Scripture: *So* Terah *lived* 70. *years, and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: Secondly, upon the Opinion of *Joſephus*, Saint *Auguſtine*, *Beda*, *Iſidore*, and many of the ancient *Hebrews* before them: Authorities (while they are ſlightly looked over) ſeeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture laſt remembred, the later *Chronologers* gather theſe arguments. Firſt, out of the words as they lie; That *Terah, at* 70. *years begot* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: and that *Abraham* being the firſt named, *Abraham* being the worthieſt, *Abraham* being the Son of the Promiſe, ought in this reſpect to be counted the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and ſo neceſſarily born in the ſeventieth year of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moſes* had reſpect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heir of the Bleſſing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran:* for the ſcope of this Chapter, was to ſet down the Genealogie of *Chriſt*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor* and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldeſt Son, then there can be no certainty of his age, and ſo are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then be proved, that *Abraham* was born more aſſuredly in the 130. year of *Terah* his age, than in the 131, 132, &c. *Moſes* having no where ſet down preciſely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very year, in which his father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. years: ſeeing *Abraham* himſelf thought it a wonder to be made a father at 100. years.

§. III.

The Anſwer to the Objections propoſed, ſhewing that Abraham *made but one journey out of* Meſopotamia *into* Canaan; *and it, after his fathers death.*

TO anſwer all which Objections, it is very eaſie, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long ſince, and to which I will adde ſomewhat of mine own, according to the ſmall talent which God hath given me. Now, for as much as the ſtate of the Queſtion cannot well be ſcanned, unleſs the time of *Abraham's* journy into *Canaan* be firſt conſidered of; before I deſcend unto the particular examination of theſe Arguments, I will make bold with order and method ſo far, as to ſearch into a ſtrange tradition concerning his travels, that ſerveth as a ground for this Opinion, and a bulwark againſt all that can be ſaid to the contrary.

But it is conceived, that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan:* the later after his fathers death, the former preſently upon his calling; which he performed without delay, not ſtaying for his fathers death at *Haran:* a conjecture drawn from a place in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, where it is written,

Heb 11. 8. *By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God, to go out into a place which he ſhould afterward receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither he went.* This Suppoſition (if it be granted) ſerves very well to uphold the opinion that can ill ſtand without it. Let us therefore ſee whether we may give credit to the Suppoſition it ſelf.

Surely, that *Abraham* firſt departed *Charran*, or *Haran*, after the death of *Terah* his Father, the ſame is proved, without the admiſſion of any diſtinction, by theſe words of Saint Acts 7. 4. *Stephen: And after his father was dead, God brought him into this land, where ye now dwell*, that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Againſt which place, ſo direct and plain, what force hath any mans fancy or ſuppoſition, perſwading, that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan*; one before *Terahs* death, and another after: no ſuch thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumſtance, probability or reaſon to induce it? For, if any man out of this place before alleged can pick any argument, proving, or affording any ſtrong preſumption, that *Abraham* paſt into *Canaan*, and Heb. 11. 8. then returned unto *Haran*, from whence he departed a ſecond time: then I think it reaſon, that he be believed in the reſt. But, that he performed the Commandment of God after his Fathers death, leaving *Ur* & *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themſelves are true. *For after his Father was dead* (ſaith Martyr *Stephen*) *God brought him into this Land.* And as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double journey into *Canaan*, then muſt it be inferred, that *Moſes* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembred the other: and whence had *Stephen*, ſaith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abrahams* coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moſes*? For, if *Stephen* had ſpoken any thing of thoſe times, differing from *Moſes*, he had offered the *Jews*, his adverſaries, too great an occaſion both of ſcandalizing himſelf, and the Goſpel of *Chriſt*. Indeed, we ſhall find ſmall reaſon to make us think, that *Abraham* paſſed and re-paſſed thoſe ways, more often than he was enforced ſo to do, if we conſider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearieſom journey, than the ſtrength of his faith in Gods promiſes: In which, if any thing would have brought him to deſpair, he had more cauſe than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of ſtrong and ſtubborn Nations: a Nation of valiant and reſolved Idolaters. He was beſieged with famine at his firſt arrival, and driven to flie into *Egypt* for relief. His wife was old, and he had no Son to inherit the Promiſe, And when God had given him *Iſaac*, he commanded him to offer him up to himſelf for ſacrifice; all which diſcomforts he patiently and conſtantly underwent.

Secondly, let us conſider the ways themſelves, which *Abraham* had to paſs over; the length whereof was 300. *Engliſh* miles; and through Countreys of which he had no manner of experience. He was to tranſport himſelf over the great River of *Euphrates*, to travel through the dangerous & barren Deſarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climb over the great and high mountains of *Libanus*, *Hermon*, or *Gilead*: and whether theſe were eaſie walks for *Abraham* to march twice over, containing, as aforeſaid, 300. miles in length, let every reaſonable man judge. For, if he travelled it twice; then was his journey in all, 1800. miles from *Ur* to *Haran*; and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to diſprove this fancy; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more proof (that he had not *animum revertendi*, *not any thought of looking backward*) than any mans bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority ſoever. For thus it is written of him, *Then* Abraham *took* Gen. 12. 5. Sara *his wife, and* Lot *his brothers Son, and all their ſubſtance that they poſſeſt, and the ſouls that they had gotten in* Haran: *and they departed to go to the land of* Canaan, *and to the land of* Canaan *they came.* Now, if *Abraham* brought all with him that was dear unto him; his wife and kinſmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walk it back again for his pleaſure, in ſo warm, dangerous, and barren a Countrey as that was: or, if he could have been thereto moved, it is more likely, that he would have then returned, when he was yet unſettled, and preſt with extreme famine at his firſt arrival. For had his father been then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more aſſured comfort and relief, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a meer ſtranger, both in Religion and Nation.

What the cauſe might be of *Abraham's* return to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have ſent him back thither, about the time of his fathers death: ſo they, perhaps, if they were urged, could ſay little elſe, than that without ſuch a ſecond voyage, their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reaſon they ſhould do well to make plain, if it be not over-troubleſome. They ſay, that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his father's death, or ſome time after, being then, by their account, 135. years old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the buſineſs, which, as we read, was within four

four or five years after that time, his greateſt, or (as may ſeem) his onely care? Did not he bind with a very ſolemn oath, his principal ſervant, in whom he repoſed moſt confidence, to travel into thoſe parts, and ſeek out a Wife for *Iſaac* his Son? and doth it not appear by all circumſtances, that neither he nor his ſervant were ſo well acquainted in *Meſopotamia*, that they could particularly deſign any one woman, as a fit match for *Iſaac*? Surely, if *Abraham* had been there in perſon ſo lately, as within four or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of ſuch importance; but would have truſted his own judgment, in chooſing a woman, fit for her piety, virtue, and other deſirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his onely Son, who was then five and thirty years old; before which age, moſt of the Patriarchs after the Floud had begotten children; rather than have left all at random to the conſideration of a ſervant, that neither knew any, nor was known of any, in that Countrey. But, let it be ſuppoſed (if it may be believed) that either *Abraham* forgot his buſineſs when he was there, or that ſomewhat happened, which no man can deviſe; What might be the reaſon, that *Abraham*'s man, in doing his Maſters errand, was fain to lay open the whole Story of his Maſters proſperity, telling it as news, that *Sarah* had born to him a Son in her old age? If *Abraham* himſelf, a more certain Author, had ſo lately been among them, would not all this have been an idle tale? It were needleſs to ſtand long upon a thing ſo evident. Whether it were lawfull for *Abraham* to have returned back to *Haran*, would, perhaps, be a queſtion hardly anſwerable; conſidering how averſe he was from permitting his ſon to be carried thither, even though a Wife of his own kinred could not have been obtained without his perſonal preſence. *Jacob* indeed was ſent thither by his Parents, to take a Wife of his own linage; not without Gods eſpecial approbation, by whoſe bleſſing he proſpered in that journey; yet he lived there as a ſervant; ſuffered many injuries; and finally, was driven to convey himſelf from thence by flight. For although it be not a ſentence written, yet out of all written Examples it may be obſerved, that God alloweth not in his ſervants any deſire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and tranſplanted them. That brief ſaying, *Remember* Lot's *Wife*, contains much matter. Let us conſider *Meſopotamia*, from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole Nation of the *Iſraelites* were delivered: we ſhall find, that no bleſſing iſſued from either of them, to the Poſterity of the *Hebrews*. When *Hezechias* was viſited with an honourable Embaſſie from *Babel*, it ſeems that he conceived great pleaſure in his mind, and thought it a piece of his proſperity; but the Prophecy which thereupon he heard by *Eſay*, made him to know, that the counſel of God was not agreeable to ſuch thoughts; which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the Waters of *Babylon* they ſat down and wept. Concerning *Egypt* we read, that *Seſac* and *Neco*, Kings of *Egypt*, brought calamity upon *Iſrael*: alſo that their confidence in the *Egyptian* ſuccours, was the cauſe of their deſtruction. Where they were forbidden to return into *Egypt*, I do not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found in *Deuteronomy*, that God had ſaid, *They ſhould no more return that way*; which is given, as the reaſon, why their King might not cauſe the people to return to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horſes. Whether the Lord had laid any ſuch injunction upon *Abraham* of not returning to *Meſopotamia*, I cannot ſay; many things do argue it probably: That he never returned, all circumſtances do (to my underſtanding) both ſtrongly and neceſſarily conclude.

But, becauſe this double paſſage of *Abraham* is but an imagihation; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perſwade thoſe of judgment or underſtanding: I take it ſufficient, that S. *Stephen* hath directly taught us, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his father being dead. And for the reſt, when they ſhew any one Scripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the travels of *Abraham* are preciſely ſet down in the Scriptures: as firſt from *Ur*, or *Camerina* in *Chaldæa* to *Haran*, or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he removed to a mountain between *Bethel* and *Haie*: thence into *Egypt*; from *Egypt* he returned thither again, where *Lot* and he parted, becauſe their flocks and heards of Cattel were more then could be fed in that part: from thence the ſecond time he removed to *Mamre*, neer *Hebron*: and thence, having purſued *Amraphel*, and reſcued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa* under *Abimelec*: and after, neer unto it at *Berſabe*, at which time he was ready to offer up his Son *Iſaac* on the mountain *Moriah*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran*, or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one Story, either divine or humane. Now, if it may be ſuppoſed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Levita* his *Cabala* hath feined, it ſhould in reaſon be therewithall be believed, that he would in thoſe his firſt

Gen. 24.

Gen. 24. 35, 36, &c.

Gen. 24. 6. & 8.

Gen. 28.

2 King. 20.

Pſal 137.

1 King. 14. 25. and 2 King. 23. v. 29.

Deut. 17. v. 16.

first travels have provided himself of some certain seat, or place of abiding: and not have come a second time with his Wife, kinsmen, family, goods, and Cattel, not knowing whereon to rest himself. But *Abraham*, when he came from *Charran*, passed through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, Gen. 12. 6. and the plain of *Moriah*; where, finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to *Bethel*, and *Haie*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discover and find out some fit habitation: from whence again, as it is written in *Genesis* the eleventh, *He went forth, going and journeying towards the South*: and always unsettled. By reason of which wandering to and fro, some say, the *Egyptians* gave him and his the name of *Hebræi*.

Mont. in Cald. Further, to prove that he had not formerly beeen in the Countrey, we may note, that ere he came into *Bethel* and *Haie*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared unto him, saying, *Unto thy seed will I give this Land*, shewing it him, as unto a stranger therein, and as a Land to him unknown. For, *Abraham*, without any other provident care for himself, believed in the Word of the living God: neither sending before, nor comming first to discover it; but being arrived, he received a second Promise from God, that he would give those Countreys unto him and his seed to inhabite and inherite.

Lastly, what should move any man to think, that *Moses* would have omitted any such double journey of *Abraham*'s, seeing he setteth down all his passages elsewhere, long and short? as when he moved from *Sichem*, and seated between *Haie* and *Bethel*, the distance being but 20. miles: and when he moved thence to the Valley of *Mamre*, being but 24. miles; and when he left *Mamre*, and sat down at *Gerar*, being less than six miles; No, *Moses* past over all the times of the first Age with the greater brevity, to hasten him to the Story of *Abraham*: shutting up all between the Creation and the Floud in six Chapters; which Age lasted 1656. years: but he bestoweth on the Story of *Abraham*, fourteen Chapters, beginning with his Birth in the eleventh, and ending with his Death in the five & twentieth; and this time endured but 175. years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abraham*'s travels, or other actions: or that he would set down those small removes of five miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a journey in going and coming would have ministred some variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inserting and adding to *Abraham*'s Story.

§. IV.

The Answer to another of the Objections proposed, shewing, that it was not unlikely that Terah *should beget* Abraham *in his hundred and thirtieth year.*

NOw, touching the Objection, where it is said, that it was very unlikey that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his hundred and thirtieth year, seeing *Abraham* himself thought it a wonder to have a Son at an hundred; this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed mis-cast, and mistaken: *Abraham* having respect onely to *Sarah* his Wife, when he spake of their many years. For, when the Angel said unto *Abraham* in his Tent door at *Mamre*; *Loe*, Sarah *thy Wife shall have a Son*, it followeth in the next Verse, *Now*, Abraham *and* Sarah *were old, and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with* Sarah *after the manner of women: therefore* Sarah *laughed*, &c.

So then, in that it is said *it ceased to be with* Sarah *after the manner of women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second wife *Keturah*, had many Sons after *Sarahs* death, as *Zimron*, *Jockshan*, *Medan*, *Ishbak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldest of these was born 37. years after *Isaac*; and the youngest 40. years after. What strangeness then, that *Terah*, being 130. years old, should beget *Abraham*, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despair of *Abraham* at 100. years? For *Sarah* died in the year of the world 2145. and *Isaac* was born in the year 2109. and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat 5. sons 36. years after this supposed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137. years old; it is not strange, that his father *Terah* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Booz*, *Obed*, and *Jesse*, who lived so many years and Ages after *Abraham*, begat Sons at 100. years, or neer it, it cannot be marvelled at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. and *Abraham* others at the same age, and seven years after.

Origen. hom. 11. in Gen. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 34. Cajet. & Perer. in Gen.

§. V.

The Answer to two more of the Objections: shewing that we may have certainty of Abrahams *age from the Scripture, though we make not* Abraham *the eldest Son; and that there was great cause, why in the Story of* Abraham *his two brethren should be respected.*

IT follows now, to speak something to the Objection, which brings *Abrahams* age altogether

together in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest Son of *Terah*, and born when *Terah* was 70. years old. For *Abraham*'s age being made uncertain, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this Proposition, That we cannot be certain of *Abraham* his age, unless we make him the eldest Son, is false. For it is plain in the Scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205. which was the year of his death; then was *Abraham* 75. And if you ask, how I can judge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I answer, That S. *Stephen* hath told us, that *Abraham*'s departure followed the death of his father *Terah*; and *Terah* died at 205. so as the 75. year of *Abraham* was the 205. year of *Terah*; which known, there can be no errour in the account of times succeeding. Now, to come to the Objection, where it is said, That *Moses* had no respect unto *Nahor* and *Haran*, because they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* onely, with whom God established the Covenant, and of whom *Christ* descended according to the flesh, *&c.* I answer, that *Moses*, for many great and necessary causes had respect of *Nahor* and *Haran*. For the succession of Gods Church is not witnessed by *Abraham* alone, but by the issues of *Nahor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters, or otherwise. For *Nahor* was the father of *Bethuel*, and *Bethuel* of *Rebecca*, the mother of *Israel*; and *Haran* was the Parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*; and *Sarah* was mother to *Isaac*, and Grandmother to *Jacob*: *Milcah* also, the wife of *Nahor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jacobs* great Grandmother; and the age of *Sarah*, the Daughter of *Haran*, is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a Son at 90. years, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet, because both *Nahor* and *Abraham* married the Daughters of their brother *Haran*; and because *Isaac* married *Rebecca* the grand-child of *Nahor*; and *Jacob*, *Lea*, and *Rachel*, the Daughters of *Laban*, the grand-child also of *Nahor*; is was not superfluous in *Moses* to give light of those mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange gods, as it is, *Jos.* 24. 2. yet I see no cause to think, that they still continued Idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leaving their natural Countrey and City of *Ur* in *Chaldea*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldea*; but *Lot*, his Son, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the sister of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nahor* also, who remained at *Charran*, gave his Sons daughters to *Isaac*, & *Jacob*, his own kinsmen: he himself having also married in his own Family; not thinking it pleasing unto God, to mix themselves with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length believed in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For, when *Laban* had seen the servant of *Abraham* standing at the Well beside *Charran*, he invited him to his Fathers house in this maner, *Come in, thou blessed of* Jehovah, *&c.* And when this servant of *Abraham*'s demanded an answer as touching *Rebecca*, then answered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and said, *This thing is proceeded of* Jehovah: meaning, that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged Gods providence. Likewise in the following verse, it is written; *Take, go, that she may be thy Masters Sons wife, even as* Jehovah *hath said.* This their often using of the name of *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, is a sign that they had the knowledge of him. *Gen.* 24. 31. *Gen.* 24. 50.

Now, although it be the opinion of *Chrysostom*, and some late Writers, as *Cajetan*, *Oleaster*, *Musculus*, *Calvin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolater, because he retained certain Idols, or household-gods, which *Rachel* stole from him; yet, that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham* and of *Nahor*, and he called *Abrahams* servant, blessed of *Jehovah*, as aforesaid. So as, for my self, I dare not avow, that these men were out of the Church, who, sure I am, were not out of the Faith.

§. VI.

That the naming of Abraham *first of the three brethren*, Gen. 11. *v.* 26. *doth not prove that he was the eldest; together with divers reasons, proving that* Abraham *was not the eldest Son of* Terah.

TO the main Objection; which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to prove that *Abraham* was the eldest Son of *Terah*, and born in the 70. year of *Terah*'s life; grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture; *And* Terah *lived seventy years, and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: To this I say, that although *Abraham* in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proof at all that he was the eldest and first-born Son of *Terah*. For it is no necessary consequent, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore *Gen.* 11. 26

eldest

eldest in blood and birth; neither doth it appear, that it pleased God to make especial choice of the first Sons in nature and time: for *Seth* was not the first-born of *Adam*; nor *Isaac* of *Abraham*; nor *Jacob* of *Isaac*; nor *Juda* and *Joseph* of *Jacob*; nor *David* the eldest of *Jesse*; nor *Solomon* of *David*; as is formerly remembred.

But it is written of *Noah*: *Noah* was 500. *years old, and* Noah *begat* Shem, Ham, *and Japhet*: shewing that at the 500. year of his age, he began to beget the first of those three Sons. For, according to S. *Augustine*, speaking generally, *Nec attendendus est in his ordo nativitatis, sed significatio futuræ dignitatis: in qua excelluit* Abraham: *The order of nativity is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignity; in which* Abraham *was preferred.* And therefore, as in the order of the Sons of *Noah*, so is it here; where it is said, *That* Terah *lived* 70. *years, and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget Sons, himself being begotten by his father *Nahor*, at 29. as other his Ancestors were at 30. The like also hapned to *Noah*; for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 133. *Enosh Kenan* at 90. *Kenan Mahalaleel* at 70. *Mahalaleel Jared* at 60. *Noah* was yet 500. years old when he began to beget the first of his three Sons, as aforesaid. And Saint *Augustine*, in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the Opinion, that *Abraham* was the youngest of *Terah*'s Sons, than otherwise: though for his excellency he was worthily named first. His own words are these: *Fieri enim ut potuit posterior sit generatus* Abraham: *sed merito excellentiæ, qua in Scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be*, saith he, *that* Abraham *was begotten later; but was first named, in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture he is much commended.* So as the naming first or last, proveth nothing who was first or last born; either in those issues of *Noah*, or in these of *Terah*: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spiritual blessing; for *Moses* nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in God's favour. *Pietas ergo, vel ipsa potius electio divina, quæ comitem secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat* Semo *in liberis* Noa, *&* Abrahamo *in liberis* Thare: *Piety*, saith he, *or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it, or after it, Piety, and the fear of God, gave place and precedency to* Sem *among the children of* Noah, *and to* Abraham *among those of* Thare.

Aug quæst. super Gen. 25.

For the rest, it is manifest, that *Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75. year of his age. And it was in *Canaan* that *Hagar* bare him *Ishmael*, when *Abraham* had lived 86. years. It was at *Gerar* (the south border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Isaac*, when *Abraham* had consumed 100 years. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* rose out, when he rescued *Lot*, & overthrew *Amraphel*; and he had then but the age of 83. years: and it is as manifest, that he parted from *Haran* after his father *Terah* was dead. But, if *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70. years old, then must *Abraham* have been 135. years when he first set his foot in *Canaan*, seeing *Terah* must be dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. make 205. the true age of *Terah*; which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For he entred at 75. he rescued *Lot* at 83. he had *Ismael* at 86. he had *Isaac* at 100. proved by the former places.

Gen. 12. 4.

Gen 16. 16.

Acts 7. 4.

Gen. 11.

Moreover, if *Abraham* were the eldest Son of *Terah*, and born in the 70. year of his age: then had *Terah* lived till *Isaac* had been 35. years old, and *Ishmael* 49. both which must then have been born in *Mesopotamia*, and therein fostered to that age: unless we should either deny credit to S. *Stephen*, who saith, that *Abraham* departed from *Mesopotamia* after his father's death: or else believe the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Cronologia antoptica*, saith it was about his fathers death; because the *Greek* word μετὰ may be translated by the *Latine sub*, as well as by *post*: which, though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say, that those things were done about *Terah*'s death, which were 60. years before. Wherefore, supposing *Abraham* to have been born in the 70. year of *Terah*; we must give those times and places of birth to *Abraham*'s children, which no Authority will warrant; For *Abraham* had no children in *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, nor in *Haran*, nor in ten years after his arrival into *Canaan*. For the year of *Terah*'s death, in which *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the year of the World, 2083. and the year of *Ishmael*'s birth was the Worlds year, 2094. which maketh ten years difference. And that *Isaac* was born in *Canaan*, and was to be offered upon the mountain *Moriah* therein, 39. miles from *Bersabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three *Angels* first of all appear'd to *Abraham* in the vally of *Mamre*, no man doubteth. And therefore it cannot be, that any of *Abrahams* Sons were born in *Mesopotamia*; nor while *Terah* lived; nor in less than ten years after *Terah*'s death; and then consequently was not *Abraham* the eldest Son of *Terah*, nor born in the 70. year of *Terah*'s age.

Thirdly, whereas *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75. if *Terah* had begotten him at 70. then

then had *Terah* lived but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which muſt alſo have been the full age of *Terah*; but *Terah* lived 205. years, and therefore was not *Abraham* born in the 70. year of *Terah*.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifeſt, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldeſt brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah*, or *Iſcah*, wanted but ten years of *Abraham*'s age: *Iſaac* being born when *Abraham* was 100. and *Sarah* 90. years old.

It followeth then, that if *Abraham* had been the elder brother of *Haran*, *Haran muſt* have begotten *Sarah* at nine years old: for granting that *Haran* was born but one year after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within ten years as old as *Abraham*, then of neceſſity muſt *Haran* beget her, when he had lived but nine years; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And, that *Iſcah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, ſaith he, bearing the ſame ſignification; and names of principality. Again, to what end was the word *Iſcah* of *Jiſbcah* inſerted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? For, to ſpeak of any thing ſuperfluous, it is not uſed in Gods Book: and if *Iſcah* had not belonged to the Story, it had been but an idle name, to no purpoſe remembred.

Now, if it had been true (as thoſe of the contrary opinion affirm) that *Moſes* had no reſpect of *Nahor* and *Haran*, who were notwithſtanding the Parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebecca*, the mother of *Iſrael*, and of *Chriſt*: what regard then had *Moſes* of *Iſcah* in this place, were ſhe not *Sarah*, but otherwiſe an idle name, of whom there is nothing elſe firſt or laſt?

The age alſo of *Lot* diſproveth the elderſhip of *Abraham*; for *Lot* was called an old man, when *Abraham* was but 83. years old: And if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were father to *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*; *Abraham* marrying one of *Haran*'s Daughters, and *Nahor* the other, *Sarah* alſo being within ten years as old as *Abraham*; it may appear to every reaſonable man (not obſtinate and prejudicate) that *Haran* was the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*; who alſo died firſt, and before his father left *Ur* in *Chaldæa*. Alſo *Lyra* reaſoneth againſt this opinion of *Abraham*'s elderſhip, upon the ſame place of *Geneſis*; drawing arguments from the age of *Sarah*, who was but ten years younger than *Abraham* himſelf. *Lyra* his words are theſe: *Si igitur* Haran *fuit junior ipſo* Abraham, *ſequitur quòd non habebat decem annos quando genuit* Saram: *imò nec octo*, &c. and afterward, *& ideò melius videtur dicendum, quod* Abraham *fuit ultimò natus de tribus filiis* Thare, *tamen nominatur primò, propter ejus dignitatem: & ponendus erat caput ſtirpis & generationis ſequentis: & quia primò facta eſt ei repromiſſio expreſſa de* Chriſto, *ſicut ſupra dictum eſt de* Sem, &c. *If therefore* (ſaith Lyra) Haran *was younger than* Abraham *himſelf, it followeth, that he was not ten years old when he begat* Sarah: *And therefore it ſeemeth better to be ſaid, that* Abraham *was the laſt born of the three Sons of* Thare, *nevertheleſs, he is named firſt for his dignity, both becauſe he was to be ordained head of the ſtock and generation following, and becauſe the Promiſe of* Chriſt *was firſt made unto him, as before it is ſaid of* Sem.

§. VII.

A Concluſion of this Diſpute, noting the Authours on both ſides; with an Admonition, that they which ſhorten the times, make all antient Stories the more unprobable.

IT therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reaſon, that *Haran* was the eldeſt Son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was born in the 130. year of *Terah*'s life, and not in the 70. year. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after *Terah* died, according to S. *Stephen*, and that journey by *Abraham* performed, when he was 75. years old; theſe two numbers added, make 205. years, the full age of *Terah*: ſeeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my ſelf, I have no other end herein, than to manifeſt the Worlds ſtory. I reverence the judgments of the Fathers: but I know they were miſtaken in particulars. Saint *Auguſtine* was doubtfull, and coud not determine this controverſie. For, whatſoever is borrowed out of his ſixteenth Book *de Civitate Dei*, cap. 15. the ſame may be anſwered out of himſelf in his five and twentieth Queſtion upon *Geneſis*. But S. *Auguſtine* herein followed *Joſephus* and *Iſidor*; and *Beda* followed S. *Auguſtine*. And it was out of a fooliſh pride and vanity, that the *Hebrews* and *Joſephus* ſought to make *Abraham* the firſt born: as if God had had reſpect to the eldeſt in nature. So did *Joſephus*, together with *Nicholas Damaſcenus* (thinking thereby to glorifie the *Jewiſh Nation*) make *Abraham* a King, entitling *Sarah* by the name of *Queen Sarah*; and ſaid, that *Abraham* was followed with 318. Captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; *trecentos & octodecim præfectos habuit, quorum ſingulis infinita multitudo parebat.* And that *Pharaoh* invading him with a great Army, took from him his Wife *Sarah*: Such Fables argue

Act. 7. 4.

Gen. 12. 4.

that *Joſephus* is not to be believed, but with diſcreet reſervations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. years from the Floud to *Abraham*, is upheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how ſhould we value the opinion of ſuch *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their judgment in ſuch matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have apeared in ſetting down the ſucceſſion of the *Perſian* Kings under whom they lived, whoſe Hiſtory was not ſo far remote in time, as theſe Antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good Writers. Yet groſly have they erred therein, and ſo familiar are their miſtakings in all things of like nature, that we ſeldom find their opinion rehearſed without the confutation treading on the heels of it. They of the *Roman* Religion, are alſo generally on the ſame ſide; it being a thing uſual among them, to maintain whatſoever they have been formerly known to hold and believe. Contrariwiſe, of the more antient, *Theodoret*, and ſome following him; of later times, *Beroaldus*, *Peucer*, *Calvin*, *Junius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, Doct. *Gibbons*, and *Moore*, with divers of the *Proteſtants*, hold *Abraham* to have been born in the 130. year of his father *Terah*. From theſe (as in a caſe not concerning any point in Religion) divers of the ſame Religion, and thoſe, nevertheleſs, good Authours, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chitræus*, *Funcius* and others, are very averſe herein, eſpecially *Joſephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Calviſius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an arch-heretick in *Chronology*, and condemning this opinion of his as poiſonous. Contrariwiſe, *Auguſtinus Torniellus*, a Prieſt of the Congregation of S. *Paul*, a judicious, diligent, and free Writer, whoſe *Annals* are newly ſet forth, very earneſtly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered; not alleging *Beroaldus*, nor any *Proteſtant* Writer, as being, perhaps, unwilling to owe thanks to Hereticks. For my ſelf, I do neither miſlike the contrary opinion, becauſe commonly thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this later account of times, becauſe many notable men of the *Proteſtant* Writers have approved it; but for the truth it ſelf. To ſtrengthen which, after all theſe former reaſons, and teſtimonies of Scripture, I will add thus much more to the reſt. Firſt, it is apparent to all men of judgment, that the beſt approved Hiſtorians, divine, and prophane, labour to inveſtigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the Stories, and fore-paſt actions of the World; and not the truth of Hiſtories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgment to our ſelves, which of thoſe two accounts give the beſt reputation to the Story of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Joſephus*, and thoſe which follow him, who makes but 292. years, or thereabouts, between the Floud and Birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which make 352. years between the one and the other: the one making *Abraham* to be the firſt-born of *Thare*, in the 70. year of his life; the other a younger Son of *Thare*, and born when he had lived 130. years. And, if we look over all, and do not haſtily ſatisfie our underſtanding with the firſt things offered, and thereby being ſatiated do ſlothfully and drowſily ſit down; we ſhall find it more agreeable, rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to ſome Editions, make it above 1072. years between the Floud and *Abraham*'s Birth; than to take away any part of thoſe 352. years given. For, if we adviſedly conſider the ſtate and continuance of the World, ſuch as it was in *Abraham*'s time, yea, before *Abraham* was born, we ſhall find, that it were very ill done of us, by following opinion without the guide of reaſon, to pare the times overdeeply between *Abraham* and the Floud: becauſe in cutting them too neer the quick, the reputation of the whole Story might, perchance, bleed thereby, were not the teſtimony of the Scriptures ſupreme, ſo as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this Precept of S. *Auguſtine*, That whereſoever any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived diſagreeing to the whole, the ſame is, by ignorance of interpretation, miſ-underſtood. For, in *Abraham*'s time, all the then known parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities; and ſo had *Paleſtina*, and all the bordering Countries, yea, all that part of the World beſides, as far as *India*; and thoſe not built with ſticks, but of hewn ſtone, and defended with walls and rampires; which magnificence needed a Parent of more antiquity, than thoſe other men have ſuppoſed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plaineſt, and beſt agreeing with reaſon and nature, to what end ſhould we labour to beget doubts and ſcruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving alſo ſtrength thereby to common cavillers, and to thoſe mens apiſh brains, who onely bend their wits to find impoſſibilities, and monſters, in the Story of the World and Man-kind.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

A Computation of the times of the Aſſyrians, *and others, grounded upon the times noted in the Story of* Abraham.

An mundi 2008. Ante natum Abraham, Euſ. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 17.

IN this ſort therefore, for the reaſons before alleged, I conclude, that from the general Floud, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. years were conſumed; and taking the *Aſſyrian* Hiſtory with us, the ſame number of years were ſpent from the Floud to the 43. year of *Ninus*: in which 43. year of *Ninus*, *Abraham* was born; which hapned in the year of the World, 2009.

Now, of this time of 352. years, we muſt give one part as well to the increaſe of thoſe people which came into *Shinaar*, as to thoſe that ſtayed in the Eaſt, to wit, 30. years to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*; of which, though the Scriptures are ſilent, yet, becauſe thoſe of the ſame time had that age when they begat their firſt Sons, we may the more ſafely give the like allowance to theſe. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg Regu* at 30. *Regu Serug* at 32. Now, after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Havilah*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was born, as it appeareth, *Gen.* 10. which S. *Auguſtine* approveth. Giving then 30. years more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and five years to the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered, that 65. years were conſumed ere *Nimrod* himſelf was born; and that *Raama* had that age before any of his Sons were begotten, it may be gathered by example and compariſon: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raama* was, begat *Reu* in the ſame year of his life.

Aug. de Civit. Dei.

Gen. 11. 18

Let us then allow 60. years more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or elſe we ſhall hardly find people to build *Babel*; for ſure we are, that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: becauſe it diſpleaſed God. Theſe two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The reſt of the time of 131. (in which year they arrived in *Shinaar*, whereof there are ſix years remaining) we may give them for their travels from the Eaſt; becauſe they were peſtered with women, children and cattel: and, as ſome ancient Writers have conceived, and *Becanus* of later times, they kept always the mountain ſides, for fear of a ſecond floud. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remains 221. of which number, *Beroſus* beſtoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus* before *Abraham* born: both which, S. *Auguſtine* approveth: which two numbers taken again out of 221. there remaineth 114. years of the 352. from the Floud to *Abraham*'s birth; which number of 114. neceſſity beſtoweth on *Nimrod*.

An à ſalute humani generis ab aquis centiſſimo primo cœpit regnum Babylonium ſub noſtro Saturno patre Jovis Beli, qui imperavit annis 65. Beroſus.

And if it be objected, that this time given to *Nimrod* is over-long; ſure, if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the reſt of the ſame deſcent from *Noah*, it will rather appear over ſhort. For *Nimrod*, by this account, lived in all but 179. years, whereof he reigned 112. whereas *Sale*, who was the Son of *Arphaxad*, the Son of *Sem*, lived 403. years: and of the ſame age of the World was *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus*, the Son of *Cham*.

Now, after *Abraham* was born,

Ninus reigned 9. years, which added to 43. make 52.

Ninus dieth, and leaveth *Semiramis* his Succeſſour.

Semiramis governed the Empire of *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria* 42. years, and died in the 52. year complete of *Abraham*'s life.

Of the World, 2017. Of the Floud, 961.

Ninias, or *Zameis* ſucceeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. years; in the ſecond year of whoſe reign, *Abraham* left *Meſopotamia*.

1059 *mundi*. 403. *à dil.* 2083. 417. 2093. 437.

When *Abraham* was 85. years old, he reſcued his Nephew *Lot*, and overthrew by ſurpriſe *Amraphel*, King of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38. years, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. years after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75. year of his age; ſo that *Amraphel* may ſeem to have been this *Ninias*, the Son of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whoſe 23. years, as aforeſaid, being the 75. year of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85. year of *Abraham*, and the 33. year of his own reign: after which he reigned five years, which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reaſons to the contrary, urging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not eaſily anſwered. Howbeit, for the times of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, that they are to be ordered as we have ſet down, according to the times noted by *Moſes* in the Story of *Abraham*, it is moſt certain; unleſs we will either derogate from the truth of *Moſes* his computation, which were impiety, or account the whole Hiſtory of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but a fiction; which were to condemn all antient Hiſtorians for Fablers.

§. IX.

That Amraphel, *one of the four Kings whom* Abraham *overthrew*, Gen. 14. *may probably be thought to have been* Ninias *the Son of* Ninus.

AND now, touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moſes* makes King of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, in the 85. year of *Abraham*'s life, that is,

in the 33. year of the reign of *Ninias Zameis* the King of the *Aſſyrians*, the Son of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirm what he was, and how he could be at this time King of *Babylonia: Ninias Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt, the anſwer which firſt offereth it ſelf as moſt probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel*; who invaded *Traconitis*, or *Baſan*, and overthew thoſe five Kings of *Pentapolis*, or the Valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell us, that *Amraphel* was King of *Shinaar*, which is *Babylonia*; and the times before accounted make him to be the ſucceſſor of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. year of *Abraham*s life, wherein he reſcu'd *Lot*, ſlew *Chedorlaomer*, and overthrew the reſt. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greateſt *Monarch*; for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chief, though *Amraphel* be firſt named by *Moſes* in the firſt Verſe of the fourteenth Chapter of *Geneſis*. For the Kings of the Valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or the five Cities, were the vaſſals of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*; as it is written, Gen. 14. 4. *Twelve years were they ſubject to* Chedorlaomer, *but in the thirteenth year they rebelled, and in the fourteenth year came* Chedorlaomer, *and the Kings that were with him*; and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principal in this enterpriſe, who was then King of *Elam* which is *Perſia*: Now, *Perſia* being ſeated over *Tygris*, and to the Eaſt of *Amraphel*'s Countrey; and the other two Kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being ſeated to the Weſt of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it ſelf, ſeemeth at this time to have had no great ſcope or large Dominion. For, had *Amraphel* been ſo great a Prince as prophane Hiſtorians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis*, whom he ſucceeded, he ſhould not have needed the aſſiſtance of three or four Kings for this Expedition. But though *Chedolaomer* were the firſt and greateſt of thoſe four Kings (as it is manifeſt that he was: For theſe little Kings of *Sodome*, *Gomora*, &c. were his vaſſals, and not *Amraphel*'s) yet this makes not the conjecture leſs probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Aſſyria* had now (as we ſhall ſhew more plainly in that which followeth) received a down-right fall at the time of this Warr: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdoms between *India* and the *Phœnician* Sea; to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

§. X.

Of Arioch, *another of the four Kings, and that* Ellas, *whereof he is ſaid to have been King, lies between* Cœloſyria *and* Arabia Petræa.

NOw, the two other Kings joined with *Amraphel* and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one King of *Ellaſſar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellaſſar*, *Aquila*, and *Hierom*, write *Pontus*: ſo *Toſtatus* thinketh that it ſhould be *Helleſpont*: which opinion *Pererius* favoureth. But this is onely to defend the *Latine* tranſlation. For as *Pontus*, ſo is *Helleſpont* farr diſtant, and out of the way to ſend any Armies into *Arabia Petræa*, or into *Idumæa*; which Countries theſe four Kings chiefly invaded: Beſides that, it is certain, that the *Aſſyrians* (when they were greateſt) had never any dominion in *Aſia* the leſs. For at ſuch time as the *Aſſyrians* feared the invaſion of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, they ſent not into *Aſia* the leſs as Commanders; but uſed all the art they had, to invite *Cræſus* to their aſſiſtance; perſwading him, that nothing could be more dangerous for himſelf, and the other Kings of thoſe parts, than the ſucceſs of the *Medes* againſt the *Aſſyrians*. But examine the enterpriſe, what it was. *Theſe Kings* (ſaith the Text) *made warr with* Bera, *Kingdom of Sodom*, Birſha *King of Gomora*, Shinab *King of Admath*, *and* Shemebar *King of Zeboim*, *and the King of* Bela, *which is Zoar*. All which five Kings had not ſo much ground as *Middleſex*; being ſuch a kind of *Reguli*, as *Joſua* found in the Land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and ſmall Territories adjoining; of which *Canaan* had three and thirty, all ſlain or hanged by *Joſua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are ſaid alſo to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power; and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus*, or *Helleſpont*, had manifeſted a great impotence and weakneſs in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Perſia*.

Xenophon.

Gen. 14.

And though it be alleged for an Example, that divers Kings farr off, came to aſſiſt *Pompey* againſt *Cæſar*; yet theſe ſame examples, without like occaſions and circumſtances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cauſe to fear the greatneſs of theſe petty Kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the World were fixed on *Cæſar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no leſs doubtfull than fearfull: But the whole Countrey by theſe four Kings maſtered in their paſſage, was afterward given to the half Tribe of *Manaſſe*,

Manaſſe, *Gad*, and *Reuben*; a narrow Valley of ground, lying between *Jordan* and the Mountains of *Seir*; incloſed by the River of *Arnon* on the South ſide, and by *Lybanus* on the North, conſiſting of two ſmall Provinces of *Traconitis*, or *Baſan*, and the Region of the *Moabites*; a conqueſt farr unvaluable, and little anſwering to the power of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, if the ſame had remained in any comparable eſtate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who ſubjected all the great Kings of that part of the World, without the aſſiſtance of any of the Kings of *Helleſpont*, or any other part of *Aſia* the leſs. But as the Vulgar, and *Aquila*, convert *Ellaſſar* by *Pontus*: So *Symmachus* makes *Arioch*, a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as farr fetched to join with the *Aſſyrians* in this Warr, as the World had any at that time.

The *Septuagint* do not change the word of *Ellaſſar* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the Mountains whereof the Ark did reſt; ſo do they in this place retain the word *Ellaſſar*, being doubtfull to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himſelf remembreth other opinions farr more probable than this of *Pontus*, or *Helleſpont*: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, becauſe the *Latine* Tranſlation hath it otherwiſe. For *Stephanus de Urbibus*, a *Græcian Coſmographer*, findeth the City of *Ellas* in the border of *Cœloſyria*: and Saint *Hierom* calleth *Ellas* the City of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now, although the ſame be ſeated by *Stephanus* in *Cœloſyria*, yet it ſtandeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was King; who formerly joined with *Ninus* in all his Conqueſts, being of the ſame Family, and deſcended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrew* written *Arioch*; and afterward again *Aretas*; as in the *Machabees*: the Kings of *Arabia* holding that name even to the time of S. *Paul*, who was ſought to be betrayed by the *Lievetenant* of *Aretas*, commanding in *Damaſcus*. They were Princes, for the moſt part, confederate and depending upon the *Aſſyrian* Empire. It is true that we find in *Daniel*; that in the time of *Nebuchodonoſor*, one *Arioch* was *General* of his Army, and the principal Commander under him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plain, that *Arioch* here ſpoken of, the Son of that *Arioch*, *Confederate* of *Ninus*, was no King of *Pontus*; nor of *Scythia*, Regions farr removed from the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name alſo of *Arioch*, who commanded under *Nebuchodonoſor*, is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of *King of the* Elymeans; who are a Nation of *Perſians*, bordering *Aſſyria*, according to *Stephanus*, though *Pliny* ſets it between the Sea-coaſt and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian* Kings, or other of that Houſe (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta*, or *Aretas*) had the Government of that *Perſian* Province, called *Elymais* (as it ſeemeth they had, by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the ſame was in *Nebuchodonoſor's* time. But this *Arioch* here ſpoken of, may with more reaſon be taken for the King of *Arabia*, the Son of *Arius*, the Confederate of *Ninus*, whoſe Sons held league, as their fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that ſide towards the Weſt unto *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*; and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own Houſe and Bloud; which *Diod. Siculus* alſo confirmeth. *Diod. Siculus l. 2. c. 1.*

Mat. 3. c. 5. v. 2.

2 Cor. 2. 11.

Dan. 2.

§. XI.

Of Tidal, *another of the four Kings.*

THE fourth King by *Abraham* overthrown, was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Gojim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt People; *Calvin* of Runnagates without habitation. *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, finds that *Galilæa* was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt People: namely, of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. *Nam tales ſunt qui* Galilæam *habitant*; *Such are the Inhabitants of* Galile, ſaith *Strabo*; and therefore was *Tidal* called King of theſe Nations, as they ſuppoſe. And ſo it may be; but the authority of *Strabo* is nothing in this Queſtion. For *Galilæa* was not Peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For, when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howſoever they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many petty Kingdoms adjoining to *Phœnicia* and *Palæſtina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidice*, *Caſſiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all theſe do alſo join themſelves to *Meſopotamia* on the North, and to *Arabia* on the Eaſt. And that theſe Nations gathered themſelves together under *Tidal*, I take to be the probableſt conjecture. *Strab. l. 16. fol. 523.* *Gen. 12. 6.*

§. XII.

§. XII.

That Chedorlaomer, *the chief of the four kings, was not of* Assyria, *but of* Persia; *and that the* Assyrian *Empire at this time was much impaired.*

LAstly, whereas it is conceived that *Chederlaomer* was the *Assyrian* Emperor, and that *Amraphel* was but a *Satrape*, *Viceroy*, or *Provincial* Governour of *Babylonia*, and that the other Kings named, were such also, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moses* was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur* and *Shinaar*, to call the *Assyrian* a King of *Elam:* those Kings being in the Scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldæa*, *Shinaar*, *Babylonia*, or *Assyria*; but never by *Elam:* and *Chedorlaomer*, or *Kedarlaomer* was so called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim*, which in the *Hebrew* signifieth *Regale:* for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the *Persian* Kings ware on their heads.

Neither do I believe, that the *Assyrian*, or *Babylonian* Empire stood in any greatness at the time of this invasion; and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, do not long last. *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to over-look what it self had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetual. For his Empire died at once with himself: all whose chief Commanders became Kings after him. *Tamberlain* conquered *Asia* and *India*, with a storm-like, and terrible success: but to prevalent fury, God hath adjoined a short life; and whatsoever things Nature her self worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his Victories perished with him, if not before.

Ninus, being the first whom the madness of boundless dominion transported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious over them: a man violent, insolent and cruel. *Semiramis* taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious than her *Paramour*; enlarged the *Babylonian* Empire, and beautified many places therein, with buildings un-exampled. But her Son, having changed Nature and and Condition with his Mother, proved no less feminine than she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continual smart, put the Patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other: so those Kings adjoining (whose subjection and calamities incident, were but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not sleep, when the advantage was offered by such a successour. For, *In regno* Babylonico *hic parum resplenduit; This king shined little* (saith *Nauclerus* of *Ninias*) *in the* Babylonian *Kingdom.* And likely it is, that the necks of mortal men, having been never before galled with the yoak of forein dominion, nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery; no long descent having as yet invested the *Assyrian* with a right; nor any other title being for him pretended, than a strong hand; the fooliſh and effeminate Son of a tyrannous and hated father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerless mastering, and a mind less industrious than his father and mother had used before him. And he that was so much given over to licentious idleness, as to suffer his mother to reign 42. years, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatness, as he neither endeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what he could not without contentious peril enjoy.

These considerations being joined to the Story of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinaar* was rather an inferiour to the King of *Persia*, than either his superiour, or equal; make it seem probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to *Babylonia.*

For conclusion, I will add these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great travel upon *Abraham*, from *Ur* in *Chaldæa* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a passage of 700. miles, or little less, with women, children, and carriages; the Countries through which he wandred were then settled, and in peace. For it was the 23. year of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. years after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recovered their liberty and former estates. For *Semiramis* Army of four millions, with her self, utterly consumed in *India*, and all her armies and engins of war, at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunity even to the poorest souls and weakest hearted of the World, to repurchase their former liberty. *Strab. l. 15.*

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and antientest Historians, that *Arius* the Son of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrians*, and *Caspians*, and again subjected them: which

which needed not, if they had not been revolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus* death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, ſo did *Baleus*, or *Balaneus*, otherwiſe *Xerxes*, reduce the reſt revolted, to their former obedience. Of whom it is ſaid, that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*; and therefore was called *Xerxes*, *id eſt*, *Victor & triumphator*, *A conqueror and triumpher*; which undertakings had been no other than the effects of madneſs, had not thoſe Countries freed themſelves from the *Babylonian* ſubjection. Now, if we ſhall make any doubt thereof, that is, of the conqueſt of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well think the reſt of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but feined; but if we grant this conqueſt, then it is true, that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Aſſyrian* Empire was torn aſunder, according to that which had been gathered out of *Moſes*, as before remembred.

§. XIII.

That it is not unprobable that the four kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elſewhere with their Colonies planted themſelves; and ſo retained the names of the Countries whence they came; which if ſo, we need not ſay, that Amraphel *was* Ninias, *nor trouble our ſelves with many other difficulties.*

THe conſent of all Writers, whoſe works have come to my peruſal, agreeing as they do, that theſe four Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinaar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and their fellows, were Lords of thoſe Regions, whereunto they are, or ſeem intituled; doth almoſt inforce us to think, that the hiſtory muſt ſo be underſtood, as I have delivered. But, if in this place, as often elſewhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be ſet for People of thoſe Lands, or if (as *Hierom* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was King of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was ſaid to be of the Nations, that is, of People, either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of ſundry Regions; then may we otherwiſe conceive of this Hiſtory: removing thereby ſome difficulties, which men, perhaps, have been unwilling to find, becauſe they could not find how to reſolve them. For, as it had been a ſtrange conjecture, to think that *Arioch* was drawn to aſſiſt the *Perſian* againſt the *Sodomite*, as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was known, and almoſt impoſſible, that the vale of *Siddim* ſhould have been once named: ſo in true eſtimation, it is a thing of great improbability, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Perſia* alone, ſhould paſs through ſo great a part of the World, as the countries of *Aſſyria*, *Chaldæa*, *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to ſubdue thoſe five Towns, whoſe very names how they ſhould come to his ear, being diſjoined by ſo many great Naions of different Languages, a wiſe man could hardly conjecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Perſia* together with the *Babylonian* himſelf, yea, the Kingdom of *Ellaſar* and that of *Tidal*, ſo far off removed, were become his dependences; what reaſon can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*? and when he ſhould have ſought the eſtabliſhment of his new gotten Empire, by rooting out the Poſterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaſter* of *Bactria*) then to employ the forces of *Amraphel*, and thoſe other Kings, againſt five petty Towns, leaving *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and the great City *Damaſco*, with many other places of much importance, and far neerer unto him, unſubdued? Now, as theſe doubts, which may be alleged againſt the firſt conqueſt of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: ſo are the objections to be made againſt his conqueſt of theſe five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea, and more, as being grounded upon the Text it ſelf. For firſt, what madneſs had it been in that ſmall Province, to rebel againſt ſo powerfull a Monarch? Or if it were ſo, that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he ſhould come or ſend to reclaim them; was it not more than madneſs in them, when his terrible Army approached, ſtill to entertain hope of evaſion; yea, to make reſiſtance (being themſelves a diſſolute, and therefore unwarlike people) againſt the power of all the Nations between *Euphrates*, yea, between themſelves and the River *Indus*? Likewiſe, on the part of *Chedorlaomer*, we ſhould find no great wiſdom, if he, knowing the weakneſs of this People, had raiſed ſuch a world of men againſt them: whom by any Lievtenant, with ſmall forces, he might have ſubdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little Countrey, was not ſufficient to countervail one Months charges of ſo huge an Army. How ſmall then muſt his valour have been, who with ſo mighty preparations effected no more than the waſting of that Valley, wherein he left the Cities ſtanding, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few priſoners, and the pillage of the Countrey, although he had broken their Army in the field? Now, the Scriptures do not of this invaſion (ſuppoſed ſo great) make any fearfull matter:

matter; but compoſe the two Armies as equally matcht, ſaying, they were four Kings againſt five; yea, if the place be literally
Gen. 14 17 expounded, we ſhall find that *Abraham* ſlew all theſe Kings; of which great ſlaughter no Hiſtory makes mention: Neither will the reign of *Ninias*, who lived four or five years longer, permit that he ſhould have died ſo ſoon; neither would Hiſtories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had ſo ſtrangely periſhed in *Syria*. Whereby it appears, that theſe four Kings were not the ſame that they are commonly thought; nor their forces ſo great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that theſe Kings were ſuch as many others, who in that age carried the ſame title; Lords and Commanders every one of his own company, which he carried forth as a Colony, ſeeking place where to ſettle himſelf and them, as was the uſual manner of thoſe times.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troup of *Perſians*, *Amraphel* ſome people out of *Shinaar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of ſundry places, might conſort together, and make the weakeſt of the Countrey which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whoſoever will conſider the beginning of the firſt Book of *Thucydides*, with the manner of diſcoveries, conqueſts and plantations, in the infancy of *Greece*; or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa* and *Spain*, with almoſt as many Kings as ſeveral Armies; or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new diſcoveries, paſſages, and conqueſts in the *Weſt-Indies*; may eaſily perceive, that it was neither unuſual for the leaders of Colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted; nor to make aliances together, and break them again, diſturbing ſometimes one the other, ſometimes helping in purſuit of a conqueſt. That *Amraphel* and his aſſociates were ſuch manner of Commanders, it may ſeem the more likely, by the ſlothfull quality of *Ninias* then reigning in *Aſſyria*; whoſe unmanlike temper was ſuch, as might well give occaſion to ſuch undertaking ſpirits, as wanted the employments whereunto they were accuſtomed in the reign of *Semiramis*, rather to ſeek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unregarded, whilſt others, more unworthy than themſelves, were advanced. If the conſent of the whole ſtream of Writers upon this place, make this conjecture diſagreeable to the Text, to the authority whereof all humane reaſon muſt ſubſcribe, then we may hold our ſelves to the former conjecture, *Amraphel* was *Ninias*; and that the power of his Anceſtors being by his ſloth decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Perſian Chedorlaomer*: or if this do not ſatisfie, we may ſay that *Amraphel* was an under-king, or *Satrapa* of *Shinaar*, under *Ninias*; who may be ſuppoſed to have had his Imperial ſeat in his fathers City, *Ninive*; and to have preferred it before *Shinaar* and *Babylon* the City of his mother, whom he hated as an uſurper of his right. But, if it were poſſible that in a caſe not concerning any mans Salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might erre; then can I think that the opinion, that thoſe four Kings were Leaders of Colonies, ſent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themſelves, is moſt conſonant, both to the condition of thoſe times, and to the Scripture. And hereto add, that *Chedorlaomer* ſeems rather called a *Perſian* King, than King of *Perſia*: And that *Arioch* (whoſe Kingdom undoubtedly was between *Syria* and *Arabia*) having been a man of action, or being a worthy mans Son, was very well pleaſed to give paſſage and aſſiſtance to theſe Captains or petty Kings. Theſe, and ſuch like things here to urge, were but with circumſtances to adorn a ſuppoſition, which either may ſtand without them, or if it muſt fall, is unworthy to have coſt beſtowed upon it; eſpecially conſidering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Reader's pleaſure, to follow any of theſe opinions, or any other, if he find any that ſhall ſeem better than theſe. But of what countries or people ſoever theſe four were Kings, this Expedition is the onely publick action that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to this Story, and of his Sons, and of his Nephews, *Eſau* and *Jacob*, as they are regiſtred by *Moſes*, becauſe it is not our purpoſe, either to ſtand upon things generally known to all *Chriſtians*, nor to repeat what hath been elſe-where already ſpoken, nor to prevent our ſelves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, we paſs them here in ſilence. And becauſe in the Story of *Abraham* and his Poſterity, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appears, that even in the time of *Abraham*, it was a ſettled and flouriſhing Kingdom; it will not be amiſs in the next place to ſpeak ſomewhat of the Antiquities and firſt Kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Egypt, *from the firſt Peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the delivery of the* Iſraelites *from thence.*

§. I.

A Brief of the names and times of the firſt Kings of Egypt; *with a note of the cauſes of difficulty in reſolving of the truth in theſe points.*

SOon after the confuſion at *Babel* (as it ſeems) *Cham*, with many of his iſſue and followers (having doubtleſs known the fertility of *Egypt* before the Floud) came thither and took poſſeſſion of the Countrey; in which they built many Cities; and began the Kingdom one hundred ninety one years after the Deluge. The antient Governours of this Kingdom, till ſuch time as *Iſrael* departed *Egypt*, are ſhewn in the *Table* following.

An. Mundi.	*An. dil.*	
1847.	191.	*Cham.*
2008.	352.	*Oſiris.*
2269.	613.	*Typhon* } *Hercules.* }
2276.	620.	*Orus.*
2391.	735.	*Seſoſtris* the great.
2424.	768.	*Seſoſtris* the blind.
2438.	782.	*Buſiris*, or *Oſiris* the ſecond.
2476.	820.	*Acenchere*, or *Thermutis*, or *Meris.*
2488.	832.	*Rathoris*, or *Athoris.*
2497.	841.	*Chencres* drowned in the Red Sea.

The *Table*, and eſpecially the *Chronologie*, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, becauſe in ſuch obſcurity, manifeſt and reſtleſs truth cannot be found. For Saint *Auguſtine*, a man of exceeding great judgement, and incomparable diligence, who had ſought into all Antiquities, and had read the Books of *Varro*, which now are loſt, yet omitted the ſucceſſion of the *Egyptian* kings, which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the *Sicyonians*, whom he remembreth, than whom doubtleſs they were more glorious. One great occaſion of this obſcurity in the *Egyptian* Story, war the ambition of the Prieſts; who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leaſings, and recounted unto ſtrangers the names of many Kings, that never reigned. What ground they had for theſe reports of ſuppoſed Kings, it ſhall appear anon. Sure it is, That the magnificent Works, and royal Buildings in *Egypt*, ſuch as are never found but in States that have greatly flouriſhed, witneſs that their Princes were of marvelous greatneſs, and that the reports of the Prieſts were not altogether falſe. A ſecond cauſe of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* Hiſtory, was the too much credulity of ſome good Authours, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of ſundry *Egyptians*, and publiſhing in their own names ſuch as pleaſed them beſt, have confirmed them, and, as it were, inforced them upon us by their Authority. A third and general cauſe of more than *Egyptian* darkneſs in all antient Hiſtories, is the Edition of many Authors, by *John Annius*, of whom (if to the cenſures of ſundry very learned, I may add mine) I think thus; that *Annius* having ſeen ſome fragments of thoſe Writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true Hiſtories, where approved Writers confirm him; but otherwiſe is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to paſs, that the account of Authours, either in the *Chronologie*, or *Genealogie* of the *Egyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different ways. The *Chriſtian* Writers, ſuch as are antient, for the moſt part, follow *Euſebius:* Many late Writers follow the Edition of *Annius* his Authours; The profane Hiſtories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and ſuch others.

§. II.

That by the account of the Egyptian *Dynaſties, and otherwiſe, it appears that* Cham's *reign in* Egypt *began in the year after the Floud,* 191.

TOreconcile theſe, or gather out of them the times of the antient Kings about whom is moſt controverſie, the beſt mean is

by help of the *Dynasties*; of whose continuance, there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authority of approved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the Histories of the *Assyrians*, *Trojans*, *Italians*, &c. and others. The beginning of the 16. *Dynastie*, is joined by general consent, with 43. year of *Ninus*; in which *Abraham* was born. The twelve first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seven years, under the twelve which were call'd the greater gods: so that all the years of their continuance were 84. The 13. *Dynastie* endured 14. years; the fourteenth, 26. the fifteenth, 37. These three last, are said to have been under the three younger gods. So the fifteen first *Dynasties* lasted 161. years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of these *Dynasties*, was such as hath been mentioned, because *Annius* in such wise limits out their time: so I cannot reject the account upon this onely reason, that *Annius* hath it so; considering, that both hitherto, it hath passed as currant, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie*, in the year of *Abraham's* birth, as aforesaid, the reckoning is easily cast; by which the summ of 161. years, which, according to our account, were spent in the fifteen former, being subducted out of the summ of 352. years, which were between the Floud and *Abraham's* birth, shew that the beginning of the first *Dynastie*, which was the beginning of *Chams* reign in *Egypt*, was in the year 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appear: For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of man-kind which came into *Shinaar*, arrived at *Babel*, *Anno à Diluvio* 131. In building the Tower were consumed 40. years, as *Glycas* recordeth; whose report I have elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their Wives, Children, Cattel, and Substance through all *Syria* then desolate, and full of Boggs, Forests, and Bryers (which the Deluge, and want of culture, in one hundred seventy one years had brought upon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himself in *Egypt*, we allow twenty years; and these summs being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one years after the Floud, before they arrive at *Babel*, fourty years for their stay there, and twenty for *Cham's* passage into *Egypt*, and settling there, make up the summ of 191. years; at which time we find that *Cham* began his reign in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynastie*. And to this summ of 191. years, if we add the 161. years of the 15. first *Dynasties*, as they are numbred in common account, we shall fall right with the year of *Abraham's* birth, which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to prove that these first *Dynasties* must needs have been very short, and not containing in the whole summ of their several times above 161. years; Let it suffice, that had they lasted longer, then either must *Egypt* have been peopled as soon as *Babel* after the Floud, or the *Dynasties* (as *Mercator* thinks) must have been before the Floud. That the arival at *Babel*, was many years before the plantation of *Egypt* after the Floud, enough hath been said to prove; and that the *Dynasties* were not before the Floud, the number of the long-lived generations between *Adam* and the Floud, which was less than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witness. Or, if we will think, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many *Dynasties*, then may this have been as well after the Floud, as before; considering that the Sons of *Noah* did not in every Countrie erect such form of Policy, as had been used in the same ere the Deluge; but such as the disposition of the people, the authority and power of the Conductor, together with many other circumstances, did induce or enforce them to.

§. III.

That these Dynasties *were not divers Families of Kings, but rather Successions of Regents, oft-times many under one King.*

THE short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not several races of kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were, it cannot certainly be warranted. For in restitutions of decayed Antiquities, it is more easie to deny than to affirm. But this may be said, partly upon good circumstance, partly upon the surest proof, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, to put the Government of the Country into the hands of some trusty Counsellor, onely reserving the Soveraignty to themselves, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the *Turk* doth to the chief *Visier*. This is confirmed, first, by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are under *Cham*, and more than one under *Osiris*, or *Mizraim*; and must therefore have been successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counsellours, and Regents. Secondly, by custom of such Princes

Princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures, of whom *Abimelech* the *Philiſtim*, in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Iſaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol*, Captain of his Hoſt; though in taking *Abraham*'s Wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleaſure. Likewiſe of *Abimelech*, the Son of *Gideon*, it was ſaid: *Is not he the Son of* Jerubbaal? *and* Zebul *is his Officer?* Alſo *Iſhboſheth*, the Son of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captain of the Hoſt. Yea, *David* himſelf hating *Joab* for his cruelty, did not puniſh him in regard of his greatneſs, which was ſuch, as was feared even of *Hadad* the *Edomite*, living then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and diſpoſition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the Scriptures: therefore likely, both by his own idleneſs and pleaſure, to have laid the burthen of the Government upon others; and upon jealouſie, the companion of unworthineſs, to have changed his Lievtenants often. Above all other proofs is the advancement of *Joſeph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* ſaid to *Joſeph*; *Onely in the Kings Throne will I be above thee: behold, I have ſet thee over all the Land of* Egypt. *William Archbiſhop of* Tyre, who flouriſhed about the year of our Lord, one thouſand one hundred eighty, affirms that the like, or very ſame, form of Government by *Viceroys*, was in his time practiſed in *Egypt*, having there been in uſe (as he believed) ever ſince the time of *Joſeph*. He plainly ſhews, that the *Soldans* of *Egypt* were not Lords of the Countrey, however they have been ſo deem'd; but that they acknowledg'd and humbly performed the duty of ſubjects unto the *Caliphe*; who reſiding in a moſt magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not onely of civil Government, but the power of making Warr and Peace, with the whole Office and Authority royal, into the *Soldans* hands. He that ſhall read in *William* of *Tyre*, the ſtate of the *Caliphe*, or *Meulene Edhadech*, with the form of his Court, ſhall plainly behold the Image of the antient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lievtenant, as great in authority as *Joſeph* was, though far inferiour in Wiſdom.

Will. Tyr. de bell. Sacro. l. 19. c. 17, 18, 19. & 20.

Lib. 19. c. 22.

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Gen. 42. 30. & 33.

Eſa. 19.

§. IV.

Of Cham, *and his Son* Mizraim, *or* Oſiris.

THat the ſucceſſion of Kings began, and continued in ſuch wiſe as the Table hath ſhewed from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to ſhew. *Egypt* is called in the Scripture *the Land of* Ham. That this name is not given to it, becauſe the Poſterity of *Cham* did reign there, but for that himſelf did firſt plant it, we may gather by many circumſtances. For I think it is no where found, that the Countries of *Chuſh*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as *Egypt*, were called the Land of *Ham*. Further, it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Oſiris* calleth himſelf the eldeſt Son of *Cham*, ſaying, *Mihi pater* Saturnus *deorum omnium junior*: alſo, *Sum* Saturni *filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoſo ortum*; which muſt needs be underſtood of *Cham*; for this *Saturnus Ægyptius* was *Cham*:

Pſa 78. 51 105 23. 27 106. 22.

Diod. Sic. l. 1.

by help of the *Dynasties*; of whose continuance, there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authority of approved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the Histories of the *Assyrians*, *Trojans*, *Italians*, &c. and others. The beginning of the 16. *Dynastie*, is joined by general consent, with 43. year of *Ninus*; in which *Abraham* was born. The twelve first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seven years, under the twelve which were call'd the greater gods: so that all the years of their continuance were 84. The 13. *Dynastie* endured 14. years; the fourteenth, 26. the fifteenth, 37. These three last, are said to have been under the three younger gods. So the fifteen first *Dynasties* lasted 161. years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of these *Dynasties*, was such as hath been mentioned, because *Annius* in such wise limits out their time: so I cannot reject the account upon this onely reason, that *Annius* hath it so; considering, that both hitherto, it hath passed as currant, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie*, in the year of *Abraham's* birth, as aforesaid, the reckoning is easily cast; by which the summ of 161. years, which, according to our account, were spent in the fifteen former, being subducted out of the summ of 352. years, which were between the Floud and *Abraham's* birth, shew that the beginning of the first *Dynastie*, which was the beginning of *Chams* reign in *Egypt*, was in the year 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appear: For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of man-kind which came into *Shinaar*, arrived at *Babel*, *Anno à Diluvio* 131. In building the Tower were consumed 40. years, as *Glycas* recordeth; whose report I have elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their Wives, Children, Cattel, and Substance through all *Syria* then desolate, and full of Boggs, Forests, and Bryers (which the Deluge, and want of culture, in one hundred seventy one years had brought upon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himself in *Egypt*, we allow twenty years; and these summs being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one years after the Floud, before they arrive at *Babel*, fourty years for their stay there, and twenty for *Cham's* passage into *Egypt*, and settling there, make up the summ of 191. years; at which time we find that *Cham* began his reign in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynastie*. And to this summ of 191. years, if we add the 161. years of the 15. first *Dynasties*, as they are numbred in common account, we shall fall right with the year of *Abraham's* birth, which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to prove that these first *Dynasties* must needs have been very short, and not containing in the whole summ of their several times above 161. years; Let it suffice, that had they lasted longer, then either must *Egypt* have been peopled as soon as *Babel* after the Floud, or the *Dynasties* (as *Mercator* thinks) must have been before the Floud. That the arival at *Babel*, was many years before the plantation of *Egypt* after the Floud, enough hath been said to prove; and that the *Dynasties* were not before the Floud, the number of the long-lived generations between *Adam* and the Floud, which was less than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witness. Or, if we will think, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many *Dynasties*, then may this have been as well after the Floud, as before; considering that the Sons of *Noah* did not in every Countrie erect such form of Policy, as had been used in the same ere the Deluge; but such as the disposition of the people, the authority and power of the Conductor, together with many other circumstances, did induce or enforce them to.

§. III.

That these Dynasties *were not divers Families of Kings, but rather Successions of Regents, oft-times many under one King.*

THE short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not several races of kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were, it cannot certainly be warranted. For in restitutions of decayed Antiquities, it is more easie to deny than to affirm. But this may be said, partly upon good circumstance, partly upon the surest proof, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, to put the Government of the Country into the hands of some trusty Counsellor, onely reserving the Soveraignty to themselves, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the *Turk* doth to the chief *Visier*. This is confirmed, first, by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are under *Cham*, and more than one under *Osiris*, or *Mizraim*; and must therefore have been successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counsellours, and Regents. Secondly, by custom of such Princes

Princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures, of whom *Abimelech* the *Philiſtim*, in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Iſaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol*, Captain of his Hoſt; though in taking *Abraham*'s Wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleaſure. Likewiſe of *Abimelech*, the Son of *Gideon*, it was ſaid: *Is not he the Son of* Jerubbaal? *and* Zebul *is his Officer?* Alſo *Iſhboſheth*, the Son of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captain of the Hoſt. Yea, *David* himſelf hating *Joab* for his cruelty, did not puniſh him in regard of his greatneſs, which was ſuch, as was feared even of *Hadad* the *Edomite*, living then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and diſpoſition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the Scriptures: therefore likely, both by his own idleneſs and pleaſure, to have laid the burthen of the Government upon others; and upon jealouſie, the companion of unworthineſs, to have changed his Lievtenants often. Above all other proofs is the advancement of *Joſeph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* ſaid to *Joſeph*; *Onely in the Kings Throne will I be above thee: behold, I have ſet thee over all the Land of* Egypt. *William Archbiſhop of* Tyre, who flouriſhed about the year of our Lord, one thouſand one hundred eighty, affirms that the like, or very ſame, form of Government by *Viceroys*, was in his time practiſed in *Egypt*, having there been in uſe (as he believed) ever ſince the time of *Joſeph*. He plainly ſhews, that the *Soldans* of *Egypt* were not Lords of the Countrey, however they have been ſo deem'd; but that they acknowledg'd and humbly performed the duty of ſubjects unto the *Caliphe*; who reſiding in a moſt magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not onely of civil Government, but the power of making Warr and Peace, with the whole Office and Authority royal, into the *Soldans* hands. He that ſhall read in *William* of *Tyre*, the ſtate of the *Caliphe*, or *Meulene Edhadech*, with the form of his Court, ſhall plainly behold the Image of the antient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lievtenant, as great in authority as *Joſeph* was, though far inferiour in Wiſdom.

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Pſa 78. 51 105. 23. 27 106. 22.

Diod. Sic. l. 1.

as it is ſaid, that on the Monument of *Ninus* was an Inſcription, wherin *Cham* was called *Saturnus Ægyptius*. Likewiſe the Temple of *Hammon*, not farr from *Egypt*, doth teſtifie, that *Ham* reſided in thoſe parts: And S. *Hierom in quæſtionibus Hebraicis*, ſaith, that the *Egyptians* themſelves did in his days, call their Countrey *Ham*; as in four ſeveral places in the *Pſalms* this Countrey is called the Land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Oſiride*, that in the ſacrifices of the *Egyptians* this Countrey of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*, *ut puto* (ſaith he) *a Chamo Noes filio*, to which alſo he addeth out of *Iſidore*. *Ægyptum uſque hodie Ægyptiorum lingua* Kam *vocari*; *that* Egypt *unto this day in the tongue of the* Egyptians *is called* Kam. For the beginning and continuance of *Cham*'s reign, the ſame reaſons may ſuffice to be alleged, which I have already given in proof of the time ſpent in the 15. firſt *Dynaſties*: Neither is it ſtrange, that the reign of *Cham* ſhould laſt ſo long as 161. years; conſidering that *Sem* lived 600. *Arphachſhad* and *Shelah* each above 400. But ſtrange it had been; if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*, had in thoſe long-lived generations reigned there 19. years, and with *Eaon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the ſame brood, obſcured the fame and glory of *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and *Seſoſtris*. *Reineccius in Hiſtor. Julia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwiſe called *Oſiris*, according to *Diodorus*; who, ſaith he, was the Son of *Hammon*: *Krentzhemius* ſaith, that *Mizraim* and *Oſiris*, are words of neer affinity and ſound in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howſoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the Son of *Cham*, was Lord of *Egypt*, and *Reineccius*, citing good authority in this caſe, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their own language, *Mezre*. Neither do I ſee cauſe of doubt whether *Oſiris* were the ſame with *Mizraim*. It is more neceſſary, and hard to ſhew manifeſtly, how long *Mizraim*, or *Oſiris*, reigned. For whereas the year of his death is no where preciſely ſet down, we muſt be fain to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly ſaid by *Annius* his *Beroſus*, to have begun his reign at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynaſtie* of the *Thebæi* began, it appeareth, firſt, by the authority of *Euſebius*, who avoucheth as much; next, by *Diodorus*, who ſaith, that he inhabited *Thebes*; which habitation of *Oſiris* there, that it might be cauſe of that *Dynaſtie*, I can well believe; aſſenting ſo farr to *Reineccius*, who thinks the *Dynaſties* were named onely, according to the ſeveral ſeats of the Kings.

§. V.

Of the time when Oſiris *reign ended; and that* Jacob *came into* Egypt *in the time of* Orus *the Son of* Oſiris.

THe death of *Oſiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The onely conjecture that I know is made thus: *Lebabim* the Son of *Mizraim*, called *Hercules Lybius*, made war in *Italy*, to revenge his fathers death on the aſſociates of *Typhon*, in the 41. year of *Baleus* King of *Aſſyria*; before which year he had made many great wars in *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Tygris*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, & *Spain*; and having ended his *Egyptian* Wars, left the Kingdom to *Orus*. Thus farr *Beroſus*, or Authours following *Beroſus*. That *Orus*, laſt of all the gods (as they were ſtiled) held the Kingdom of *Iſis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly ſaith; and *Plutarch* as much, to which all Hiſtories agree. *Krentzhemius* hereupon inferrs, that ſix years may be allowed to the Wars, which *Hercules* made in ſo many countries, after the *Egyptian* Wars were ended: ſo ſhould the death of *Oſiris* have been the 34. of *Baleus*, when himſelf had reigned 297. years. I think that *Krentzhemius* was a greater Scholar than Souldier. For ſurely, in thoſe days, when commerce was not ſuch as now, but all Navigation made by coaſting, a farr longer time would have been required, to the ſubduing of ſo many Countries. An allowance of more time, though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent; which was (doubtleſs) to find the truth. If according to his account the death of *Oſiris* had been the 34. of *Baleus*, then muſt *Iſrael* have come into *Egypt* but 7. years before the death of *Oſiris*; and have lived there in the reign of *Typhon*: A thing not eaſily believed. For it was the ſame King who advanced *Joſeph*, bad him ſend for his father, and gave him leave to go into *Canaan*, to the performance of his fathers Funeral; as may eaſily be gathered out of the Book of *Geneſis*. Whereas therefore the reign of *Oſiris* cannot be extended by any poſſible allowance in account of times, beyond the 7. year of *Iſrael*'s coming into *Egypt*, we muſt needs cut off 23. years from that number, which *Krentzhemius* conjectures his reign to have continued; namely, ſeven which he ſhould have lived after *Jacob*'s coming into *Egypt*; nine, in which *Joſeph* had there flouriſhed, ere his fathers coming; and other ſeven, in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Oſiris*, yet before *Joſeph*'s advancement.

Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 1. Plut. l. de Iſid. & Oſirid.

Neither will this diſagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his Wars. For the War which

Hercules

Hercules made in *Italy*, is ſaid to have indured ten years: After which proportion, we may well give not only ſix years, as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23. more to ſo many Wars, in ſo many, and ſo farr diſtant countries, as are named before; yea, by this proportion, we may attribute unto *Orus* the 13. years, which paſſed between the time of *Joſeph*'s being ſold into *Egypt*, unto his advancement, conſidering that *Potiphar*, who bought him, and whoſe daughter he may ſeem to have married, continued all that while chief Steward unto *Pharaoh*; a thing not likely to have been, if ſo violent alterations had hapned the whileſt in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous uſurpation of *Typhon* muſt needs have brought in. If citing ſome fragment of a loſt old Authour, I ſhould confidently ſay, that *Potiphar*, for his faithfulneſs to *Orus* the Son of *Oſiris*, was by him, in the beginning of his reign, made his chief Steward; at which time, buying *Joſeph*, and finding him a juſt man, and one under whoſe hand all things did proſper, he rather committed his eſtate into *Joſeph*'s hands, than unto any of his *Egyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either falſ-hearted, or weak and unlucky in the troubleſom days of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected againſt this. Perhaps, I might proceed further, and ſay, That when the ſaying of *Joſeph* pleaſed *Pharaoh*, and all his ſervants; then *Potiphar*, Prieſt of *On*, being chief Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledg in *Joſeph* the antient graces of God, and his injurious impriſonment: whereupon he gave him his Daughter to Wife; and being old, reſigned his Office of chief Steward unto him, who afterward, in regard of *Potiphar*, did favour the Prieſts, when he bought the Lands of all other *Egyptians*. This might appear to ſome a tale not unlike the Friarly book of *Aſenath*, *Potiphar*'s Daughter; but, unto ſuch as conſider that God works uſually by means; and that *Potiphar* was the Steward of that King, under whom *Jacob* died; it would ſeem a matter more probable, had it an Author of ſufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the Wars of *Hercules*, in which, by this reckoning, he ſhould have ſpent 42. years after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumſtance which (the length of his *Italian* Wars conſidered, and his former enterpriſes and atchievments proportioned to them) doth not make againſt us, but for us: or, if it were againſt us, yet could it not ſo weaken our ſuppoſition, as theſe probabilities collected out of the indiſputable truth of Scripture do confirm it. Nevertheleſs, I freely grant, that all theſe proofs are no other, than ſuch as may be gathered out of Authours, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in ſuch obſcurity, otherwiſe than by likelihoods, anſwerable to the holy Text.

§. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, *and the two* Seſoſtres, *ſucceſſively reigning after* Mizraim; *and of divers Errors about the former* Seſoſtres.

CONcerning the reign of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that preciſely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giveth three years to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is ſo peremptory without proof, as if his own word were ſufficient authority, in many points very queſtionable; alleging no witneſs, but as it were, ſaying, *Ipſe me ipſo*; yet herein we may think him to ſpeak probably, for as much as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very ſoon undertake his fathers revenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Egypt* to his brother, he followed other Warrs in the ſame quarrel, as hath been ſhewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Beroſus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*; yet, ſeeing *Aventinus*, a follower of *Beroſus*, hath it ſo, I will alſo believe it. That in the reign of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, 7. years were ſpent, howſoever divided between them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* onely, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* ſeven years after the death of *Oſiris*; forgetting to ſet down his reaſons, which in a matter ſo probable, I think he wanted not. Now, whereas he alloweth 90. years of the 18. *Dynaſtie* to *Oſiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*; it ſeems that the reign of *Orus* laſted 115. years. From the death of *Orus*, to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, there paſſed 122. years by our account; who (according to *Beroaldus* and others) think that *Abraham* was born in the 130. year of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus: From the end of the Floud to the birth of *Abraham* 352

From that vocation of *Abraham* time to the departure out of *Egypt* 75 / 430

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which ſumm divers other ways may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there do remain (as is aforeſaid) onely 122. years from the death of *Orus*; we are now to conſider, how many of them are to be allowed uno *Seſoſtris*, or *Seſonchoſis*, who is placed next unto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiaſtes Apollonii*; not without good probability. For this great King or Conquerour,

querour, is by many Hiſtories recorded to have over-run a great part of *Aſia*; to have built a fleet of Ships on the Red Sea: and ſo to have entred into *India*: likewiſe with another fleet on the middle Earth Seas, to have paſſed into *Europe*, and ſubdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* judgeth) whom *Juſtine*, erring in account of his time, calleth *Vexoris*; For *Juſtine* placeth *Vexoris* in Ages before *Ninus*; whereby it would follow that *Seſoſtris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more antient then was *Oſiris* (otherwiſe *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Aſia*) till the father-in-law of *Solomon*, *Pharaoh Vaphres*, took *Gerar*, and gave it to his Daughter (as we may read more at large in the holy Hiſtory of the Bible) after which time, *Seſac* oppreſſed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* ſought paſſage through the Land of *Iſrael*, when he made his Expedition againſt the *Chaldæans*. Of King *Vaphres*, and *Necho*, it is out of queſtion, that neither of them was the great King *Seſoſtris*. Of *Seſac*, it is doubted by ſome, for as much as he came into *Judæa* with a great Army. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided; unleſs it be ſufficient proof of his own opinion, that he himſelf placeth *Seſoſtris* next to *Orus*, following the *Scoliaſtes Apollonii*. But further anſwer may be made, to ſhew that they were not one. For, as *Juſtine* witneſſeth, *Seſoſtris*, otherwiſe *Vexoris*, made War on people far removed, abſtaining from his neighbours. *Seſac* came up purpoſely againſt *Hieruſalem*. *Seſoſtris*, as *Diodorus* witneſſeth, had but 24000. Horſe, *Seſac* had 60000. *Seſoſtris* had 8020. Chariots, *Seſac* 1200. *Seſoſtris* made his Expedition for no private purpoſe, but to get a great name: *Seſac*, as moſt agree, had no other purpoſe than to ſuccour *Jeroboam*, and give him countenance in his new reign; whom he had favoured even againſt *Solomon*: therefore *Seſoſtris* muſt needs have reigned whileſt *Iſrael* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*; becauſe thoſe Hiſtorians affirm that he reigned next after the gods; it moveth me nothing. For *Oſiris* did ſucceed thoſe fifteen gods; namely, the twelve greater, and three leſſer; himſelf alſo (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as alſo *Menæus*, and *Menis*, were titles of Dignity; though miſtaken by ſome, as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menus* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*, the *Hebrew* word *Meni* ſignifying an *Arithmetician*; which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Oſiris*, who was a great Conqueror, Philoſopher, and Benefactor to mankind, by giving good Laws, and teaching profitable Arts. In proweſs and great undertakings, *Seſoſtris* was no whit inferiour to *Oſiris*: For he ſought victory not for gain, but honour onely; and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and ſubmitted themſeves to his will and royal diſpoſition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soon upon his return, he was endangered by a great Treaſon, the houſe in which he was, being by his own brother purpoſely fired; which nevertheleſs, he is ſaid to have eſcap'd, and to have reigned in all 30. years; after wch time, he choſe rather to die than to live; becauſe he fell blind. Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* affirm, that *Seſoſtris* left a Son, whoſe name was *Pheron*, or *Pherones*; who afterwards took the name of *Seſoſtris*, but was nothing like to his father in glory; for he ſhortly fell blind. The cauſe of his blindneſs, *Herodotus* attributes to his aſſaulting the River *Nilus* with a Javelin; which tale *Diodorus* having likewiſe heard, yet reports as a fable, ſaying, that perhaps he took the diſeaſe naturally from his father. How long this man reigned, it is no where expreſſed; yet, for as much as *Orus* the ſecond (otherwiſe *Buſiris*) who ſucceeded him, began 14. years after that this *Seſoſtris* had been King, it muſt needs be that this reigned 14. years at leaſt. That *Buſiris* began not untill theſe 14. years at leaſt were expired, the very account of time from the firſt *Buſiris*, to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, plainly ſhews, being almoſt generally agreed upon, to have been 75. years. That none came between *Seſoſtris* the ſecond, and *Buſiris*, or *Orus* the ſecond, it ſtands onely upon probabilities, which are theſe: After *Seſoſtris* had reigned ſome while, he fell blind; after certain years, he recovered his ſight, as is ſaid, which may have been true, but is more like to have been a Fable; ſurely the manner of his recovery, as it is ſet down, is very fabulous; namely, that by looking upon a woman, or waſhing his eyes with her water, who had onely known her own huſband, he got his ſight again. As the time of his reign, before his blindneſs, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14. years: ſo his works, which were great, do much more ſtrongly argue, that his reign was not very ſhort. His works are largely ſet down by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; a part of which may ſeem to have been the finiſhing of that which

which his father had begun, about the channels and ſluces of *Nilus*; whom, I think, he rather frighted (as his father had done) with Spades and Shovels, than with Darts and Javelins; and by his diligent over-ſight of that work, was like enough to loſe both his eye-ſight and his peoples love; whom his father had very buſily employed in exceſſive labour about it.

§. VII.

Of Buſiris, *the firſt oppreſſor of the* Iſraelites; *and of his ſucceſſour, Queen* Thermutis *that took up* Moſes *out of the Water.*

AND herein (if I may preſume to conjecture) *Buſiris*, who was afterwards King, is like to have dealt with him, as *Jeroboam* did with the Son of *Solomon*. For that *Buſiris* himſelf was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of *Iſrael* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Seſoſtris*, as *Jeroboam* was by *Solomon*, in the overſight of thoſe buſineſſes, he had good opportunity to work his greatneſs with the King by induſtry; and afterward with the people, by incenſing them againſt their new King, as *Jeroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers; unleſs he have either an equal ſpirit, or a ſurer foundation. If moreover he ſought to derive all the pain and labour of publick works from the *Egyptians* to the *Iſraelites*: he ſurely did that to his own people which was very plauſible; who (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing ſlack in fulfilling the Kings cruelty. Now, that *Orus* the ſecond, or *Buſiris*, was the King that firſt oppreſſed *Iſrael*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (ſaith *Cedrenus*) laſted ten Moneths: it is a common opinion of many great and moſt learned Writers; who alſo think that hereupon grew the Fable of *Buſiris* ſacrificing ſtrangers. It is alſo a common interpretation of that place, *Exod.* 1. that the King who knew not *Joſeph*, was a King of a new Family. That *Buſiris* was of a new Family, *Reineccius* doth ſhew; who alſo thinks him an Author of the bloudy *Edict*. Nevertheleſs, true it is, that *Buſiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reign five years after the birth of *Moſes*; before whoſe birth it is moſt manifeſt, that the Law was made, and much more, that the perſecution began; which *Bunting* thinks to have laſted 87. yesrs, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let us therefore conſider, beſides the blindneſs of *Seſoſtris* the ſecond, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Vice-roys* in *Egypt* was; and how great confidence the King did put in them, ſeeing *Joſeph* ruled with ſuch full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for bread; giving at the ſame time, the beſt of the Land to his own father and brethen for nothing; ſeeing alſo that when the *Egyptians* cried out upon *Pharaoh* for bread, *Pharaoh* ſaid to all the *Egyptians*, *Go to* Joſeph, *what he ſaith to you, do ye*. If to a ſtranger born, lately fetcht out of priſon, a King well able to have governed himſelf, would give ſuch truſt, and ſoveraign authority; it is not unlikely that a blind Prince ſhould do it to a man of eſpecial reputation. For God often proſpers, not onely the good (ſuch as *Joſeph* was) but wicked men alſo, as his inſtruments againſt the day of wrath. Therefore, perhaps, the King did (as many have done) reſign his Kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to have begun till the death of *Seſoſtris*. But whether *Buſiris* did uſurp the Kingdom, or protection of the Land by violence; or whether the blind King reſigned it, keeping the Title; or whether *Buſiris* were onely *Regent* whileſt the King lived, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) King himſelf; it might well be ſaid that *Pharaoh*'s Daughter took up *Moſes*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Iſrael*; ſeeing he both at that time was King in effect, and ſhotty after, King in deed and title both. It were not abſurd for us to ſay, that the blind King *Seſoſtris* the ſecond oppreſſed *Iſrael*: But, for as much as it may ſeem that the wicked Tyrant ſhewed his evil nature, even when he firſt aroſe; I think it more likely, that *Buſiris* did it, uſing at firſt the power of a King, and ſhortly after the ſtile. Thus of the 122. years which paſſed between the beginning of *Seſoſtris* his reign, and the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, 47. being ſpent; the 75. which remain, are to be accounted to *Buſiris*, or *Orus* the ſecond, and his children. *Buſiris* himſelf reigned 30. years, according to *Euſebius*; whom very many judicious Authours herein approve. After him his daughter, who took *Moſes* out of the Water, is ſaid, by all that I have read, to have reigned 12. years. Her name was *Thermutis Pharis*, or *Muthis*, according to *Cedrenus*: *Euſebius* calls her *Acencris*; and out of *Artabanus* his Hiſtory, *Meris*: *Joſeph* calls her both *Acenchre*, and *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panario*, ſaith, that ſhe was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the Daughter of *Amenoph*, the Son of *Pharaoh*. Of this laſt title queſtion might be made, and much ſpoken; for the Scriptures call her not

Pharaoh's

Pharaoh's Son's Daughter, but *Pharaoh*'s Daughter. *Amenophis* indeed, is ſet next before *Buſiris*, or *Orus* the ſecond, by *Euſebius* and others; but whether he were a King, or onely a *Regent*, I cannot conjecture. For *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and the antient Hiſtorians, name the Son of *Seſoſtris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*; and his Daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the Neece or Grand-child, than the Daughter of *Pharaoh*, becauſe of the glory of *Seſoſtris*, and the diſ-reputation of his Son. If ſo, and if that *Buſiris*, or *Orus* the ſecond, marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture ſtrengthened, and then was ſhe both Daughter, Grand-child, and Wife unto *Pharaoh*; and ſurviving him, Queen of the Land, 12. years. But if ſhe were Daughter of *Orus* the ſecond, and ſiſter of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many think, to whoſe conjecture I will not oppoſe mine, then may it ſeem, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her father died.

§. VIII.

Of the two brethren of Queen Thermutis; *and what King it was, under whom* Moſes *was born; and who it was that periſhed in the Red Sea.*

SHe had two brethren; the one was *Rathoris*, or *Athoris*, who ſucceeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is onely named by *Euſebius*; but his linage and off-ſpring deſcribed by *Reineccius*. *Rathoris*, after his ſiſters death, reigned nine years; after whom *Chencres*, thought to be his Son, reigned ten years, and then periſhed in the Red Sea. During the reign of *Chencres*, *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* upon *Io*; of which Hiſtory elſewhere he reporteth otherwiſe. After the death of *Chencres* (whom ſome call *Acencheres*, but all, or moſt do ſtile Θεόμαχον, a fighter againſt God) *Acherres* reigned 8. years; and then *Cherres* 15. This deſcent ſeems from Father to Son. In the 11. year of *Cherres*, it is ſaid by *Euſebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt*, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwiſe was not unlikely; *viz.* That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid upon it, and the deſtruction of her King and Army in the Red Sea; elſe could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his Poſterity, ſeems to have taken all from *Cherres*, the Grand-child of *Chencres*. For whereas *Armais* is ſaid to have reigned four years after *Cherres*; and *Armeſis* one after *Armais*: theſe two Kings are by *Euſebius* and others, accounted as one, and his reign ſaid to have been five years. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwiſe *Danaus*; and his Pedigree thus deſcribed by *Reineccius* in *Hiſtor. Julia.*

Telegonus:
Epaphus:
Lybia, who had

Agenor, *Belus*, and *Buſiris*.

T

Ægyptus or *Rameſſes*, who gave name to the Country, having expell'd his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lynceus*, married to *Hypermneſtra*.	*Danaus* or *Armeus*, expelled by his brother *Ægyptus*, after he had reigned five years, became King of *Argos* in *Greece*: was father to *Hypermneſtra*.

How it might come to paſs, that the Nephews Sons of *Epaphus* ſhould have occupied the Kingdom after *Cherres*, it is hard to ſay; conſidering that *Epaphus* himſelf is reported by *Euſebius*, to have been born in the time of *Chencres*. But for as much as the Hiſtory of *Epaphus* his birth, is diverſly related by *Euſebius*, it may ſuffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*, otherwiſe called *Armeus* and *Rameſſes*, was equally diſtant from *Buſiris*, or *Orus* the ſecond, with *Cherres* the Grand-child of *Chencres*. And that the Poſterity of *Telegonus* did marry very young, it appears by the Hiſtory of theſe two brethren, *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*; of whom the former had fifty Daughters, the latter fifty Sons; perhaps, or rather queſtionleſs, by divers women; yet ſurely they began to beget children in their firſt youth: Howſoever it were, the general conſent of Writers is, that *Armeus*, or *Danaus*, did ſucceed *Cherres*; and (according to *Euſebius*, and good Authours approving him) reigned five years. *Rameſſes* followed, who reigned 68. years. This *Rameſſes*, or *Ægyptus*, is that *Armeſeſmiamum*, or *Armeſeſmiamus*, under whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that follows *Mercator*, *Moſes* was born; and the cruel *Edict* made of drowning the *Hebrew* children. The length of his reign ſeems to me the chief, if not the only ground of *Mercator*'s opinion. For, whereas the Lord ſaid to *Moſes*, *Go, return to* Egypt, *for they are all dead which went about to kill thee: Mercator* hereupon conceives, that it was one and the ſame King under whom *Moſes* was born, and under whom he ſlew the *Egyptian* at the 40. year of his age; and fled into the wilder-

neſs,

neſs, and there abode for fear: all which circumſtances could agree with none, but this *Rameſſes*, who reigned ſo long; wherefore, deſirous rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common Errour, he placeth one *Aliſfragmuthoſis* (whoſe name is found in the Liſt of *Egyptian* Kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in an Age 112. or 113. years, more antient than others left him in: and ſo continuing the Catalogue of his Succeſſours from *Themoſis* (whom *Euſebius* calls *Amaſis*) downwards, with no other variation of the length of each mans reign, than is the difference between *Manetho* and *Euſebius*, he finds *Moſes* born under *Armeſeſmiamum*, and *Iſrael* delivered in the days of his Son *Amenophis*. The very name of *Aliſfragmuthoſis* ſeems to him with little alteration to ſound like *Phararates*, of which name one was thought to have flouriſhed, either as a King, or a wiſe Man, about the time of *Iſaac*. For (ſaith he) from *Aliſfragmuthoſis* to *Phragmuthoſis*, *Pharmuthoſis*, or *Phararates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent Learning and Induſtry; and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable Works: yet my aſſent herein is with-held from him by theſe Reaſons. Firſt, I ſee all other Writers agree, that *Chencres* was King, who was drowned in the Red Sea. Secondly, the place, *Exod.* 4. *All are dead*, &c. may better be underſtood of *Buſiris*, and all his children, than of one King alone. Thirdly, S. *Cyril* in his firſt Book againſt *Julian* the *Apoſtate*, ſaith, that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moſes* was 120. years old, which was this *Armeſeſmiamum*, being then King of *Egypt*. After *Rameſſes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. years; who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that periſhed in the Red Sea; of which our Opinion being alreay laid open, I think it moſt expedient to referr the Kings enſuing to their own times (which a *Chronological Table* ſhall lay open) and here to ſpeak of that great deliverance of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*; which for many great conſiderations depending thereupon, we may not lightly over-paſs.

CHAP. III.

Of the delivery of Iſrael *out of* Egypt.

§. I.

Of the time of Moſes *Birth, and how long the* Iſraelites *were oppreſſed in* Egypt.

TRue it is, that the Hiſtory it ſelf is generally and well known; yet concerning the time of *Moſes* his Birth, who was the excellent and famous Inſtrument of this, and other great Works of the *Higheſt*, the different opinions are very near as many, as the men that have written of that *Argument*.

L. Vives, in his Annotations upon S. *Auguſtine*, cites very many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moſes* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: But, if he did mean the firſt *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit; for beſides that the ſame is contrary to all Stories, divine and humane; while that *Semiramis* lived, ſhe commanded *Syria*, and all the parts the parts thereof abſolutely; neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while ſhe ruled, *in rerum natura*.

A ſecond Opinion he remembreth out of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolemy*, a Prieſt of *Mendes*, who ſaith, that *Moſes* was born while *Inachus* did rule the *Argives*, and *Ameſies* in *Egypt*.

The third Opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greek* Hiſtory, the firſt Book; that *Moſes* was born while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Aſſyrius*, who, though he cite ſome Authorities, that *Moſes* lived after the *Trojan* war, is himſelf of opinion, that *Moſes* was farr more antient, proving it by many arguments.

Fifthly, he ſetteth down the teſtimony of *Numinius* the Philoſopher, who took *Muſæus* and *Moſes* to be one; confirming the ſame out of *Artapanas*, who confeſſeth that *Moſes* was called *Muſæus* by the *Grecians*; and who farther delivereth, that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the Daughter of *Egypt*; the ſame which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*)

Thermothes. *Eusebius* also affirmeth, that by *Eupolemus*, in his first Book, *de Bono*, Moses, *vir Deo conjunctissimus*, is called *Musæus Judæorum*. *Eusebius*, in his Chronologie, finds that *Moses* was born while *Amenophis* ruled *Egypt*. The antient *Manethon* calls that *Pharaoh*, which lived at *Moses* birth, *Thumosis*, or *Thmosis*: the same, perchance, which *Appion* the *Grammarian* will have to be *Amosis*, and else-where *Amenophis*, the father of *Sethosis*: to whom *Lysimachus*, and *Cornelius Tacitus*, gave the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it seems most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus*, or *Iphereus*, governed *Assyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criasus* the *Argives*; that then (*Sesostris* the second ruling in *Egypt*) *Moses* was born. For, if we believe Saint *Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Eduxit* Moses *ex Ægypto populum Dei novissimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenienſium Regis*; Moses (saith he) *led the people of God out of* Egypt, *about the end of* Cecrops *time*, *King of the* Athenians. In this sort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* best proved. Saint *Augustine* affirms (as before remembred) that *Moses* was born, *Saphrus* governing *Assyria*; and that he left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time. Now, *Saphrus* ruled twenty years; his successour *Mamelus* thirty years; *Sparetus* after him fourty years: in whose fourth year *Cecrops* began to govern in *Attica*: *Ascatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire one and fourty years. So as *Moses* being born while *Saphrus* ruled *Assyria*; *Orthopolis Sicyonia*, and *Criasus Argos* (for these three Kings lived at once at his birth, saith Saint *Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth year of the *Assyrian Saphrus*; for take one yeare remaining of twenty (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which add the thirty years of *Mamelus*, and the fourty years of *Sparetus*, these make seventy one, with which there were wasted three years of *Cecrops* his fifty years: then take nine years out of the reign of *Ascatades*, who was *Sparetus* successor, those nine years added to seventy one, make eighty, at which age *Moses* left *Egypt*; and add these nine years to the three years of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remain but four years of *Cecrops* his fifty, and so it falleth right with S. *Augustine*'s words, affirming, that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moses* led the people of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

Euseb. de prep. Evan. l. 3. c. 3.

Aug. l. 18. c. 11. de Civit. Dei.

2514.

Now, the time in which the *Hebrews* were oppressed in *Egypt*, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine years before the birth of *Moses*, and fifty four years, or rather more, after *Joseph*; between whose death, and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed sixty four years, some of which time, and eighty years after, they lived in great servitude and misery. For, as it is written in *Exodus*: *They set task-masters over them, to keep them under with burthens; and they built the Cities* Pithom *and* Rameses, *&c. And by cruelty, they caused the children of* Israel *to serve, and made them weary of their lives, by sore labour in Clay and Brick, and in all work of the field, with all manner of bondage*. All which laid upon them by a mastering power, and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdome of God appointed; even from fifty four years, or not much more, after the death of *Joseph*, who left the World when when it had lasted 2370. to the eightieth year of *Moses*, and untill he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zoan*, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliver of *Egypt*, may the better be understood, I think it necessary to speak a few words of the principal place therein named in this Discourse.

Exod. 1.

2370.

2514.

§. II.

Of divers Cities and Places in Egypt, *mentioned in this Story, or else-where in the Scriptures.*

THis City, which the *Hebrews* call *Zoan*, was built seven years after *Hebron*. *Ezekiel*, calleth it *Taphnes*, and so doth *Hieremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanais*; *Josephus*, *Protaidis*, after the name of an *Egyptian* Queen; *Antonius* gives it the name of *Thanis*; *Hegesippus*, *Thamna*; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapius*. It adjoyneth to the Land of *Gosen*, and is the same, wherein *Hieremy* the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the *Egyptian* and *Jewish* Idolatry.

Num. 33. Ezech. 30. Hier. 2. 43. 44. 46. Joseph. l. 1. c. 9. Tir. de Bel. sac. l. 19. c. 23.

Zoan, or *Taphnes*, was, in *Moses* time, the *Metropolis* of the lower *Egypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; and not unlikely to be the same City, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did read Astronomy in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharetates* King of *Egypt*. *Alex. Polyhistor*, out of *Eupolemus*, hath it otherwise, saying, that *Abraham* instructed the *Egyptian* Priests, and not the King; both which authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuagint* and the Vulgar Edition,

Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. Edition, for *Zoan*, write *Heliopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Junius*, and our *Engliſh* call it *On*; and *Ptolemie*, *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the fronier of the lower *Egypt*, toward the South; the other ſomewhat lower on the Eaſter-moſt branch of *Nilus*, falling into the Sea at *Peluſium*. And it may be, that *Heliopolis*, to the South of the River *Trojan*, was the ſame which *Vatablus* and our *Engliſh* call *Aven*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certain knowledge; the ſame which *Pomp. Mela* and *Plinie* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrius* in the *Holy Warr*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Bahalbeth*; and *Simeon Sethi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Potiphar* Prieſt, or Prince, whoſe Daughter *Joſeph* married. In the Territory adjoining, *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in *Egypt*. In the confines of this City, *Onias*, the High Prieſt of the *Jews*, built a Temple, dedicated to the Eternal God; not much inferiour to that of *Hieruſalem* (*Ptolemy Philopater*, then governing in *Egypt*) which ſtood in the time of *Veſpaſian*, 333. years after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Joſephus* falſly reporteth herein, to have fulfilled a Prophecie of *Eſay*, Chap. 19. *In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terræ* Egypti; *In that day ſhall the Altar of the Lord be in the midſt of the Land of* Egypt. *Antiochus Epiphanes*, at the time of the building tyrannizing over the *Jews*, gave the occaſion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt*. Laſtly, there it was that our Saviour *Chriſt Jeſus* remained, while *Joſeph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: near which (ſaith *Brochard*) the Fountain is ſtill found, called *Jeſus Well*, whoſe ſtreams do afterward water the Gardens of *Balſamum*, no where elſe found in *Egypt*. And hereof ſee more in *Brochard*, in his Deſcription of *Egypt*.

Eſay 19. 13. Ezech. 34. Hoſ. 9. 6. There is alſo in that City of *Noph*, remembred by *Eſay* and *Ezechiel*, the ſame which *Hoſea* the Prophet calleth *Moph*; which later name it took from a Mountain adjoining, ſo called; which Mountain *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called *Memphis*; and ſo the *Septuagint* write it. It is known to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldæans* name it *Alchahyr*; and *Tudalenſis Mizraim*.

Lib 2.

Peluſium, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *Engliſh*, write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the ſame with *Damiata*, as *Gul. Tyrius* witneſſeth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Peluſium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (ſaith *Tyrius*) *quæ olim dicta eſt* Peluſium; Belbeis *that in times paſt was called* Peluſium.

G. Tyr. l. 20. c. 17. l. 2. c. 5.

The City of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Dioſpolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Hierom* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, becauſe it was ſo called in the future.

Ezech. 30. 15. 16.

Bubaſtus (for ſo *Hierome* and *Zeigler* do write it) is the ſame which the *Hebrews* call *Pibeſeth*.

Ezech. 30. 17.

To make the Story more perceivable, I have added a Deſcription of the Land of *Goſen*, in which the *Iſralites* inhabited; with thoſe Cities and places ſo often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes*, or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis*, or *Bethſemes*, *Balſephon*, *Succoth*, and the reſt; together with *Moſes* paſſage through the Deſarts of *Arabia the Stony*. For all Story, without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleaſure, ſo it no way enricheth the knowledge and underſtanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing ſerve to retain, what we read, in our memories, ſo well as theſe Pictures and Deſcriptions do. In which reſpect I am driven to digreſs in many places, and to interpoſe ſome ſuch Diſcourſe, otherwiſe ſeeming impertinent; taking for my authority, after many others more antient, that great learned man, *Arias Montanus*; who, in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath theſe words: *Si enim abſque locorum obſervatione res geſtæ narrentur, aut ſine Topographiæ cognitione Hiſtoriæ legantur, adeo confuſa atque perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex iis nihil non obſcurum, nihil non difficile elici poſſit*; *If narration* (ſaith he) *be made of thoſe things which are performed, without the obſervation of the places wherein they were done*; *or if Hiſtories be read without Topographical knowledge*; *all things will appear ſo intricate and confuſed, as we ſhall thereby underſtand nothing but obſcurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greateſt difficulty.*

§. III.

Of the cruelty againſt the Iſraelites *young children in* Egypt; *and of* Moſes *his preſervation and Education.*

BUt to return to the Story it ſelf. It appeareth, that notwithſtanding the labour and ſlavery which the *Iſraelites* endured, yet they decreaſed not in numbers: in ſo much as *Pharaoh*, conſidering the danger of diſcontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppreſſed multitude, how perillous they might be to his eſtate, by ſuggeſtion of the Devil, reſolved to ſlaughter all the male children of the *Hebrews*, as ſoon as

they ſhould be born. To which end he ſent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the moſt famous and expert amongſt them, *Quæ præerant* (ſaith *Comeſtor*) *multitudini obſtetricum, who had command given them over all Mid-wives*; by whom (as it ſeemeth) he gave order to all the reſt for the execution of his *Edict*. For, to have called all the Mid-wives of *Egypt* together, had been a ſtrange Parliament. Now, whether theſe two (before named) were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diverſly diſputed. S. *Auguſtine* calls them *Hebrews*, becauſe it is written *Exodus* 1. *The King of* Egypt *commanded the Mid-wives of the* Hebrew *women*, &c. But *Joſephus*, *Abulenſis*, and *Pererius* believe them to be *Egyptians*. Whoſoever they were, when it pleaſed God to fruſtrate the execution of that ſecret murther, to the end the World might witneſs both the wickedneſs of the *Egyptians*, and the juſt cauſe, thereby made manifeſt, of his future indignation and revenge: *Pharaoh* finding theſe Women filled with piety, and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publickly, or howſoever, to deſtroy all the male *Hebrew* children born within his Dominions.

Verſ. 16. *Joſeph. ant. l.* 2. *c.* 5. *Abul. & Perer. in Exod.*

Now, beſides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrews*, the greateſt part of whom he might have aſſured, by affording them the juſtice which every King oweth to his vaſſals, and the reſt he might have employed, or ſent away, at his pleaſure; *Joſephus* giveth another cauſe of his rage againſt them, namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an *Egyptian* Prieſt, that among the *Hebrews* there ſhould be born a child, who growing to mans eſtate, ſhould becom a plague and terror to his whole Nation. To prevent which (and preſuming that he could reſiſt the Ordinance of God, by a mean, contrary to the Laws of Heaven and of Nature) he ſtretched out his bloudy and mercileſs hand to the execution of his former intent. The ſame prevention *Herod* long after practiſed, when fearing the ſpiritual Kingdom of *Chriſt*, as if it ſhould have been temporal, he cauſed all the male children at that time born, to be ſlaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had ſome kind of foreknowledg of the future ſucceſs, it may be gathered by his own words, in the tenth Verſe of the fifth of *Exodus*: *Come, let us work wiſely with them, leſt they multiply; and it come to paſs, that if there be Warr, they join themſelves alſo unto our enemies, and fight againſt us, and get them out of the Land.* But we ſee, and time hath told it us from the beginning, how God derideth the wiſdom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own moſt feeble, and altogether darkened, underſtanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter of this Tyrant, was that great Prophet and Miniſter of Gods marvellous works taken out of *Nilus*, being thereinto turned off, in an Ark of Reeds, a ſucking and powerleſs Infant. And this Princeſs having beheld the child his form and beauty, though but yet in the blouth, ſo pierced her compaſſion, as ſhe did not onely preſerve it, and cauſe it to be foſtered; but commanded that it ſhould be eſteemed as her own, and with equal care to the Son of a King nouriſhed. And for memory that it was her deed, ſhe called the child *Moſes*, as it were, *extractus*, or *ereptus*, *taken out*, to wit, out of the Water; or after *Joſephus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voice expreſſing Water, and *Hiſes*, as much as to ſay, as that which is drawn out of Water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moſes* was circumciſed before he was put into the Ark of Reeds, and that *Amram* his father had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care, and at the charge, of *Pharaohs* Daughter, and by men of the moſt nnderſtanding, taught and inſtructed: *Quem regio more educavit, præfeſtis ei ſapientibus* Ægyptiorum *Magiſtris, à quibus erudiretur*, ſaith *Baſil*; *unto whom ſhe gave Princely education, appointing over him wiſe Maſters of the* Egyptians *for his inſtructers.* Thereby (ſay *Joſephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; which alſo the Martyr *Stephen* in the ſeventh of the *Acts* confirmeth; *And* Moſes *was learned in all the wiſdom of the* Egyptians. Which Wiſdom or Sapience, ſuch as it was, or at leaſt ſo much thereof as *Six. Senenſis* hath gathered, we have added, between the death of *Moſes*, and the reign of *Joſua*.

Joſ. ant. l. 2. *c.* 5.

Exod. 5. 10

Strom. 1.

Phil. de vita Moyſ.

§. IV.

Of Moſes *his flying out of* Egypt; *and the opinions of certain antient Hiſtorians of his war in* Æthiopia; *and of his marriage there:* Philo *his judgment of his Paſtoral life*; *and that of* Pererius *of the Books of* Geneſis *and* Job.

WHen *Moſes* was grown to mans eſtate, *Joſephus* and *Euſebius*, out of *Artapanus*, tell us of ten years Warr that he made againſt the *Æthiopians*; of the beſieging of *Seba*, afterward, by *Cambyſes*, called *Meroe*; and how he recovered the City by the fa-

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vour of *Tharbis*, a Daughter of *Æthiopia*, whom he took to Wife. So hath *Comestor* a pretty tale of *Moses*, how after the end of that Warr, *Tharbis* resisting his return into *Egypt*, *Moses*, most skilful in *Astronomy*, caused two Images to be engraven in two precious Stones, whereof the one increased memory; the other caused forgetfulness: These he set in two Rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his Wife *Tharbis*, reserving the other of memory for himself; which Ring of forgetfulness, after she had a while worn, she began to neglect the love she bare her Husband: and so *Moses*, without danger, returned into *Egypt*. But leaving these fancies to the Authours of them: It is true, that about the fourtieth year of *Moses* age, when he beheld an *Egyptian* offering violence to one of the the oppressed *Hebrews*, moved by compassion, in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the *Egyptian*. Soon after which fact, finding a disposition in some of his own Nation to accuse him, for whose defence, he had thus greatly endangered his own life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whose chosen servant he was, he fled into *Arabia Petræa*, the next bordering Countrey to *Egypt*; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times, were the irreconcileable enemies of the *Hebrews*: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly means) to make the watering of a few sheep, and the assisting of the Daughter of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, an occasion whereby to provide him a Wife of one of those, and a father-in-law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Countrey neareſt *Egypt*, fittest to return from; necessary to be known, because interjacent between *Egypt* and *Judæa*, through which he was to lead the *Israelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented best served. And lastly, where the glory of the world shined least, amidst mountainous Desarts, there the glory of God, which shineth most, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a Kings Son, or an adopted child of great *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, but as a meek and humble Shepherd, sitting at a mountains foot, a keeper and commander of those poor Beasts onely.

In that part of *Arabia* near *Madian*, he consumed 40. years; and though (as *Philo* in the Story of *Moses* life observeth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Pastoral knowledge; yet in that solitary Desart, he enjoyed himself: and being separate from the preass of the world, and the troublesome affairs thereof, he gave himself to contemplation, and to make perfect in himself all those knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the same Authour also judging that his Pastoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. *Est enim* (saith *Plato*) *ars Pastoralis, quasi præludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quemadmodum bellicosa ingenia præexercent se in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod postea in militia, & bello perfecturæ sunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At verò præfectura mansueti pecoris, habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis; ideoque Reges cognominantur Pastores populorum, non contumeliæ, sed honoris gratia; The art of keeping Sheep is, as it were, an introductory exercise unto a Kingdom, namely, the rules over men, the most gentle flock: Even as warlike natures do before-hand exercise themselves in hunting, practising on wild beasts those things which after they will accomplish in warfare: those brute beasts affording matter, wherein to train themselves, both in time of war and of peace. But the government of gentle cattel, hath a kind of resemblance unto a Kingly rule over subjects; therefore Kings are stiled Sheepherds of the people, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.*

That *Moses*, in the time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Book of *Job*, as *Pererius* supposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to *Pererius* opinion, That *Moses*, while he lived in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the Book of *Genesis*; although I cannot deny the reason of *Pererius* conjecture, That by the example of *Jobs* patience he might strengthen the oppressed *Hebrews*: and by the promises of God to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, put them in assurance of their delivery from the *Egyptian* slavery, and of the Land of rest, and plenty, promised. *Perer in c. 3. Exod.*

Of his calling back into *Egypt* by the Angel of God, and the marvels and wonders which he performed, thereby to perswade *Pharaoh*, that he was the messenger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteen Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needless. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when *Moses* desired to be taught of God, by what name he should make him known, and by whom he was sent; *Exod c. 3. v 13. 14. & 15.*

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he received from God ſo much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being Nature. Out of which he delivered him in the firſt part of his Anſwer, a name to be conſidered of by the wiſeſt; and in his ſecond, to be underſtood by all. For, there is nothing that is, or hath being of it ſelf, but the Eternal: which truly is, which is above all, which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment; their ſubſtance waſteth, and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing at one ſtay, nor being the ſame ſo long as while one may ſay, Now. Likewiſe, whatſoever is conſumed in the longeſt continuance of time, the ſame, in every ſhorteſt piece of time ſuffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one ſtate.

Hier. ad Dam. *Una eſt Dei, & ſola natura quæ verè eſt: id enim quod ſubſiſtit, non habet aliundè, ſed ſuum eſt. Cætera quæ creata ſunt, etiamſi videntur eſſe, non ſunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & poteſt rurſum non eſſe, quod non fuit; It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himſelf, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they ſeem to be, yet they are not; for ſometimes they were not; and that which hath not been, may again want being.* And with this, in reſpect of the divine Nature, the ſaying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura umbra eſt, aut inanis, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a ſhadow, either empty or deceitfull:* in

Cap. 40. v. 13. compariſon of whom (ſaith *Eſay*) all Nations are nothing, leſs than nothing, and meer vanity.

Of the ten Plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were ſtrucken, the firſt was by changiug the Rivers into bloud; God puniſhing them by thoſe waters, into which their forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrews*.

Cap. 16. v. 5. To which this place of the *Revelation* may be fitly applied: *And I heard the Angel of the water ſay, Lord, thou art juſt, which art, and which waſt; and holy, becauſe thou haſt judged theſe things; for they ſhed the bloud of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore haſt thou given them bloud to drink.*

The reſt of the Plagues by Froggs, Lice, Flies, or ſtinging Waſps; by the death of their Cattel; by leprous Scabs; by Hail and Fire; by Graſhoppers; by Darkneſs; after which, *Pharaoh* forbad *Moſes* his preſence: moved the hardened heart of the unbelieving King, no longer than the pain and peril laſted; till ſuch time as his own firſt-born, and the firſt-born of all his Nation periſhed. He then, while he feared his own life (a time wherein we remember God perforce) ſtood upon no condition; whereas before, he firſt yielded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reſerving their beſtial; but he was now content for the preſent, that the *Iſraelits* ſhould not onely depart with all their own, but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels of his own people: of which (the fear being paſt) he ſuddenly repented him, as his purſuit after them proved. For, when every one of the *Hebrews* had (according to direction from *Moſes* received) ſlain a Lamb, without ſpot or blemiſh, for the *Paſſover* (a *Sacrament* of the moſt clean and unſpotted Saviour) and with the bloud thereof coloured the poſt and lintern of the doors; the Angel of God in the night ſmote every firſt-born of *Egypt*, from the Son of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slave: the children of the *Iſraelites* excepted. At which terrible judgment of God, *Pharaoh* being more than ever amazed, yielded, as before is ſaid, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) did, in after-times, imitate this colouring with bloud, which the *Iſraelites* uſed after the *Paſſover*; aſcribing an exceeding virtue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not onely mark their Sheep and Cattel, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preſerve them from lightning, and other harms.

Epiph. l. 1. cont. Hæreſ.

§. V.

Of Pharaoh's *purſuit of the* Iſraelites; *and of their paſſage towards the Red Sea, ſo farr as* Succoth.

NOw, when the people were removed, and on their way (his heart being hardned by God) he bethought him as well of the honour loſt, as of the ſhame remaining after ſo many Calamities and Plagues, in ſuffering them to depart with the ſpoils of his people, and in deſpight of himſelf. And having before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readineſs, he conſulted with himſelf, what way the *Iſraelites* were like to take. He knew that the ſhorteſt and faireſt paſſage was through the Countrey of the *Philiſtims*. But becauſe theſe people were very ſtrong, and a warlike Nation, and (in all probability) of his Allies, he ſuſpected that *Moſes* meant to find ſome other out-let, to wit, through the Deſart of *Etham*; and there, becauſe the Countrey was exceeding mountainous, and of hard acceſs, and that *Moſes* was peſtered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, he thought it impoſſible for the *Iſraelites* to eſcape him that

that way. In the mean while, having gaExod.14.7 thered together all the Chariots of *Egypt*, and ſix hundred of his own, and Captains over them; he determined to ſet upon them in the plains of *Goſen*, which way ſoever they turned themſelves. For it was the antient manner to fight in thoſe Chariots, armed with broad and ſharp hooks on both ſides, in faſhion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kind of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Britains* uſed againſt the *Romans*, while they made the Warr for the conqueſt of this Land. Of this Army of *Pharaoh*, *Joſephus* affirmeth, that it conſiſtJoſ. ant. l. 2. c. 6. ed of 50000. Horſe, and 20000. Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to aſſail the *Hebrews* at their departure, or to deſtroy them in *Goſen*; and refuſed them paſſage, till ſuch time as he had prepared an Army to ſet on them. For, as it is written in the firſt of *Exodus*, he doubted two things, either that the *Hebrews* might join themſelves to his enemies within the Land; or, being ſo multiplied, as they were, might leave his ſervice, and get themſelves thence at their pleaſure. But the plagues which God grieved him withall, enforced him, at this time, to give an aſſent to their departure; perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwiſe, and *Joſephus* partial in this affair, yet, by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Egypt*, which could not be done in haſte. For *Moſes* made but three Exod.14.7 days march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heels; and yet the laſt day, he went on 16. miles: which in ſo hot a Countrey, and to drive their Cattel and Sheep with them, peſtered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witneſſing the dread of a powerfull Enemy at hand. Now, as *Moſes* well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his underſtanding in all his enterprizes; ſo he lay not ſtill in the ditch, crying for help, but uſing the underſtanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed becoming a wiſe man, and a valiant and ſkilfull Conductor; as by all his actions and counſels, from this day to his death, well appeared.

When *Moſes* perceived that *Pharaoh* was enraged againſt him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his preſence: after that he had warned *Iſrael* of the *Paſſover*, he appointed a general Aſſembly, or *Rendez-vous* of all the *Hebrews* at *Rameſes*, in the Territory of *Goſen*; a City ſtanding indifferent to receive from all parts of the Countrey, the diſperſed *Hebrews*; and gave commandment, that every Family ſhould bring with them ſuch ſtore as they had of Dough, and Paſte, not ſtaying to make it into Bread; knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having conſidered the great ſtrength of *Pharaoh*'s Horſe-men and Chariots, of which kind of defence *Moſes* was utterly unprovided (though, as it is written, the *Iſraelites* went up armed) he marched from *Rameſes* Eaſt-ward, towards the Deſarts of *Etham*, and encamped at *Succoth*; which he performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Abib*; which Moneth, from that time forward, they were commanded to account as the firſt Moneth of the year. Whether in former times they had been accuſtomed to begin their year in ſome other Moneth, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now re-called by *Moſes* to Exod.13. 16. & 34. 22. the rule of their fore-fathers, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that they had, and retained another beginning of their Politick year, which was not now abrogated, but rather, by ſome ſolemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and ſtill continued in uſe. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, unto the beginning, middeſt, or ending of the year; that diſtinction of the Sacred and the Politick year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of days in every Moneth, and the whole form of their year, like enough it is, that *Moſes* himſelf in fourty years ſpace, did ſufficiently inſtruct the Prieſts, to whoſe care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in truſt; but that any rule of framing their Kalendar was made publick, before the captivity of *Babylon*, I do not find. Now, becauſe time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach of order, to ſhew here, at their firſt ſetting forth, what was the form of the *Hebrew* year; with the difference between them and other Nations, in ordering the account of time.

The Territory of *Goſen* was afterward called *Rameſes*, after the name of this City, as appeareth in *Gen.* 47. & *Numb.* 33. *Exod.* 13.

§. VI.

§. VI.

Of the Solary and Lunary years; and how they are reconciled; with the form of the Hebrew *year, and their manner of intercalation.*

The *Hebrew* Moneths are thus named.

The First Moneth, *Nisan*, or *Abib*.	1. *March*.
II. *Jar*, or *Tiar*, *Zio*, or *Zin*.	2. *April*.
III. *Sivan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban*.	3. *May*.
IV. *Tamuz*.	4. *June*.
V. *Ab*.	5. *July*.
VI. *Ehul*.	6. *August*.
VII. *Tisri*, or *Ethavin*, or *Ethanim*.	7. *September*.
VIII. *Marcheſuan*, or *Mechaſuan*, or *Bul*, or with *Joſephus*, *Morſonane*.	8. *October*.
IX. *Chiſleu*, or *Caſleu*.	9. *November*.
X. *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth*.	10. *December*.
XI. *Sebeth*, or *Sabath*.	11. *January*.
XII. *Adar*, and *Ve Adar*.	12. *February*.

Ant. l. c. 4.

VE *Adar*, was an intercalary Moneth, added ſome years unto the other twelve, to make the Solary and Lunary year agree; which (beſides the general inconvenience that would otherwiſe have riſen, by caſting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter ſeaſon, to the great confuſion of all account) was more neceſſarily to be regarded of the *Hebrews*, becauſe of the divine Precept. For God appointed eſpecial Feaſts to be celebrated preciſely in ſuch a Moneth of the year, and withall on a ſet day, both of the Moon, and of the Moneth: as the Feaſt of the First-fruits, the new Moons, and the like; which could not have ſo been kept, if either the day of the Moon had fallen in ſome other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it ſelf been found far diſtant from his place in the ſeaſon of the year.

Deut. 16.

Other Nations, the better to obſerve their Solemnities in the due time, and to aſcertain all reckonings and remembrances (which is the principal commodity of time that is, the meaſure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their years unequal, by adding ſometimes, and ſometimes abating one or more days, as the errour committed in foregoing years required. The errour grew at firſt, by not knowing what number of days made up a compleat year. For though by the continual courſe of the Sun, cauſing Summer and Winter duly to ſucceed each other, it is plain enough, even to the moſt ſavage of all people, when a year hath paſſed over them; yet the neceſſity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbred by a ſhorter tally, makes this long meaſure of whole years inſufficient for the ſmaller ſort of more daily affairs. Therefore men obſerved the Monethly conſpicuous revolution of the Moon, by which they divided the the year into twelve parts, ſubdividing the Moneth into 29. days and nights, and thoſe again into their quarters and hours. But as the marks of time are ſenſibly and eaſily diſcerned; ſo the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the underſtanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moon, containing leſs time by 11. days, or thereabout, than the yearly courſe of the Sun through the Zodiak, in the ſpace of ſixteen years, every Moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the year, to that wherein it was placed at the firſt. This cauſed them to add ſome days to the year, making it to conſiſt of twelve Moneths, and as many days more, as they thought would make the courſes of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errours. For neither did the Sun determine his yearly revolution by any ſet number of whole days; neither did the Moon change always at one hour; but the very minutes and leſſer fractions were to be obſerved by him, that would ſeek to reduce their motions (which motions alſo were not ſtill alike) into any certain rule.

30. & 29.

Here lay much Wiſdom, and deep Art, which could not ſoon be brought to perfection. Yet, as making an eſtimate at random, the *Athenians* held the year to contain thee hundred and ſixty days; wherein moſt of the *Greeks* concurred with them. That three hundred and ſixty days filled up the *Grecian* year (beſides many collateral proofs) it is manifeſt by that which *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in the honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, which were (ſaith he) 360. whileſt as yet the year exceeded not that number of days. By this account, neither did any certain age of the Moon begin or end their Moneths; neither could their Moneths continue many years in their own places; but muſt needs be ſhifted by little and little, from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the days forgotten to be inſerted into the *Almanack* by men, but not forgotten by the ſuperiour bodies in their courſes, ſhould occupy their own rooms in their due turns. Now, becauſe the ſolemnity of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full Moon, and withall, on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombæon* (which anſwereth in a manner to our *June*) they were carefull to take order, that this Moneth might ever begin with the new Moon; which they effected by adding ſome two days to the laſt Moneth of every year; thoſe games being held once in four years. This intercalation ſufficed not

Plin. l. 34. cap. 6.

to

to make the matter even; which cauſed them ſomtimes to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the ſecond of the Moneth *Bædromion* (agreeing nearly with our *Auguſt*) ſometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to inſert another for it in their fourth Lunary year, accounting by the Moon, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithſtanding, their Moneth of *June* would every year have grown colder and colder, had they not ſought to keep all upright, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth year, one whole Moneth, which they called the ſecond *Poſideon*, or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who alſo taught them to make one Month of 29. days, another of 30. days, & ſo ſucceſſively through the whole year. Thus, with much labour, they kept their year, as near as they could, unto the high way of the *Planets*; but theſe marks, which they obſerved, were found at length to be deceitfull guides. For it was not poſſible ſo to faſhion this eighth years intercalation, that it ſhould not deceive them in 11. hours and 18. minutes at the leaſt, or ſome ways in 34. hours and 10. miuutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences, would in few Ages, have bred much confuſion. The firſt that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who, not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth years intercalation, deviſed a *Cycle* of 19. years, wherein the Moon, having 235. times run out her circuit, met with the Sun in the ſame place, & on the ſame day of the year; as in the 19. year before paſt ſhe had done. This invention of *Meton*, was entertained with great applauſe, and paſſing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inſerted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called, The Golden Number, which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoided the great and uncertain intercalations that formerly had been uſed; for by the intercalation of ſeven Months, in the 19. years, all was ſo even, that no ſenſible difference could be found. Yet that error which in one year could not be perceiv'd, was very apparent in a few of thoſe *Cycles*; the new Moons anticipating in one *Cycle* 7. hours, and ſome minutes, of the preciſe rule. Therefore *Calippus* deviſed a new *Cycle*, containing four of *Metons*, that is to ſay, 76. years; and afterwards, *Hipparchus*, a noble *Aſtrologer*, framed another, containing four of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding ſome errour in the former Obſervations, which they diligently corrected. The laſt reformation of the Kalendar, was that which *Julius Cæſar* made, who, by advice of the beſt *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courſes of thoſe heavenly bodies, reduced the year unto the form which is now in uſe with us, containing 365. days and 6. hours, which hours in four years, make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth year, the 24. of *February*. The correction of the *Julian* year by *Pope Gregory* the 13. *Anno Dom.* 1582. is not as yet entertained by general conſent; it was indeed but as a Note added unto the Work of *Cæſar*; yet a Note of great importance. For whereas it was obſerved, that the Sun, which at the time of the *Nicene Council*, *An. Dom.* 234. entred the *Æquinoctial* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the year 1583. ten days ſooner found, in that time *Pope Gregory* ſtrook out of the Kalendar ten days, following the 4. of *October*; ſo that in ſtead of the fifth day, was written the fifteenth; by which means the movable Feaſts depending on the Sun's entrance into *Aries*, were again celebrated in ſuch time, as at the *Nicene Council* they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the *Council* of *Trent* ordained, that from thence forward, in every hundred year, the Leap-day ſhould be omitted, excepting ſtill the fourth hundred; becauſe the Sun doth not in his yearly courſe take up full ſix hours above the 365. days; but faileth ſo may minutes, as in 400. years make about three whole days.

But the *Cycle* of 29. years, which the *Hebrews* uſed, was ſuch as neither did need any nice curioſity of hours, minutes, and other leſſer fractions to help it; neither did in ſumming up the days of the whole year, neglect the days of the Moon, confounding one Month with another For with them it fel out ſo, that always the *Kalends*, or firſt day of the Moneth, was at the new Moon; and becauſe that day was Feſtival, they were very carefull, as well to obſerve the ſhort year of the Moon, paſſing through all the 12. Signs in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. Firſt, therefore they gave it to *Niſan*, their firſt Moneth, which is about our *March*, or *April*, 30. days; to *Jar*, their ſecond Moneth 29. days; and ſo ſucceſſively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to paſs, that every two Moneths of theirs contain'd ſomewhat evenly two revolutions of the Moon, allowing 29. days 12 hours, and odd minutes, from change to change. The ſpare minutes were beſtowed among the ſuperfluous, or *Epact* days; which made up ſeven Moneths in 19. years; to ſix of which ſeven were commonly given 30. days, to one of them 29. days, or otherwiſe, as was found requiſite. Their common year (as appeareth by the ſeveral

days of each Moneth) contained 354. days, which fail of the year, wherein the Sun finiſheth his courſe, 11. whole days, with ſome fractions of time. But theſe days, and other broken pieces, howſoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the *Cycle* of 19. years, were ſo diſpoſed of by convenient intercalations, that ſtill at the end of the *Cycle*, both the Sun and Moon were found on the ſame day of the year, Moneth, and week, yea, commonly on the ſame hour of the day, where they had been at the beginning of it, 19. years before.

Sig. de rep. Heb. lib. 3. cap. 1. Divers have diverſly ſet down the form of the *Hebrew* year, with the manner of their intercalations. *Sigonius* tells us, that every ſecond year, they did add a Moneth of 22. days; every fourth year a Moneth of 23. in regard of 11. days and a half wanting in 12. Moons, to fulfill a year of the Sun. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceived. For the Moon doth never finiſh her courſe in 22. or 23. days; and therefore to have added ſo many days to the end of the year, had been the way to change the faſhion of all the Moneths in the years following, which could not have begun, as they ought, with the new Moon. *Genebrard* ſaith, that every third year, *Geneb. Chron. l. 2.* or ſecond year, as need required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the years end unto the other 12. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the years the intercalation was (if it be worthy of conſideration) me thinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all farr from evenneſs, untill the very laſt of the 19. years. For (to omit ſuch as erre groſly) ſome there are who ſay, that after three years, when beſides the days ſpent in 36. courſes of the Moon, 33. days are left remaining, that is, 11. days of each year; then did the *Hebrews* add a Moneth of 30. days; keeping three days, as it were, in pluſſage unto the next account. The like, ſay they, was done at the end of the ſixth year; at which time, beſides the intercalary Moneth, remained ſix days, namely, three ſurmounting that Month, and the *Epact* of three years, beſides the three formerly reſerved. Thus they go on to the 18. year; at which time they have 18. days in hand: all which, with the *Epact* of the 19. year, make up a Moneth of 29. days, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle*, makes all even.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet ſurely it muſt needs have bred a great confuſion, if in the 18. year every Moneth were removed from his own place by the diſtance of 48. days, that is, half a quarter of a year and more; which inconvenience, by ſuch a reckoning, was unavoidable. Wherefore I preferr the common opinion, which prevents ſuch diſlocation of the Moneths, by ſetting down a more convenient way of intercalation in the 8. year. For the 6. days remaining after the two former intercalations made in the third and ſixth years, added unto the 22. days, ariſing out of the *Epacts* of the 7. and 8. years, do fitly ſerve to make up a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two days is ſo farr from cauſing any diſorder, that indeed it helps to make the year enſuing vary the leſs from the proper ſeaſon of every Moneth. This may ſuffice to be ſpoken of the *Hebrew* Moneths and years, by which they guided their accounts.

§. VII.

Of the paſſage of Iſrael *from* Succoth *towards the Red Sea; and of the divers ways leading out of* Egypt.

FRom *Succoth*, in the morning following, *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites* towards the Deſart of *Etham*, to recover the Mountain foot, by the edge of that Wilderneſs, though he intended nothing leſs than to go out of that way, of all other the neareſt. But being aſſured of the multitude of Horſe-men and armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himſelf from being encompaſſed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he reſted but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the diſtance between it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbare to enter *Arabia*, being then in ſight thereof, it ſeemeth to proceed from three reſpects: the firſt two, natural; the third, divine. For, *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moſes* took, perſwaded himſelf, that the numbers which *Moſes* led, conſiſting of above a Million, if not of two Millions of Souls (for it is written, *Exod.* the 12. *Great multitudes of ſundry ſorts of people went out with them*) could not poſſibly paſs over thoſe Deſart and high Mountains with ſo great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, but that at the very entrance of that faſtneſs he ſhould have overtaken them, and deſtroyed the greateſt number of them. For theſe his own words, *They are tangled in the Land, the Wilderneſs hath ſhut them in*, do ſhew his hopes and intents; which *Moſes*, by turning another way, did fruſtrate. Secondly, *Moſes* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way,

It is probable that all thoſe *Egyptians*, and others brought by the *Hebrews* to the knowledg of the true God, followed *Moſes* at his departure.

way, drew *Pharaoh* toward the East-side of the Land of *Gosen*, or *Rameses*: from whence (missing *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughness of the way; and howsoever, yet while the *Hebrews* kept the Mountain foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the over-bearing violence both of Horse and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moses* confidence in the All-powerfull God was such, by whose Spirit, onely wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000. men, to cast the success upon his own understanding, wise conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, sixteen miles distant; and sate down between two ledges of Mountains adjoining to the *Red Sea*, to wit, the Mountains of *Etham* on the North, and *Baalzephon* towards the South; the same which *Orosius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a Temple, dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* noteth, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as, *Dominus speculæ, sive custodiæ*; *Lord of the watch-tower*. For the *Egyptians* believed, or at least made their slaves believe, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, this Idol would both arrest them, and force them to return to their Lords and Masters. For the *Egyptians* had gods for all turns. Egyptii *diis fœcundi*; *The* Egyptians *were fruitfull in gods*, saith S. *Hierom*. But *Moses*, who encamped at the foot of this Mountain with a million of Souls, or, as others conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the Watch-tower asleep, or out of countenance.

Climax is rather so called in respect of a passage up and down, than that it is any proper name.

Now, these two passages, leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* upon the firm Land, *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelusium* and *Casiotis*, the faireſt and shortest of all other, in respect of *Judæa*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembred, and took the way by the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, between the Mountains, which made a streight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made so great speed with his Horse-men and Chariots, as he gave the *Hebrews* no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but got sight of them, and they of him, even at the very brink and wash of the Sea; in so much as the *Hebrews* being terrified with *Pharaoh*'s sudden approach, began to despair, and to mutiny, at that time when it behooved them most to have taken courage for their own defence; laying it to *Moses* charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And fear, *Which*, saith the Book of *Wisdom*, *is the betraying of those succours which reason offereth*, made them both despair in God's former Promises, and to be forgetfull of their own strength and multitudes.

Exod. 13. 17.

Chap. 17. 11.

§. VIII.

Of their passage over the Red Sea; and of the Red Sea it self.

BUt *Moses*, who feared nothing but God himself, perswaded them to be confident in his goodness; who hath never abandoned those, that assuredly trusted in him; using this comfortable and resolved speech: *Fear not*, &c. *for the* Egyptians *whom ye have seen this day, ye shall never see them again. The Lord shall fight for you.* After which, *Moses* called on God for succour, received encouragement, and commandment to go on, in these words; *Wherefore cryest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of* Israel *that they go forward; and lift thou up thy Rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it, and let the children of* Israel *go on dry ground through the midst of the Sea.* *Moses* obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night, finding the sands uncovered, past on towards the other side and coast of *Arabia*; two parts of the night being spent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible Eastern Wind, and by *Moses* Rod, to prepare.

Exod. 14. 13.

Exod. 14. 16.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the same dry ground which *Moses* trod on. Therefore, as it is written: *The Angel of God which went before the Host of* Israel, *removed, and went behind them; also the Pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behind them*; which is, that it pleased God therein, either by his immediate power, or by the ministry of his Angel, to interpose his defence between the *Hebrews* and their Enemies; to the end that the *Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, in such sort, as they could not pursue *Israel* with any harmfull speed. But in the morning-watch, *Moses* seized the other bank of *Arabia* side; and *Pharaoh* (as the dawn of the day began to enlighten the obscure air) finding a beginning of the Sea's return, hasted himself towards his own Coast: *But* Moses *stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force*, that is, the Sea, moved by the power of God, ran back towards the Land with unresistible fury and swiftness, and overwhelmed the whole Army of *Pharaoh*, so as not one escaped. For, it is written, that *God took off their Chariot wheels*,

Josua 24. 7.

Exod. 14. 27.

that is, when the waters began to cover the sands, the *Egyptians* being strucken with fear of death, ran one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had past on after the *Hebrews*, their wheels stuck fast in the mud and quick-sands, and could not be drawn out; the Sea coming against them with supernatural violence.

Lyranus, upon *Exod.* 14. and others, following the Opinions or old Traditions of the *Hebrews*, conceived, that after *Moses* had by the power of God divided the *Red Sea*, and that the children of *Israel* were fearfull to enter it, *Aminadab*, Prince, or Leader of the Tribe of *Judah*, first made the adventure; and that therefore was that *Tribe*, ever after, honoured above the rest, according to the Prophecie of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49. 8. *Thy fathers Sons shall bow down unto thee.* But *Hierome*, upon *Hosea* 11. condemns this Opinion, And though it be true, that *Judah* had the first place in all their miracles in the Desart, and, as we now call it, led the Van-guard (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the *Red Sea*) yet, that *Moses* himself was the Conducter of *Israel* at that time, it is generally received. For, it is written in the 77. *Psalm*; *Thou didst lead thy people, like Sheep, by the hand of* Moses *and* Aaron.

The *Hebrews* have also another fancie, that the *Red Sea* was divided into twelve parts, and that every *Tribe* past over in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. *Psalm*, according to the vulgar: *Divisit Mare Rubrum in divisiones*; *He divided the Red Sea in divisions.* Also that the bottom of the Sea became a green Field, or Pasture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulensis*, and *Genebrard*, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelve Pillars, nor twelve Armies of the *Egyptians*. It is written, *Psalm* 77. *v.* 16. *Thy way is in the Sea*; not *thy ways*: and in the last Book of *Wisdom*, vers. 7. *In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now, this Sea, through which *Moses* past, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwise called *Chencres*, perished, in the 16. year of his reign, is commonly known by the name of the *Red Sea*, though the same differ nothing at all in natural colour from other Waters. But, as *Philostratus* in his third Book noteth, and our selves know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow strait, between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the *Abyssins*: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which *Ptolemy* calleth *Possodium*, to the other Land of *Æthiopia*, hath not above six leagues in breadth, and the same also filled every where with Islands, but afterwards it extendeth it self 58. leagues from coast to coast, and it runneth up between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Arabia Petræa* on one side, and *Æthiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as farr as *Sues*, the uttermost end and indraught of that Sea; where the *Turk* now keeps his fleet of Gallies. The *Cosmographers* commonly give it the name of the *Arabian Gulf*; but the North part towards *Sues*, and where *Moses* past, is called *Heropolites*, of the City *Hero*, sometime *Troy*, and of later times *Sues*. *Pliny* calls it *Cambisu*, by which name it was known, saith he, before it was called *Hero*, many years. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North, *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æleniticum*; King *Juba*, *Læniticum*; others more properly, *Elaniticum*, of the Port and City *Elana*, which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*; *Ptolemy*, *Elana*; *Pliny*, *Læna*; *Josephus*, *Ilana*; and *Marius Niger*, *Aila*: there is also *Ilalah* in *Assyria*, to which *Salmanasser* carried the *Israelites* captive, 2 *King.* 8. 11. which *Ilalah* in *Assyria*, the *Septuagint* call *Elæa*; and in the first of *Chro.* 5. *Ala*. But, as for the *Red Sea*, on the parts thereof, thus diversly named, the *Moors*, and *Arabians* (Vassals to the *Turk*) know it by no other appellation, than the *Gulf* of *Meca*, after the name of *Mahomet's* Town *Mecca*. The *Greeks* write it the Sea *Erythræum*, of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythræus*: and because *Erythros* in the *Greek* signifieth Red; hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythræus*, the Son of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, it took the name of the *Red Sea*, as *Q. Curtius* conjectureth; which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirm. But it seems to me, by the view of a Discovery of that Sea, in the year 1544. performed by *Stephen Gama*, *Viceroy* of the *East-India* for the King of *Portugal*, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of a redness, both from the banks, cliffs, and sands of many Islands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For, I find by the report of *Castro*, a principal Commander under *Gama* (which Discourse I gave Mr. *Richard Hacluit* to publish) that there is an Island called *Dalaqua*, sometime *Leques*, containing in length, 25. leagues, and 12. in breadth; the earth, sands, and cliffs, of which Island, being of a redish colour, serve for a foil to the waters about it; to make it seem altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Castro* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of *Septentrional* latitude, to 27. (which make in length of Coast 180. miles, lying, as it doth, Northerly & Southerly) all the cliffs, and banks are of red earth, or stone, which by reflection of the Sunbeams, give a kind of redish lustre to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and we

Plin. l. 6. c. 23.

2 King. 19. Jos. An. 8. cap. 2.

Arian. de gest. Alex. Mag. l. 8. Strabo. l. 6.

we know it by many teſtimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this Sea, towards the ſhore, great abundance of red ſtones, on which the greateſt ſtore of Corral grows, which is carried into moſt parts of *Europe*, and elſewhere. There are alſo on the Iſlands of this Sea, many red Trees, ſaith *Strabo*, and thoſe, growing under water, may alſo be a cauſe of ſuch a colour. Of theſe appearances of redneſs by the ſhadow of theſe ſtones, ſands, earth, and cliffs, I ſuppoſe that it firſt took the name of the *Red Sea*, becauſe in ſo many places it ſeemeth to be ſuch; which *Johannes Barros* in his ſecond *Decade*, eighth Book, and firſt Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea, from *Elana*, or *Ezion-Gaber* adjoining, now *Toro*, called by the antient *Coſmographers*, *Sinus Elaniticus*, which waſheth the banks of *Madian*, or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. leagues together, along Northward toward *Sues*, ſome 3. leagues, or 9. *Engliſh* miles over, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea, it is in length about 28. leagues, of which, the firſt 26. have 9. miles breadth, as aforeſaid, and afterward, the Lands, both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thruſt themſelves into the Sea, and ſtrengthen it ſo faſt, as for 6. miles together, it is not above 3. miles over; from thence, upward the Land on *Egypt* ſide, falleth away, and makes a kind of *Bay*, or *Cove*, for ſome 10. miles together, after which, the Land grows upon the Sea again, and ſo binds it into the very end thereof, at 4. miles breadth, or there about, in which Tract it was that *Moſes* paſt it over, though others would have it to be over againſt *Elana*, or *Toro*, but without judgment; for from *Rameſes* to *Pihacheroth*, and *Baalzephon*, there is not above 30. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at moſt, which *Moſes* paſt over in three days; and between the Land of *Egypt*, oppoſite to *Elana*, or *Toro*, the diſtance is above 80. miles. For *Rameſes*, to which City *Moſes* came (being the *Metropolis* of *Goſen*) when he left *Pharaoh* at *Zoan*, and took his laſt leave, ſtandeth in 30. degrees 5. minutes of *Septentrional* latitude; and *Migdol*, or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the Mountain *Climax*, or *Baalzephon*, in nine and twenty and a half, which make a difference of five and thirty *Engliſh* miles, the way lying, in effect, North and South.

§. IX.

That the paſſage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not a low ebb.

THe *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other *Heathen* Writers, who, in hatred of the *Hebrews*, have objected that *Moſes* paſt over the *Red Sea* at a low ebb, upon a great Spring-tyde, and that *Pharaoh*, conducted more by fury than diſcretion, purſued him ſo farr, as before he could recover the coaſt of *Egypt*, he was overtaken by the floud, and therein periſhed; did not well conſider the nature of this place, with other circumſtances. For, not to borrow ſtrength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plain, that the Waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Eaſterly Wind, and by the hand and rod of *Moſes* (which authority to men that believe not therein, perſwadeth nothing) I ſay, that by the ſame natural reaſon unto which they faſtened themſelves, it is made manifeſt, that had there bin no other working power from above, or aſſiſtance given from God himſelf to *Moſes* and the children of *Iſrael*, than ordinary, and caſual, then could not *Pharaoh* and all his Army have periſhed in that purſuit.

For whereſoever there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the Land, and run downwards toward the *Ocean*, leaving all that part towards the Land, as far as the Sea can ebb, or fall off, to the dry land. Now, *Moſes* entring the Sea at *Migdol* under *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tide) muſt have left all that end of the *Red Sea* towards *Sues*, on his left hand, dry and uncovered. For if a paſſage were made by falling away of the water 10. or 12. miles farther into the Sea than *Sues*, and between it and where *Moſes* paſt, who entred the ſame ſo far below it, and towards the body of the ſame Sea; it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleev, or Strait, had been by the ebb of a Spring-tide diſcovered, when *Pharaoh* found the floud increaſing, he needed not to have returned by the ſame way toward *Egypt* ſide, but might have gone on in his return before the tide, on his right hand; and ſo taken ground again at the end of the Sea, at *Sues* it ſelf, or elſewhere. But the Scriptures do truly witneſs the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that *Moſes* paſt on between two Seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwiſe, *Pharaoh*, by any return of waters, could not have periſhed, as he did; and therefore the effects of that great Armies deſtruction, prove the cauſe to have bin a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himſelf. Again, thoſe words of the Scriptures, that *God cauſed the Sea to return back by a ſtrong Eaſt-wind*, do rather prove the miracle, than that there-

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by was cauſed an ebb more than ordinary; for that Sea did not lie Eaſt and Weſt, but, in effect, North and South. And it muſt have been a Weſt and North weſt wind, that muſt have driven thoſe waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-eaſt into the Sea. But the Eaſt-wind blew athwart the Sea, and cut it aſunder: ſo as one part fell back towards the South and main body thereof, the other part remained toward *Sues*, and the North. Which being unknown to *Pharaoh*; while he was checkt by that Sea, which uſed in times before to ebb away, the floud preſt him, and over-whelm'd him. Thirdly, ſeeing *Joſephus* avoweth, that *Moſes* was not onely of excellent judgment, generally, but alſo, ſo great a Captain, as he over-threw the *Æthiopians* in battels, being imployed by *Pharaoh*, and wan divers Cities, ſeeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemn him of this groſsneſs, and diſtraction: that rather then he would have endured the hardneſs of a Mountainous paſſage at hand (had not God commanded to take that way, and fore-told him of the honour which he would there win upon *Pharaoh*) he would have truſted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrary, but that *Pharaoh* might have found him, and preſt him, as well when it flowed, as when it ebbed, as it ſeemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharaoh*'s approach, cried out againſt *Moſes*, and deſpaired altogether of their ſafety; and when *Moſes* prayed unto God for help, he was anſwered by God; *Wherefore crieſt thou unto me? Speak unto the children of* Iſrael, *that they go forward, and lift thou up thy Rod, and ſtretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it:* which proves that there was not at that time of *Pharaoh*'s approach any ebb at all, but that God did diſperſe and cut through the weight of waters, by a ſtrong Eaſt-wind, whereby the ſands diſcovered themſelves between the Sea on the left hand toward *Sues*, from whence the Waters moved not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, *ſo that the Waters were a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the left hand*, that is, the Waters ſo defended them on both ſides, as the *Egyptians* could onely follow them in the ſame path, not that the Waters ſtood upright as walls do, as ſome of the Schole-men have fancied. For, had *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* perceived any ſuch buildings in the Sea, they would ſoon have quitted the chaſe and purſuit of *Iſrael*. Furthermore, there is no man of judgment, that can think, that *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who then excelled all Nations in the obſervations of heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes and refluxes of the Sea, in his own Countrey, on his own coaſt, and in his own moſt traded and frequented Ports and Havens; and wherein his people having had ſo many hundreds of years experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any fore-known or natural accident, but by God's powerfull hand only; which then falleth moſt heavily on all men, when, looking through no other ſpectacle but their own proſperity, they leaſt diſcern it coming, and leaſt fear it. Laſtly, if the Army of the *Egyptians* had been overtaken by the ordinary return of the floud, before they could recover their own coaſt; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the floud, which runneth up to *Sues*, and to the end of that Sea, and not have been caſt a-ſhore on the coaſt of *Arabia*, where *Moſes* landed, to wit, upon the Sea-bank over againſt *Baalzephon*, on *Arabia* ſide; where it was that the *Iſraelites* ſaw their dead bodies, and not at the end of the *Red Sea*, to which place the ordinary floud would have carried them; Which floud doth not any where croſs the Channel, and run athwart it, as it muſt have done from *Egypt* ſide to *Arabia*, to have caſt the bodies there; but it keeps the natural courſe towards the end of that Sea; and to which their carkaſſes ſhould have been carried, if the work had not been ſupernatural and miraculous. *Apollonius*, in the lives of the Fathers, affirmeth, that thoſe of the *Egyptians* which ſtayed in the country, did not follow *Pharaoh* in the purſuit of *Iſrael*, did ever after honor thoſe beaſts, birds, plants or other creatures, about which they were buſied at the time of *Pharaoh*'s deſtruction; as he that was then labouring in his Garden, made a god of that Plant or Root about which he was occupied, and ſo of the reſt. But how thoſe multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reaſon ſhall be given elſe-where. *Oroſius*, in his firſt Book and tenth Chapter againſt the *Pagans*, tells us, that in his time, who lived ſome 400. years after *Chriſt*, the prints of *Pharaoh*'s Chariot wheels were to be ſeen at a low water, on the *Egyptian* ſands; and though they were ſometime defaced by wind and weather, yet ſoon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every man to his own belief.

Cap. 14. *v.* 21.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the journeying of the Iſraelites *from the* Red Sea, *to the place where the Law was given them; with a diſcourſe of Laws.*

§. I.

A tranſition, by way of recapitulation of ſome things touching Chronologie; with a continuation of the Story, untill the Amalekites *met with the* Iſraelites.

BUt to go on with the Story of *Iſrael*, in this ſort I collect the times. *Moſes* was born in the year of the World, 2434. *Saphrus* then governing *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sycionia*, or *Peloponneſus*; *Crioſus*, the *Argives*; *Orus*, *Egypt*; and *Deucalion*, *Theſſaly*. He fled into *Midian*, when he had lived fourty years, in the year of the World, 2474. and two years after was *Caleb* born. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought his miracles in the fields of *Zoan*, in the year, 2514. the laſt Moneth of the year. On the 14. day of the firſt *Hebrew* Moneth *Abib*, or the 15. of that Moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sunſetting, in the year of the World, 2514. was the celebration of the *Paſſover*; & in the dead of the night of the ſame day, were all the firſt born ſlain through *Egypt*, or in all thoſe parts where the *Hebrews* inhabited not. The 15. day of the firſt Month of the *Hebrews*, called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the year of the World, 2514. *Moſes*, with the children of *Iſrael* removed from the general Aſſembly at *Rameſes*, and marched to *Succoth*.

Acts 7. Joſua 14. 2474. Pag. 254. Exod. 12. Numb. 33.

And departing thence, they made their third ſtation at *Etham*; and journeying from *Etham*, they encamped in the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, or *Migdol*, under the Mountain *Baalzephon*; and in the ſame night, after midnight, they paſt the *Red Sea*; *Pharaoh* and his Army periſhing in their return, about the firſt dawn of the day. *Moſes* having recovered the banks of *Arabia*, gave thanks unto God for the delivery of *Iſrael*; and making no ſtay on that coaſt, entred the Deſarts of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*. But finding no water in that paſſage, he encamped at *Marah*, in the Deſart of *Etham*, which in *Exod.* 15. 22. is called *Sur*, 25. miles from the Sea; where the children of *Iſrael*, preſt with extreme thirſt, murmured againſt *Moſes* the ſecond time; firſt, at *Pharaohs* approach at *Pihacheroth*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moſes* taking the branches of a Tree, growing near a Lake of bitter water, and caſting the ſame thereinto, made the ſame ſweet: a plain type and figure of our Saviour; who, upon the Tree of the Croſs, changed the bitterneſs of everlaſting death, into the ſweetneſs of eternal life. *Pliny* remembers theſe bitter Fountains in his ſixth Book, 29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Egypt*, *Seſoſtris* firſt, *Darius* after him, and laſtly, *Ptolemy* the ſecond, began to cut an artificial River, thereby by Boats and ſmall Shipping to Trade and Navigate the *Red Sea*, from the great Cities upon *Nilus*. From *Marah* he removed to *Elim*, the ſixth Manſion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelve Fountains of ſweet water, and threeſcore and ten Palm-trees, he reſted divers days.

Exod. 13. Numb. 33. Exod. 14. Numb. 33. Exod. 14. Exod. 15. Numb. 33. Exod. 15. Numb. 33.

Whether this *Helim* were the name of a Town or City in *Moſes* time, I cannot affirm. And yet the ſcarcity of waters in that Region was ſuch, as *Helim*, which had twelve Fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. *William*, Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, in his Hiſtory of the *Holy Warr*, found at *Helim*, the ruines of a great and antient City. And at ſuch time as *Baldwine* the firſt paſt that way into *Egypt*. *Ingreſſus* (ſaith he) Helim *Civitatem antiquiſſimam*, *populo* Iſraelitico *aliquando familiarem*; *ad quem cum perveniſſet*, *loci illius incolæ*, *Regis adventu præcognito*, *naviculam ingredientes*, *in Mare vicinum ſe contulerunt*; *Entring* Helim, *a very antient City*, *well known ſometime to the people of* Iſrael; *whither*, *when he came*, *the Inhabitants*, *forewarned of the Kings approach*, *took Boat*, *and ſhifted themſelves into the Sea lying near them.* From *Elim* he returned again towards the South, and ſat down by the banks of the *Red Sea*; the ſeventh Manſion. For it ſeemeth, that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who repaired to reſiſt his paſſage through part of *Arabia*. And *Moſes*, who had not as yet trained the *Hebrews*, appointed to bear Arms; nor aſſured the minds of the reſt, who encountring with the

William Tyre, *l.* 11. *cap.* 16.

the least misery, were more apt to return to their quiet slavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every way accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to undertake or sustain so dangerous an enemy: he therefore made stay at this Mansion, untill the fifteenth of this second Moneth, called *Zim*, or *Jiar*; and made the eighth Mansion in the Desart of *Zin*: where the children of *Israel* mutinied against *Moses* the third time, having want of food. In the 16. Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retreat from *Elim* to the *Red Sea*, but in the collection of every several encamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is set down.

Exod. 16.

Here it pleased God to send so many flights of Quails, as the Country about their encamping was covered with them. The morning following, it also rained Manna, being the 16. of their Moneth, which served them in stead of bread. For now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of *Egypt*. And though they had great numbers of Cattel and Sheep among them, yet it seemeth, that they durst not feed themselves with many of those; but reserved them, both for the Milk to relieve the Children withall, and for Breed to store themselves when they came to the Land promised.

Exod. 16.

From hence towards *Raphidim*, they made two removes of 20. miles; the one to *Daphca*, the other to *Alus*, distant from *Raphidim* six miles. Here, being again prest with want of Water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themselves to be fed and beaten after the manner of Beasts, than to suffer a casual, and sometime necessary want, and to undergo the hazzards and travels which every manly mind seeks after, for the love of God, and their own freedoms. But *Moses*, with the same Rod which he divided the Sea withall, in the sight of the *Elders* of *Israel*, brought waters out of the Rock, wherewith the whole multitude were satisfied.

Exod. 17.

§. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, *and* Kenites, *upon occasion of the battel with the* Amalekites, *and* Jethro's *coming; who, being a* Kenite, *was Priest of* Madian.

AND while *Moses* encamped in this place, the *Amalekites*, who had knowledg of his approach, and ghessed that he meant to lead the children of *Israel* through their Countrey (which being barren of it self, would be utterly wasted by so great a multitude of People and Cattel) thought it most for their advantage to set upon them at *Raphidim*, where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of man, enfeebled them. On the other side, *Moses* perceiving their resolutions, gave charge to *Josua*, to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest *Hebrews*, to encounter *Amalech*. Between whom and *Israel* the victory remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day; the *Hebrews* and the *Amalekites* contending with equal hopes and repulses for many hours. And had not the strength of *Moses* Prayers to God been of farr greater force, and more prevalent than all resistance & attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are unacquainted with scarcity of food, and those minds whom a servile education hath dulled, being beaten, and despaired in their first attempts, will hardly, or never, be brought again to hazzard themselves.

Exod. 17.

After this Victory, *Jethro* repaired to *Moses*, bringing with him *Moses* his Wife, and his two Sons, which either *Jethro* forbare to conduct, or *Moses* to receive, till he had by this overthrow of *Amalech* the better assured himself of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in *Exod.* 18. 1. *When* Jethro, *the Priest of Madian*, Moses *Father-in-law, heard all that God had done for* Moses, &c. of which, the last deed, to wit, the overthrow of *Amalech*, gave *Jethro* courage and assurance, he then repaired to his Son-in-law, *Moses*, at *Sinai*; where, among other things, he advised *Moses* to appoint *Judges*, and other *Officers* over *Israel*, being himself unable to give order in all causes and controversies, among so many thousands of people, full of discontentment and private controversie.

This *Jethro*, although he dwelt amongst the *Madianites*, yet he was by Nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Judges*, Vers. 11, 17. it is manifest: where it is written, *Now* Heber *the* Kenite, *which was of the children of* Hobab, *to wit, the Son of* Jethro, *the Father-in-law of* Moses, *was departed from the* Kenites, *and pitched his Tents untill the Plain of* Zaanaim, *which is by* Kedesh. Likewise, in the first of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, lest he should destroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountains of *Sin Kadesh*; and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the Plains, according to the saying of *Balaam*, speaking of the *Kenites*: *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the rock.* And that *Saul* spared this Nation, he giveth

Chap. 15. *v.* 18.

Numb. 24. 28. 1 *Sam. cap.* 15.

giveth for cause, that they shewed mercy to all the children of *Israel*, when they came up from *Egypt*. For these *Kenites* were a Nation of the *Madianites*, and the *Madianites* were of the issues of *Madian*, one of the six Sons which *Abraham* begat on *Kethura*: and might also take that name of *Kenites* from *Kethura*, of whom they descended by the mother, who (as it seemeth) kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their Parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when he fled out of *Egypt* into *Madian*, and married the Daughter of *Jethro*, would not (had he found them Idolaters) have made *Jethro*'s Daughter the mother of his children. And although the *Kenites* are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seed of *Abraham* should root out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot be meant by these, who are descended from *Abraham* himself: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For, in the fifteenth of *Genesis*, *vers.* 19. these *Kenites*, or *Chusites*, are listed with the *Hittites* and *Perizzites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites*, and *Jebusites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites* descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether Idolatrous. For, as it is before remembred, *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*; that is to say, from those *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kedesh*, or *Cadesh*. Again, *Moses* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham*'s other Sons were born; which he did (referring my self to better judgment) rather, because they were more antient, than by anticipation.

Gen. 25.

Gen. 15.

Jud. 4.

Gen. 25. 4.

And as of the *Kenites*, so we may consider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moses* into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of *Madian* by the River *Zared*, afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the *Madianites*, neer the banks of the *Red Sea*, where *Moses* married his Wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of *Amalech*, seem likewise not to have been corrupted. For these *Madianites*, with the *Kenites*, assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the Deserts. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*, called *Petræa*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adjoyning to the *Red Sea* were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of *Madian*, of whom *Jethro* was Priest, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not have sent 12000. *Israelites*, as far back as the *Red Sea*, from the Plains of *Moab*, to have destroyed that *Madian*, where his Wives kinred inhabited; seeing himself coming with 600000. able men, was encountred by *Amalech* in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Deserts, wherein himself and *Israel* had wandered fourty years.

That *Jethro*, or *Jothor*, *Raguel*, or *Revel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the Scriptures teach us. For the *Vulgar*, and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our *English*, *Revel*, *Exod.* 2.18. cals him *Jethro*, or *Jothor*, *Exod.* 3.1. and 4.18. & 18.1. & 6.9, 10, 12. & in *Numb.* 10.29. *Hobab*. Others take *Jethro* and *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

§. III.

Of the time when the Law was given; with divers commendations of the invention of Laws.

THE rest of the Moneths of this year 2515. were spent in the Desart of *Sinai*, neer the mountain of *Sinai*, or *Horeb*, the twelfth Mansion. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* and *Horeb* were distinct Mountains: *Hierom*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For, in *Exod.* 3. 1. it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exodus* 24.19. it is written *Sinai*. In the 106. *Psalm*, *vers.* 19. *Horeb*: in *Exodus* 19. 11. *Sinai*. And so it is called, *Galatians* 4. *vers.* 24. And again, *Deut.* 4. 10. and 15. and *Deut.* 5. 2. *Horeb*. And so it is in the first of *Kings* 8. 6. and the second of *Chronicles* 5. 10. and in *Malachie* 4. 4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus*, 48. 7. they are named as one. *Which heardest* (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) *the rebuke of the Lord in* Sinai, *and in* Horeb *the judgment of the vengeance*. Somewhat they are dis-joined at the top, by the report of *Peter Belonius*; who, in the year 1588. past out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsieur de Fumet* of *France*, and travelled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by farr the higer hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there falleth a very fair Spring of Water into the Valley adjoining: where he found two *Monasteries* of *Christian Marronites*, containing some hundred Religious persons of divers Nations, who had pleasant Gardens, delicate Fruits, and excellent Wine. These (saith the same Authour) give entertainment to all strangers, which pass that way.

Pet. Bel. l. 2. cap. 62.

Now, that there was ſome ſuch Torrent of water neer *Sinai*, in *Moſes* time, it is very probable: Firſt, becauſe he encamped thereabout almoſt a year, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: Secondly, becauſe it is written, *Exod.* 32.20. that when *Moſes* had broken the golden Calf to powder, which *Aaron* ſet up in his abſence, he caſt the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Iſrael* to drink thereof.

On this mountain, the Law by the Angel of God was given to *Moſes*, where he ſtayed a whole year, wanting ſome ten or twelve days: for he removed not till the twentieth day of the ſecond Moneth of the ſecond year; and he arrived about the five and fourtieth day after the egreſſion; the Law being given the fiftieth day.

At this Manſion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that Book; all in *Leviticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (becauſe there is no Story nor other Paſſage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof ſpeak ſomewhat of the Law, and the kinds and uſe thereof: wherby, if the Reader find the Story any way diſ-joyned, he may turn over a few leaves, and, omitting this, find the continuation thereof. We muſt firſt conſider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, level, and ſquare of Laws: ſo it pleaſed God to give thereby unto *Moſes* the powerfulleſt man (his miraculous grace excepted) to govern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their paſſage, and to eſtabliſh them aſſuredly in their conqueſt. For, as the North Starr is the moſt fixed Director of the Sea-man to his deſired Port: ſo is the Law of God the Guide and Conductor of all in general to the haven of eternal life: the Law of Nature, from God his eternal Law deduced, the rule of all his creatures; the Law humane, depending on both theſe, the guard of Kings, Magiſtrates, and vertuous Men; yea, the very ſpirit, and the very ſinews of every Eſtate in the World, by which they live and move: the Law, to wit, a juſt Law, being reſembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without luſt, and to a Mind without paſſion; a Treaſurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and diſtributeth to every man what he ought to have. This benefit the *Antient*, though barbarous, eſteemed ſo highly, that among them, thoſe which were taken for the firſt makers of Laws were honoured as gods, or, as the Sons of gods: and the reſt, that made either additions, or corrections, were commended to all Poſterity for men of no leſs vertue, and no leſs liberally beneficial to their Countreys, than the greateſt and moſt proſperous Conquerors that ever governed them. The *Iſraelites*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their Laws from one; as the *Iſraelites*, from *Moſes*; the *Lacedæmonians*, from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians*, from *Solon*; the *Romans*, ſometime from their firſt Kings, from their *Decem viri*, from their *Senators*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themſelves: other from the Prince, Nobility, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Chriſtian Monarchies* and *Eſtates*.

§. IV.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law *and* Right.

THE word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not always taken alike, but is diverſly, and in an indifferent ſence uſed. For, if we conſider it at large, it may be underſtood for any rule preſcribing a neceſſary mean, order, and method, for the attaining of an end. And ſo the Rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Laws. Or, it is taken for any private Ordinance of Superiours or Inferiours: for the commandments of Tyrants, which they cauſe to be obſerved by force, for their Decrees do alſo uſurp that Title, according to the general acceptation of the word *Law*: of which *Eſay*, *Wo unto them that decree wicked Decrees, and write grievous things.* Likewiſe, the word is uſed for the tumultuary reſolutions of the People. For ſuch conſtitutions doth *Ariſtotle* alſo call Laws, though evil and inſufficient: *Mala lex eſt, quæ tumultuariè poſita eſt*; *It is an evil Law that is made tumultuouſly.* So as all Ordinances, either good or evil, are called by the name of Laws. *Eſay* 10. *Ethic.* l. 4. *cap.* 1.

The word *Law* is alſo taken for the moral habit of our mind, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and faſhioning them according to it ſelf, as to their pattern and plat-form. And thus the Law of the fleſh, which the Divines call *legem fomitis*, is to be underſtood. For every law is a kind of pattern of that which is done according unto it: in which ſence, as elſewhere, this moral habit or diſpoſition of the heart, is called the frame, or *figmentum* of the heart: ſo in S. *Paul* *Gen.* 6. 5. *Item* 8. 21.

to

to the *Romans* it is called a *Law*; *But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin.* Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures, are sometime called (*a*) *laws*, so farr as they agree with the reason of the Law eternal; as the law of a *Lion*, to be fierce or valiant.

(a) So Virgil. *Connubio jungam stabili propriamque dicabo. Omnia fert aetas animum quoque saepe mutari.* Also private contracts among Merchants, and other Trades-men, do often put on the name of laws. But law, commonly and properly, is taken for a right rule, prescribing a necessary mean, for the good of a Commonwealth, or Civil Community. The rest, to wit, the commandments of Tyrants, &c. which have not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentiæ magis quàm leges*; *rather compulsions than laws:* And whatsoever is not just, S. *Augustine* doth not allow for laws, howsoever established: for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, quæ nec jura dicenda, nec putanda sunt*; *The unjust constitutions of men, which are neither to be tearmed nor thought laws.* For, saith *Aristotle*, *Legalia justa sunt factiva, & conservativa felicitatis*; *Just laws are the workers and preservers of happiness:* because by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life*, according to *Cicero:* Yea, *to life everlasting*, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the Law, saith *Plato*, is God, and his worship: *Finis legis Deus & cultus ejus.* *Lex*, or the Law, is so called by the *Latines*, *à legendo*, or, *à ligando*, *of reading*, or *binding: Leges quia lectæ & ad populum latæ*, saith *Varro*; For, after Laws were written and published, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Etymologie*, *à ligando*, is no less agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoak, and a band: as *confregerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula*; *they have broken the yoak, they have broken the bands.* And in the second Psalm, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus à nobis funes ipsorum*; *Let us break their bands asunder, and let us cast away their cords from us.*

Arist. Ethic. 5. c. 5.

Plato in Dial. 1. de Leg.

Hier. 5. 5.

Psal. 2.

The *Covenant* it is called, because of the conditional promises of God; and because of God's people's voluntary submission of themselves unto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epistle to the Hebrews* use the word διαθήκη, a *Testament*, or *last will:* which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectual for our salvation, but in respect of the death of the Testator; for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force, as *Heb.* 9. 17. it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est.*

The covenant is sometimes called the Law.

The *Hebrews* call the Law *Thorah*, of teaching, because every man is thereby taught his duty both to God and Men. The *Greeks* call it *Nomos*, of distributing, because it distributeth to every man his own due; the power of the Law is the power of God: Justice being an attribute proper unto God himself. *Imperium legis, imperium Dei est*; *The reign of the Law, is the reign of God.*

Law in general is thus defined by the *Philosophers*; *Lex est vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ sunt sequenda, & quæ fugienda*; *Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to shun:* or, *Lex est omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; *Law is the Queen*, or *Princess of things both humane and divine.* But this description is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of Nature: the reason and understanding of the prudent; and the rule of right and wrong. For, as a right line is called, *Index sui, & curvi*, the demonstrance of it self, and of the crooked; so is the Law, the judge and measure of right and wrong.

M. *Hooker* calls the *Law* a directive rule to goodness of operation; and though Law, as touching the substance & essence, consists in understanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*; *Yet it comprehends the act of our will.* The word *Jus* is also diverslly taken, as sometime for the matter of the Law, and for common right: sometime for the Law it self; as *Jus civile*, or *Jus gentium.* *Isidore* distinguisheth the two general words, *Jus* and *Fas*; whereof *Jus*, saith he, hath reference to men, *Fas* to God. *Fas lex divina, Jus lex humana.* To go over another man's field, is permitted by Gods Law, not by Man's; and therefore in a thing out of controversie, *Virgil* used both these words: as *Fas & jura sinunt*, God and men permit.

Isid. Etym.

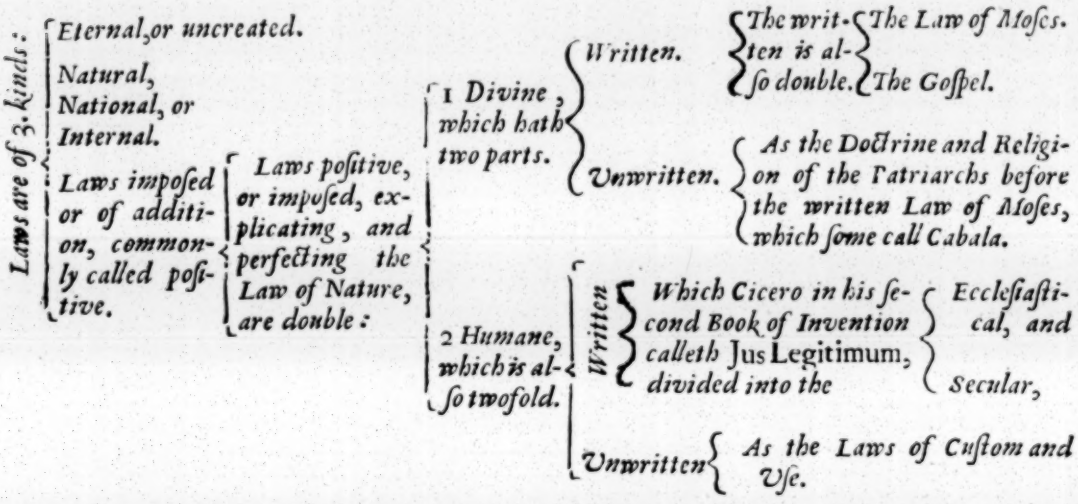
The word *Jus*, or Right, is derived or taken from the old Substantive Noun *jussus*, a bidding or commandment: or, perhaps, from the *Greek* ζεύς, which is the name of *Jupiter*, or of the *Latine* Genitive case *Jovis*; because, as the Scripture speaks, the *judgment is God's.* For, as it is certain that *jusjurandum* came of *Jovis-jurandum* (for so we find it written in *Nonius* out of the antient, in which sence the Scripture calls it *juramentum Jehovæ*) so also we may say, that *Jus* came of *Jovis, quia Jovis est*; because as God is the Authour, and Pattern, and Maintainer of right, so also in his *Vicegerents*, the *Magistrates*, he is the Pronouncer and Executor of right. Of this *Jus*, the just are denominated, *Justus à jure*, and *Justitia à justo*; *The Right gives name to the Righteous*; and *Justice takes her name from the Just.*

Deut. 1. 17. 2 Chron. 19. 6. Exod. 22. 11. 1 Reg. 2. 43.

§. V.

Of the definition of Laws, and of the Law eternal.

BUt, because Laws are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and distinguish them. I mean, those sorts of Laws from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of humane laws to their infinite and horrible confusion.



The Law Eternal is thus defined by *Thomas. Lex æterna est æternus divinæ sapientiæ conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso præcognitarum*; *The eternal Law is the eternal conceit of God's Wisdom, as it is referred to the government of things forcknown by himself.* Or, *Lex æterna est summa atque æterna ratio divinæ sapientiæ: quatenus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat*; *It is high and eternal reason of divine sapience: as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kind of necessity, according to their several natures, or conditions.* Now, the difference lies in this: That as the same divine understanding directs all these to their proper ends; so it is called Providence: but, as it imposeth a necessity, according to the nature of all things which it directs, so it is called a Law.

P. 1. q. 2. art. 1.

Th. q. 36. art. 1.

Of this eternal Law, *Cicero* took knowledge, when in his Book of Laws, he wrote in this manner: *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad rectè faciendum impellens & à dilecto avocans: quæ non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est, sed tum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, ratio est recta summi Jovis*; *That perfect reason and nature of things, incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling us back from evil, did not* (saith he) *then begin to be a law when it was written, but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with divine understanding, and therefore a true Law, and a fit Princes to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God.* This eternal Law (if we consider it in God, or as God) is always one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to divers objects, so the reason of man finds it divers and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the heavens, stability of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another law to men, another to other creatures, having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternal Law, all things are directed, as by the counsel and providence of God: from this Law all laws are derived, as from the rule universal, and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternal, and the divine Law, differ only in consideration; the eternal directing more largely: as well every creature, to their proper and natural ends, as it doth Man to his supernatural: but the divine Law to a supernatural end onely: the natural law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternal: as it were a stream from the fountain. *Tho & Aug.*

The Law humane or temporal is also thence drawn: in that it hath the form of right reason; from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua, a wicked imposition*; and onely borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternal Law all things are subjected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures,

creatures,or things created; whether neceſſary or contingent, natural or moral,and humane. For the Law eternal runneth through all the univerſal, and therefore it is the Law alſo of things which are ſimple, natural and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praiſe God their Creator and Director: as *Praiſe him all ye his Angels:praiſe him Sun and Moon,all bright Starrs: Heavens of heavens,for he hath eſtabliſhed them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which ſhall not paſs: Praiſe ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all Deeps; fire and hail, ſnow and vapours, ſtormy winds which execute his word: mountains and hills,fruitfull trees,and all Cedars; Beaſts and all Cattel,* &c. Now,as the reaſonable creatures are by this eternal Law bound, by the glory and felicity propoſed unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) ſo all other natural things and creatures have in themſelves,and in their own natures,an obedience formal to it, without any proper intention, known cauſe, or end propoſed. For Beaſts are led by ſenſe,and natural inſtinct: thinks without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heavie to fall downward; things light to mount upward, *&c.* and fire to heat whatſoever is appoſed. This kind of working, the *Ariſtotelians* aſcribe to common nature; others to fate; a difference uſed in tearms only; it being no other than God's general providence: for, as it is truly ſaid of God, that he is *omnia ſuper omnia:* ſo are all things which appear in themſelves thence derived, there-under ſubjected, thence-from by his eternal Law and providence directed,even from the greateſt to the leaſt of his creatures,in heaven and in earth.

Pſal. 148.

The Schoolmen are very curious and ample in the conſideration of theſe laws: and in diſcourſe of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal Law. But, as the profit is manifeſt in the good of all creatures, who have thence-from, either reaſon, ſenſe, vegetation,or appetitions,to conduct them: ſo is the object and matter of the Law, the whole creature. For, according to S. *Auguſtine,Lex æterna eſt qua juſtum eſt, ut omnia ſint ordinatiſſima; The Law eternal is that, whereby it is juſt, that all things ſhould be diſpoſed in the beſt and goodlieſt order.*

L. 1. de lib. arb. cap. 6.

Laſtly, it is diſputed, whether the eternal law be immutable, yea or no? But the reſolution is, that it changeth not; for which S. *Auguſtine* uſeth a ſufficient argument in his firſt Book of *Free-will*,the ſixth Chapter. For the law of *Moſes*,which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to laſt untill the time of the Pædagogie of God's people, or Introduction to Chriſt,ſhould be expired; which time of expiration, ſome think our Saviour noted to be come,when on the Croſs he ſaid, *Conſummatum eſt.* But I rather think theſe words of our Saviour to have no other ſignification, than that now the Prophecie of their giving him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For ſo S. *John* expounds it,when he ſaith, *v.*28. *That Chriſt ſeeing all* (other) *things to be fulfilled,Ut conſummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture* in this alſo *might be fulfilled,* ſaid, *I thirſt:* though I deny not, but at the ſame time alſo the date of the Law was expired, to wit,of the law ceremonial,and of ſo much of the judicial, as appertained peculiarly to the *Jews*, and agreeth not with the Law of the New *Teſtament* and Goſpel of Chriſt. For the immutable Law of God, though preſcribing things mutable, is not therfore changed in it ſelf; but the things preſcribed change according to this eternal ordinance,of which the *Wiſdom* of *Solomon,and being one,ſhe can do all things, and remaining in her ſelf, reneweth all.*

John 19. 30. Pſal. 69. 22.

§. VI.

Of the Law of Nature.

OF the Law of Nature, as it is taken in general, I find no definition among the School-men; only as it is conſidered in Man, it is called *The impreſſion of divine Light, and a participation of the eternal Law in the reaſonable creature. Lex Naturalis eſt impreſſio divini luminis in nobis, & participatio Legis æternæ in rationali creatura. Ulpian* defines *the natural Law to be the ſame which Nature hath taught all living creatures: Jus naturale eſt quod Natura omnia animalia docuit:* and he afterward addeth, *Jus iſtud non humani generis proprium, ſed omnium animalium quæ terra marique naſcuntur, avium quoque commune eſt; The Law of Nature is not proper to man alone,but the ſame is common to all living creatures, as well Birds, as to thoſe the Land and Sea produceth.* But this definition is not general, but of the natural Law in things of life.

Aug. in Ep. ad Hil. 89. & in Evang. Joh. tract. 49.

Ulp. de juſtitia & jure l. 1. tit. 1.

The Law of Nature in general, I take to be that diſpoſition, inſtinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal Providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature,animate,and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in men,inlightning our formal reaſon; ſo is it more than ſenſe in Beaſts; and more than vegetation in Plants. For it is not ſenſe alone in Beaſts, which teacheth them, at firſt ſight,and without experience

perience or instruction, to flie from the enemies of their lives: seeing that Bulls and Horses appear unto the sense more fearfull and terrible, than the least kind of Doggs; and yet the Hare and Deer feedeth by the one, and flieth from the other; yea, though by them never seen before, and that as soon as they fall from their Dams. Neither is it sense, which hath taught other Beasts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their Nests high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of *India*, to make their Nests on the smallest twigs which hang over Rivers, and not on any other part of the Tree, or elsewhere, to save their Eggs and young ones from the Monkies, and other Beasts, whose weight such a twig will not bear, and which would fear to fall into the Water. The instances in this kind are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of Plants, that some Trees, as the female of *Palmitto*, will not bear any fruit, except the male grow in sight. But this they do by that Law, which the infinite and unsearchable Wisdom of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In Man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt: corrupt, where the reason of Man hath made its self subject, and a Vassal to Passions, and Affections Brutal: and incorrupt, where time and custom hath bred in Men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kind of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which S. *Augustine* calleth the Law of Reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did antiently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law constrain'd to become Idolaters; that by the Laws of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to use one another's Wife, and to the women, to choose them others besides their Husband, to beget them with child: which Law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

Supra sect. 4. cap. 1. loco. ad Rom. 7. 23.

Theod. l. 9. de curandis affect Græcorum.

Acosta.

The *Scythians*, and the People of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to bury with them the best beloved Wives: as also they have many other customs remembred by *G. Valentia*, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these Laws some men avow to be natural: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithless among the faithless: to provide for our selves by another man's destruction: that Injury is not done to him that is willing; to destroy those whom we fear, and the like. For taking the definition of natural laws, either out of S. *Augustine*, or *Aquinas* (the one calling it *the impression of divine light*; the other, *the dictate*, or sentence *of practique reason*) the same can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exercise of Justice and uprightness: and not to offer or perform any thing toward others, save that which we would be content should be offered or performed toward our selves. For, such is the Law of Nature to the Mind, as the Eye is to the Body; and that which, according to *David*, sheweth us good, that is, the observation of those things which lead us thereby to our last end; which is eternal life; though of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Nemo jure naturæ cum alterius detrimento locup. ejus fieri debet.

Psal. 4

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of God's divine light in men, and a participation of the law increated and eternal. For without any law written, the right reason and understanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within our selves, sufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evil, which by our gratitude to God and distribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for our selves. *For when the Gentiles* (saith S. *Paul*) *which have not the law, do by nature those things contained in the law: they having not the law, are a law unto themselves.* Now, to love God, by whom we are, and to do the same right unto all men, which we desire should be done unto us, is an effect of the purest reason; in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of Conscience hath made her resting place and habitation; *In arce altissima rationis quies habitat.* Therefore the *Gentiles* (saith S. *Paul*) *which shew the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their consciences for a witness of those effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.*

Rom 2. 11.

Rom 2. 11.

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himself (while he hopeth to abuse the World by the advantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his own Soul, by crafty unrighteousness, purchasing eternal perdition. For it helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the World's eye, seeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: some Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the World, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arescit*; *Those flowers wither, while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That we should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selves, and become fearfull Witnesses of our secret evils, did that reverend Philosopher *Pythagoras* teach in this golden Precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque*

neque tecum: maximè omnium verere teipſum; Commit nothing foul or diſhoneſt, ſaith he, *neither to be known to others, nor to thine own heart: but above all men, reverence thine own Conſcience.* And this may be a Precept of Nature and right Reaſon; by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to thoſe operations, which are anſwerable to their own form; as Fire to give heat. Now, as the reaſonable mind is the form of Man, ſo is he aptly moved to thoſe things which his proper form preſenteth unto him; to wit, that which right Reaſon offereth; and the Acts of right Reaſon, are the acts of Vertue; and in the breach of the rules of this Reaſon, is a man leaſt excuſable: as being a reaſonable creature. For all elſe, both ſenſitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the Law which God impoſed on them at their firſt creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it
Gen. 1. bringeth forth the bud of the Herb, which ſeedeth ſeed, *&c.* and the Beaſt, which liveth thereon. He gave a law to the Seas, and commanded them to keep their bounds;
Job c. 28. which they obey. He made a decree for the Rain, and a way for the Lightning of the Thunders. He cauſed the Sun to move, and to give light, and to ſerve for ſigns, and for ſeaſons. Were theſe as rebellious as Man, for whoſe ſake they were created, or did they once break the Law of their natures and forms; the whole World would then periſh, and all return to their firſt *Chaos*, darkneſs, and confuſion.

By this natural Law, or law of humane Reaſon, did *Cain* perceive his own wickedneſs and offence, in the murther of *Abel:* for he not onely feared the diſpleaſure of God, but the revenge of men; it being written in his reaſon, that whatſoever he performed towards others, the ſame by others might be done unto him again. And that this judgment of well and evil doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternal Law, before the Law written, *Moſes* in the perſon of God witneſſeth, *Gen.* 4. *If thou do well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? and if thou do not well, ſin lieth at thy door.*

The *School-men* are large alſo in this Queſtion of the natural Law; the ſame being opened amply by *Reinerius*, *Antonius*, and *Valentia.* But it is not my purpoſe to write a Volume of this Subject.

But this Law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *An act of Reaſon taken properly*; and not a habit, as it is an evident natural judgment of practick reaſon; they divide into indemonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration (as that good is to be followed, and evil eſchewed) and demonſtrable, which is evidently proved out of higher and more univerſal propoſitions. Again, as it anſwereth the natural appetite, preſcribing things to be deſired as good, or to be avoided as evil (as of the firſt, to deſire to live, and to ſatisfie hunger, *&c.* and of the ſecond, to eſchew pains, ſorrow, and death) in this conſideration they divide it, according to the divers *Tho. 1. 2. art. 2.* kinds of appetites that are in us. For in every man there are three ſorts of appetites, which anſwer the three degrees of natural Law. The firſt is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the deſire, both to live, and to preſerve our being and life, as alſo the deſire of iſſue, with care to provide for them: for the Father, after his death, lives in his children; and therefore the deſire of life comprehends the deſire of children. And to theſe appetites are referred the firſt indemonſtrable laws of Nature, for the moſt part. For it needs no proof, that all creatures ſhould deſire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their iſſue, when they cannot in themſelves. And as Man is a Being, *Ens* or *Res*; ſo he doth deſire good, and ſhun evil. For it is common to all things, to deſire things agreeable to their own natures, which is, to deſire their own good. And ſo is good defined by *Ariſtotle*, to be that which all deſire. Which definition *Baſil* upon the 44. *Pſalm* approveth: *Rectè quidem bonum definierunt, quod omnia expetunt; Rightly have ſome men defined good, or goodneſs, to be that which all things deſire.* *Ethic. l. 1. cap. 1.*

The ſecond kind of appetite, is of thoſe things which appertain unto us, as we have ſenſe. Whence, by the law of Nature, we deſire the delights of every ſenſe; but with ſuch moderation, as may neither glut us with ſatiety, nor hurt us with exceſs. For, as Senſe it ſelf is for the preſervation of life and being; ſo is it meet, even by the law of Nature, that the ſenſitive appetite ſhould not carry us to the deſtruction, either of our life or being. And although (ſeeing both theſe kinds of appetites are in Beaſts) we may well ſay, that Nature hath given divers laws unto them: In which ſenſe the *Civilians* define *natural Right*, or *Jus naturale*, to be the ſame which Nature hath taught all living creatures: Yet the *School-men* admit not, that the inſtincts of Beaſts can properly be called a law, but onely a *Jus*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aim of every law. For ſo they diſtinguiſh it; where *Ulpian* affirmeth, that *Jus naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place (ſaith *Valentia*) *Jus* is not to be taken

for

for a law, but for the matter of the law. And yet where *Ulpian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to living creatures in general, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Jus Naturæ*, the other *Jus Gentium:* the Divines understand the law of Nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reason, both in Beasts and Men; and restrain the law of Nations to a kind of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertain properly to Man, as he is a living creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selves: and the laws of this appetite are the commandments of our Religion.

Now, although there are many other branches and divisions of this law of Nature answering the division of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth; yet is the law of Nature but one law, according to *Aquinas:* first, because it hath one fountain or root in the natural or motive faculty, which is but one, stirring up to good, and declining the contrary: secondly, because all is contained in that general natural precept, That good is to be followed, and ill avoided: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this law of Nature binds all creatures, it is manifest; and chiefly Man; because he is endued with reason: in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the law of Nature increaseth; *Post-*
Basil. *quam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, Adveniente mandato, peccatum revixit; When reason grew to perfection, then it came to pass, which was written by* S. Paul,
Rom 1. 18. *When the commandment came, sin revived.* Neither is it a small warrant for this law of Nature, when those that break the same, are said by S. *Paul, To be delivered over into a reprobate sense* (or mind) *to do those things which*
Rom 2 15. *are not convenient:* And again, *that their consciences bear witness, and their thoughts accuse them.* For, though this law of Nature stretch not to every particular; as to command fasting, and the like; yet it commandeth in general all good, and whatsoever is agreeable to right and reason. And therefore said *Da-*
L. 2. Fid. ortho c. 30. *mascene; Homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est; Men* (saith he) *are made evil, by declining unto that which is contrary to Nature:* And S. *Augustine, Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.*

Neither yet are the rules of this law of Nature so streight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For, whereas by this law, all men are born Lords of the Earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequal merit: by taking from the evil, and giving to the good; and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of Justice and Equity.

And though the law of Nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some cases, this her law she suffereth to be broken: as to deny a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the Universal principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who, according to S. *Paul, abideth faithfull, and* *2 Tim. 2.* *cannot deny himself.*

§. VII.

Of the written Law of God.

After the Eternal, and Natural, the law *Positive* or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather an explication of the former, hath two kinds; Divine, and Humane. Again, the Divine positive law is double; the Old, and New: The Old was given unto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai*, or *Horeb*, at such time as the World had stood 2513. whole years: and in the 67. day of this year, when as *Ascatades*, or *Ascades* governed the *Assyrians*, *Marathus* *Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 1* the *Sycionians*, *Triopus* the *Argives*, *Cecrops Attica*, and *Acherres Egypt:* to wit, after the promise to *Abraham*, 430. years. And this, it seemes, was the first written law which the World received. For the very word *Nomos*, signifying a law, was not then, nor long after, invented by the *Græcians*; no, not in *Homer's* time, who lived after the fall of *Troy* 80. years at least; and *Troy* it self was cast down 335. years, after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This law, it pleased God to engrave in Stone, that it might remain a lasting Book of his expressed Will in the Church: and that the Priests and People might have whereof to meditate, till the coming of Christ: and that so these Children of *Israel*, though bred among an Idolatrous People in *Egypt*, might be without excuse, the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason known to us, why this law was not written before, is, that when the People were few, and their lives long, the *Elders* of Families might easily, without any written law, instruct their own Children; and yet, as they increased, so doubtless they had, besides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before

before the law written. But now at length, for as much as the law of Nature did not define all kinds of good, and evil; nor condemn every sin in particular: nor sufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders; nor so expound divine Worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gave every day less authority than other to the natural law; In these respects it was necessary, that the law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men; which before, they might, but would not, read in their own consciences. The *School-men*, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the causes and necessity, why the law was written; whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of sin, directly grounded upon this place of *David*, *The law of the Lord is undefiled, converting Souls: The testimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving wisdom to children.* For the humane law, saith S. *Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away somthing seeming necessary, and hinder common profit; but the divine law written, forbiddeth every evil, and therefore, by *David*, it is called undefiled.

Secondly, it serveth for the direction of our minds. For the laws of men can onely take knowledg of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no less clean in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *converting our Souls*, added by *David:* wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists. Actiones hominum nullæ essent, nisi prius in mente dicerentur*; *The actions of men* (say they) *would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the mind.*

Thirdly, it leadeth us to the knowledg of truth, which by reason of diversity of Opinion, and difference of peculiar laws among sundry Nations, we cannot be assured of; but the Law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without errour; and therefore also said *David*, *That the testimony of the Law of God is faithful*; *giving wisdom to children.*

§. VIII.

Of the unwritten Law of God, given to the Patriarchs by Tradition.

NOw, that in all this long tract of Time, betweeen the Creation and the written Law, the World and People of God were left altogether to the law of Reason and Nature, it doth not appear. For the *Patriarchs* of the first Age received many *Precepts* from God himself, and whatsoever was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was observed by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*; from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, and *Moses*. Yea, many particular commandments afterward written, were formerly imposed and delivered over by tradition; which kind of teaching the *Jews* afterward called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*; Precepts received from the mouth of their *Priests* and *Elders*; to which the *Jews* after the law written, added the interpretation of secret Mysteries, reserved in the bosoms of their *Priests*, and unlawful to be uttered to the People. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the divine Law revealed to the *Patriarchs*, and from them delivered to the Posterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The commandments which God gave unto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all Beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of understanding, they were sufficiently known. For, finding the reason of his own name *Adam*, or *Adamah*, Earth, or red clay, he gave other names significant, not only to Beasts, but to his Children and Nephews, which afterward his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather one given in recompence for *Abel* that was slain; and *Enosh* signifieth Man, or miserable, &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the Ground, and to live by the labour thereof: God also gave him the choice of all fruits, but the forbidden; and in *Adam* also was Marriage first instituted, all men thence-after being commanded to co-habit with their Wives, rather than with their Father or Mother.

That murther and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the Law written, and before the Flood it self, it is manifest. God himself making it appear, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of Mankind by the general Flood. For God said unto *Noah*, *An end of all Flesh is come before me*; *for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold, I will destroy them* * *from the Earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be unknown to all that perished: God's Mercy and Justice interposing between the untaught and Revenge. This Commandment God repeated to *Noah*, after the Waters were dried up from the Earth: *Whoso sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed*; *for in the Image of God hath He made Man.*

Also the law of honouring and reverence-

E e ing

* The common reading is *cum eis*: but God did not destroy the earth: and why may not this Preposition in this place have the same force, which it hath, according to *Junius*? *Gen* 4 1. *Item* 44 4. & *Deut.* 34 1. especially, seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is said, *Gen* 7. *Delebo hominem de superficie terræ.* *Gen* 9. 6. *Gen* 9 5. *Gen* 31 18 *Gen* 33 14

ing our Parents, was observed among the faithful, and the contrary punished by the Father's curse: as, *Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.* Again, we find that the unnatural sin of the *Sodomite* was punished in the highest degree, as with fire from Heaven. The sin of Adultery and Ravishment, was before the Law no less detested than the rest, as appeareth by that revenge taken for *Dina*'s forcing: and by the judgment which *Juda* gave against *Tamar*, That she should be burnt; and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the woman which thou hast taken; for she is a man's Wife.* To these we may add the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of clean and unclean Beasts, of Circumcision, of the brother to raise up seed to his brother that left a Widow childless, and divers other constitutions, partly Moral, and partly Ceremonial, which being delivered before the written Law were after by it confirmed. So that this *Divine Law imposed*, of which the Law of *Moses* containeth that which is called, *The Old Testament*, may be said, not only to have been written in the hearts of men, before it was engraven in stone, but also in substance to have been given in Precept to the *Patriarchs*. For, as S. *Paul* witnesseth of himself, *I knew not sin, but by the Law*; so ever the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kind of unwritten Law; the Angels intuitively; Men, by reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; Plants by their vegetative powers; and things Inanimate, by their necessary motions, without sense or perception.

§. IX.

Of the Moral, Judicial, and Ceremonial Law, with a note prefixed, how the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sence, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

NOw, as the word (*Law*) in general, as is aforesaid, hath divers significations, and is taken for all doctrin which doth prescribe and restrain; so the Law, called *the Law of Moses* in particular, is taken by S. *Paul* diversly: as sometime for the *Old Testament*; as, Rom. 3 19 *Now we know, that whatsoever the Law saith, it saith to them which are under the Law.*

When it is opposed, or differenced from the *Prophets* and *Psalms*, it is there taken for the five Books of *Moses*. For so S. *Luke* hath distinguished them; as, *All must be fulfilled which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms.* Luke 24. 44.

When it is opposed to the *Gospel*, then it is taken for the Law Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by Faith, without the works of the Law.* Rom 3. 28.

When it is opposed to *Grace*, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the Law, and *Summum Jus*: as, *For ye are not under the law, but under grace.* Rom. 6 4. Gal. 3. 18.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or Signs are taken for the things signified; as the *Sacrifice* for *Christ*, and the like; then it signifieth but shadows and figures; as, *The law was given by* Moses, *but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.* John 1 17.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of *Christ's* coming, it signifieth the whole policy of the *Jews* Common-wealth; as, *Before Faith came, we were kept under the law*, &c. Or the law of the Order and Institution of the *Aaronical Priesthood*; as, *All the Prophets & the law,* or the Priests, *prophesied unto John.* And if the *Priesthood* be changed, the Law also, to wit, of the *Priesthood*, must needs be changed. Gal 3. 23. Luc. 16 6. Heb. 7 11. & 10. 1.

The word (*Law*) is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, *The law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of sin and death, the enforcements of concupiscence*, &c. Rom. 8. 2. Rom 7 23.

But the *Written Law of Moses*, or the law of the *Old Testament*, of which we now speak, is thus defined. The law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding Holiness and Justice, promising eternal life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the Law, and threatning Death to those which break the Law in the least. For, according to S. *James*, *Whosoever shall keep the whole, and fail in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition used by the *Schole-men*, in which both the Old and New Law are comprehended, is thus given: *Lex divina est divinum decretum, hominibus præscribens modum necessarium, ut aptè pervenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ est ultimus humanæ vitæ finis; the divine Law* (say they) *is the decree of God, prescribing unto men a necessary mean, whereby they may aptly attain supernatural beatitude, which is the last end of man's life.* James 1. 10.

The Law of *Moses* hath three parts: Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial. The Moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in particu-

particular; as alſo it declareth, for whoſe ſake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord*; whereas the law of Nature commands it but in general. Again, the Moral law entreateth of vertue and goodneſs; the Ceremonial of divine ſervice, and of holineſs; (for external worſhip, and the order of hallowing our ſelves unto God, is called Ceremony) and the Judicial teacheth the particular government, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Jews*, and preſcribeth orders for juſtice and equity. And therefore was it ſaid of
Rom. 7. 12. S. *Paul, The Commandment is juſt, holy, and good:* juſt, or juſtice being referred to the Judicial: holy, or holineſs to the Ceremonial; good, or honeſt to the Moral. The Judicial part is touching the government of the Common-wealth of the *Jews*, in which many things muſt needs be proper to that eſtate, as ſuch as were inſtituted either in reſpect of place or perſons.

The Ceremonial is divided into four parts, according to the four kinds of things of which it ſpeaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, holy things, Sacraments, and Obſervances. To Sacrifices belong Beaſts, and the Fruits of the earth; to holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Veſſels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumciſion, the Paſſover, and ſuch like. For Obſervances, they conſiſted either in prohibition of certain meats, as not to eat the bloud and fat of Beaſts; or in ſome other outward things, as in waſhings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to wear mix'd Garments of Linnen and Woollen: as alſo it prohibiteth other unnatural and unproper commixtion; as, *Thou ſhalt not yoak together in a Plough, an Ox and an Aſs*, or caſt mingled ſeed in one field. It alſo exhorteth to natural compaſſion, and forbiddeth cruelty, even to Beaſts, Birds, and Plants, whereby the creatures of God might be deſtroyed without any profit to man. For ſo ſome referr theſe Precepts, *Thou ſhalt not kill the Bird ſitting on her Neſt, nor beat down the Buds of the Tree, nor muzzle the labouring Ox*, and the like, to the Ceremonial Law.

Neither is there any of theſe three parts of the law of *Moſes*, but it hath as yet in ſome reſpect the ſame power which it had before the coming of *Chriſt*. For the Moral liveth ſtill, and is not abrogated or taken away; ſaving in the ability of juſtifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to love and worſhip God: and to uſe charity one towards another; which for ever ſhall be required at our hands. Therein alſo are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done; which power of directing by ſpecial Rules and Precepts of life, it retaineth ſtill. For theſe things alſo are commanded in both Teſtaments to be obſerved: though principally for fear of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The Ceremonial alſo lived in the things which it fore-ſignified. For the ſhadow is not deſtroyed, but perfected, when the body it ſelf is repreſented to us. Beſides, it ſtill liveth in that it giveth both inſtruction and teſtimony of *Chriſt*, and in that it giveth direction to the Church, for ſome Ceremonies and Types of holy ſignification, which are ſtill expedient; although in a farr fewer number than before *Chriſt*'s coming, and in a farr leſs degree of neceſſity.

Laſtly, the Judicial liveth in ſubſtance, and concerning the end, and the natural and univerſal equity thereof.

But the Moral faileth in the point of juſtification, the Ceremonial as touching the uſe and external obſervation (becauſe *Chriſt* himſelf is come, of whom the Ceremonies were ſigns and ſhadows) and the Judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the *Jews* Common-weal and Policy.

§. X.

A Propoſal of nine other points to be conſidered, with a touch of the five firſt.

AS for that which remaineth in general conſideration of the divine Written Law, it may in effect be reduced into theſe nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Majeſty of the Law-giver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the People receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Teſtament.
7. The end and uſe of the Law.
8. The ſence and underſtanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is ſufficiently proved by S. *Paul*, in theſe words: *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, and juſt, and good:* which three attributes are referred, as aforeſaid, to the Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial.

2. The Majeſty of the Law-giver is approved in all his creatures; who, as he hath given all things their lives and beings, ſo he only gave the Law, who could onely give

the end and reward promised, to wit, the salvation of Mankind; but he gave it not to *Moses* immediately, but by the ministery of Angels, as it is said: *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator:* And in the *Acts*, *He gave the Law by the Ordinance of Angels.*

Gal. 3 19.

3. The Propriety and Peculiarity of the People receiving the Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared. Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and dissevered. Thirdly, in that they were the Children of the Promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledg of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and severed they were, because of God's choice and election. Children of the Promise they were, for the Promise was made by God unto *Abraham* and his seed; not unto his seeds, as to *Esau* and *Jacob*, but to his seed, as to *Jacob* or *Israel* singularly, of whom *Christ*. *Now, to* Abraham *and his seed was the Promise made; he saith not, to the seeds, as speaking of many, but, to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ.*

Gal 3 6.

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by S. *Augustine*; that it was about the middle time, between the Law of Nature and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses*: the Law written in the commandments received by *Moses* in the Worlds year, 2514. continued to the Baptism of *John*; from which time, began the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this Law, the same being a disposition to, or sign of, our Justification; but not by it self sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousnes in moral precepts. For through the Passion of *Christ* were sins forgiven, who taketh away the sins of the World: and therefore S. *Paul* calleth the Rudiments of the Law, *beggarly and weak*; beggarly, as containing no Grace, weak, as not able to forgive and justifie. The bloud of Goats and Bulls, and the Ashes of an Heifer could onely cleanse the body; but they were figures of *Christ's* bloud, which doth cleanse the inward Soul. *For if the Law could justifie, then Christ died in vain.*

Gal. 4.

Heb. 9

Gal. 8.

§. XI.

Of the sixth Point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.

THe old and new Testament differ in name, and in the mean and way proposed for attaining to salvation; as the old by Works, the new by Grace; but in the thing it self, or object and remote end, they agree; which is, mans happines and salvation.

The old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnes of Gods Will, was called the old, because it preceded the new Testament; which is an explication of the old: from which the new taketh witnes. Yet the new is of more excellency, in that it doth more lively expres, and openly and directly delineate, the ways of our redemption. It is also called the old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: *In that he saith, the New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the old Law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and delivered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable; but the new was given in a promise of an everlasting Kingdom, and therefore called in the *Apocalyps*, a Testament and Gospel for ever during.

Heb. 8. 13.

The old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chief part is of the Law of *Moses*, of which the *Prophets* and *Psalms* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The new Testament is called the Gospel, because the first and chief part thereof, is the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Books, as the Epistles, or Letters of the *Apostles*, and the *Acts* or Story of the *Apostles*, are plentiful Interpreters thereof: The word *Evangelion*, signifying a joyful, happy, and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* used it) the reward given to the Messenger bringing joyful news. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing success, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tidings in general, as in *Esay* 52. *v.* 7. concerning peace. Secondly, by an excellency it is restrained, to signifie that most joyful message of Salvation, as in *Luke* 2. 10. whence also by figure it is taken for the History of *Christ*; and so we understand the four Gospels.

Acts 1.

Lastly, for the preaching and divulging the Doctrine of *Christ*, as 1 *Cor.* 9. 14. and 2 *Cor.* 8. 18.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I think, as they are divided in Volumes) is by *Danæus* comprised in these four.

In their Author.
In the substance of the Covenant, or things promised.
In the foundation, to wit, *Christ*.
In the Effects, that is, in Righteousnes and Justification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament

ment and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was ever one Church, so was there one Covenant and Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Christ*, so doth the new Law teach *Christ*; the old proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one and the same end, even the salvation of our Souls; which, according to S. *Peter*, is the end of our Faith. For although it be said, that *Moses* did promise by observing the law, an earthly kingdom, a land flowing with Milk and Honey, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings; yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spiritual blessings by *Christ*; for by the earthly, he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers, notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledg themselves strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Hierusalem*; according to this place of the *Hebrews*; *All those died in faith, and received not the promises, but saw them afar off, and believed them; confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpose also S. *Augustine*, *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissa terrena, æterna promitti*; *Few* (saith he) *do understand the old law; not attending that by things earthly, eternal are promised.* And S. *Hierom*; *Noluit Deus pascere* Judæos *more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, ut* Judæi *somniant*; *God would not feed the* Jews *as beasts with corporal gifts and riches, as themselves dream.* And this may be gathered out of God's own words, *Ego sum Deus tuus*; *& ero vobis in Deum*; *I am thy God, and I will be your God.* For the words, *I wil be your God*, prove that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gave them this promise, but in respect of the future; to wit, the safety of their Souls. For as God created both Body and Soul, so hath he of his goodness, not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.

Cap. 11. v. 13.

Lib. de civit. Dei, 18. c. 15.

In Sophon. c. 3. v. 9.

The agreement between the old and new Testament in substance, inferrs also the agreement in foundation. For *Christ* is called the foundation of the law laid by the *Apostles* and *Prophets*; in whom all the promises of God in the old and new, are assured: the Fathers having eaten the same spiritual food, which we eat in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects, is, in that the knowledg of our sin and misery, which is taught us by the law, maketh way, and, as it were, serveth in subordination to the Gospel, the proper effects whereof are mercy and salvation; to which the law serving as an introduction (for to those which acknowledg their sin and misery, God sheweth his mercy and salvation) may be said to agree with the Gospel in the effect. For otherwise, if we sever the law from subordination to the Gospel, the effects are very different; the one sheweth the way of righteousness by works, the other by faith; the law woundeth, the Gospel healeth; the Law terrifieth, the Gospel allureth; *Moses* accuseth, *Christ* defendeth; *Moses* condemneth, *Christ* pardoneth. The old restrained the hand, the new, the mind. *Data est lex quæ non sanaret* (saith S. *Augustine*) *sed quæ ægrotantes probaret*; *The law was given, not to help, but to discover sickness:* and S. *Chrysostom*; *Data est lex, ut se homo inveniret*; *non ut morbus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quæreretur*; *The law was given, that man might find and know his own imperfection*; *not that his disease was thereby holpen, but that he might then seek out the Physician.* For Christ came to save the World, which the Law had condemned. And as *Moses* was but a Servant, and *Christ* a Son; so the greatest benefit was reserved to be brought, as by the *worthiest* person, saith *Cyril*; for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

Homil. ad Rom.

Heb. 7.

§. XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

THE seventh Consideration is of the end, and use of the Law; which is, to bring us to *Christ*; for finding no righteousness in our own works, we must seek it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and utmost end; the next and proper end of the Law, is to prescribe righteousness, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. *Cursed is he that continueth not in all the things of this Law.*

Lev. 18. 5.

The second end of the Law, is, to render us inexcusable before God; who knowing so perfect a Law, do not keep it; the Law requiring a perfect and entire, not a broken or half obedience; but both inward and outward righteousness, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The the third and chief end of the law, is, as hath been said, to send us to *Christ*, and his Grace, being in our selves condemned and lost. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearfull tempest, threatning eternal death.

The fourth end of the law was to design, and preserve, the place of the Church and true People of God; and to hold men in one Discipline, and aw, till the coming of *Christ*;

Chriſt; after whom the Church was to be diſperſed over the whole World.

Theſe be the ends of the Moral Law. The end and uſe of the Ceremonial law, is to confirm the truth of *Chriſt*, and the new Teſtament. The uſe of the Judicial, to teach us natural equity and right, whereto we muſt conform our ſelves.

The ſence and underſtanding of the law is double, literal, and ſpiritual; by the literal, we are taught the worſhip and ſervice of God; by the ſpiritual, the figures and myſtical fore-ſpeakings of *Chriſt*.

Gen 49 10. The Scepter ſhall not depart from *Judah*, nor a Law-giver from between his feet, until *Shila* come.

Laſtly, for the durance or continuance of the Law, the ſame had being until the Paſſion of *Chriſt*; before which time, and while *Chriſt* taught in the World, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true ſacrifice was offered upon the Altar of the Croſs, then the *Jewiſh* ſacrifices and ceremonies, which were Types and Figures of *Chriſt* (*Chriſt* being the Body of thoſe ſhadows) ceaſed to bind the conſcience any longer; the myſterie of our Redemption being now by *Chriſt*, and in him, finiſhed. In token whereof the veil of the Temple rent aſunder; noting that the ceremonial veils and ſhadows were now to be removed, not that the moral law of the Commandments was hereby aboliſhed, or weakned at all; otherwiſe than that it had not power to condemn according to the *Jewiſh* doctrine, as aforeſaid. For the obſerving of the law was by *Chriſt* himſelf ſeverely commanded; our love towards God being thereby to be witneſſed. And herein *David* ſo much rejoiced, as he preferred the obſervation of the law before all that the World could yield. *In via teſtimoniorum tuorum delectatus ſum, ſicut in omnibus divitiis; I have been delighted in thy law, as in all manner of riches:* And again, *The law of thy mouth is good for me above thouſands of gold and ſilver. This is the love of God* (ſaith S. *John*) *that we keep his commandment.* And that there is no excuſe for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himſelf in *Deuteronomy* witneſſeth. *This Commandment* (ſaith he) *which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it farr off. It is not in heaven, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, Who ſhall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cauſe us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, Who ſhall go over the Sea for us, and bring it us?* &c. *but the word is very near unto thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart for to do it. Behold* (ſaith *Moſes*) *I have ſet before thee this day life and death, good and evil, in that I command thee this day, to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his Commandments, and his Ordinances, and his Laws, that thou mayſt live*, &c. Neither is it ſaid in vain in S. *Matthew: Si vis ad vitam ingredi, ſerva mandata; If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments*; and in S. *John*, *Scio quia mandatum ejus vita æterna eſt; I know that his Commandment is life everlaſting.* And if this be the charity of God, or of Men towards God, as S. *John* hath taught, to wit, that we keep his Commandments; certainly, he is but a lyar, that profeſſeth to love God, and neglecteth to obſerve the word of his Will, with all his Power. And, though I confeſs it not in mans ability, without the ſpecial grace of God, to fulfil the law (*Chriſt* only as man excepted) yet, if we rightly conſider the merciful care which God had of his people in thoſe his Commandments, we ſhall find in our ſelves, how we borrow liberty, and rather let ſlip our affections, and voluntarily looſen them from the chains of obedience, to which the Word of God, and Divine Reaſon hath faſtened them, than that we are excuſable by thoſe difficulties and impoſſibilities, which our mind (greedy of liberty) propoſeth to it ſelf. *For, this is the love of God, that we keep his Commandments, and his Commandments are not grievous*, 1 Joh. 5. 12. and if we examine every Precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our conſciences; it is not hard for any man to judg, by what eaſie perſuaſions, we ſteal away from our own power, as unwilling to uſe it againſt our pleaſing deſires.

1 John 5.

Deut 30 11, 12, 13 & 14. Rom 10. v. 6, 7, 8.

Ca. 9. 17 Cap. 2. 3.

§. XIII.

Of the ſeveral Commandments of the Decalogue; *and that the difficulty is not in reſpect of the Commandments, but by our default.*

FOr by the firſt, we are commanded to acknowledg, ſerve, and love one God. Now, whereby are we enticed to the breach of this Precept? ſeeing every reaſonable man may conceive and know, that an Infinite power cannot be divided into many infinities; and that it is of neceſſity, that by this Almighty Unity, all things have been cauſed, and are continued. And if brute Beaſts had this knowledg of their Creator, and how in his Providence he hath alſo provided for every of them, *Which giveth to Beaſts their food*, &c. there is no doubt, but they would alſo ſerve and love him onely. Pſal. 149

The ſecond Precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worſhip of Images; the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, ſeeing this

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Gloſſa in verb. Calum.

is generally true; *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt; All ill examples did ſpring and ariſe from good beginnings.* For their firſt erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their vertue; until (ſaith *Lactantius*) the Devil crept into them, and (having blotted out the firſt intent) working in weak and ignorant Souls, changed the nature of the one, and the reaſon of the other, to ſerve himſelf thereby. For what reaſonable man, if he be not forſaken of God, will call on thoſe blind, deaf, dumb, and dead ſtocks, more worthleſs than the moſt worthleſs of thoſe, that having life and reaſon, implore their help, which have neither; yea, of more vile price and baſer, than the baſeſt of Beaſts, who have ſenſe and eſtimation? For what do we thereby (ſaith the Wiſdom of *Solomon*) *but call to the weak for help, pray to the dead for life, require aid of him that hath no experience, aſſiſtance in our journeys of him that cannot go, and ſucceſs in our affairs of him that hath no power?* And whether the Idolater, or the Block to which he prayeth, be more ſenſleſs, *David* maketh a doubt. *For* (ſaith he) *they that make them are like unto them, and ſo are all the reſt that truſt in them.*

Wiſd. 13. v. 19.

Pſal. 35. 18.

The branch of the third Commandment, is neither perſuaded by worldly pleaſure, nor worldly profit; the two greateſt inchanters of mortal men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible diſdain of God, unleſs the hate of good men, and Gods curſe, be accounted an advantage. For, as our corrupteſt nature gives us nothing towards it, ſo can it ſatisfie no one appetite, except everlaſting ſorrow, and Hell dwell in our deſire. And therefore this ſtrange cuſtom hath the Devil brought up among men, without all ſubtilty of argument, or cunning perſuaſion, taking thereby the greateſt and moſt ſcornful advantage over us. For ſlaughter ſatisfieth hatred, Theft gives ſatisfaction to need, Adultery to luſt, Oppreſſion to covetouſneſs; but this contemptuous offence of blaſphemy, and the irreverent abuſe of God's name, as it giveth no help to any of our worldly affections, ſo the moſt ſalvage Nations of the World do not uſe it.

The fourth Commandment, to keep the *Sabbath day* holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth reſt to the labourer, and conſolation to their Maſters. And, that this law was impoſed on man for his benefit, *Moſes* teacheth in the reaſon of the law: as in *Exod.* 23. 12. *And in the ſeventh day thou ſhalt reſt, that thine Ox, and thine Aſs may reſt, and the Son of thy Maid, and the Stranger may be refreſhed.*

The firſt of the ſecond Table, to honor our Parents, with whom we are one and the ſame, is a gratitude which Nature it ſelf hath taught us towards them, who, after God, gave us life and being, have begotten us, and born us, cheriſhed us in our weak and helpleſs infancy, and beſtowed on us the harveſt and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporal and Judicial Ordinances, curſing of Parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, That thou ſhalt not Murther, that is, Thou ſhalt not do the acts following the affections of hatred. For the Law of God, and after it, our own laws, and, in effect, the law of all Nations, have made difference between ſlaughter caſual, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (ſaith *Bracton*) *imponit nomen operi tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the work ſuch as it is.* And certainly, whoſoever cannot forbear to commit Murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any uſe of his own will.

The third of the ſecond Table, commands us from Adultery. Now, if the preſervation of Virginity have been poſſible for thouſands of Men and Women, who in all Ages have maſtered their fleſhly deſires, and have returned chaſte to their Grave: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the diſhonour and injury, which we offer to others by ſuch a violation, ſeeing Marriage is permitted by the Laws of God and men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living, whom the deſire of beauty and form hath ſo conſtrained, but he might with eaſe forbear the proſecution of this ill, did not himſelf give ſuck to this Infant, and nouriſh warmth, till it grow to ſtrong heat, heat till it turn to fire, and fire to flame.

Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradiſum.

The fourth of the ſecond Table, is, That we ſhall not ſteal. And, if that kind of violent robbery had been uſed in *Moſes* time, which many Ruffians practiſe now a-days in *England*, and, to the diſhonour of our Nation, more in *England*, than in any Region of the World among *Chriſtians*; out of doubt, he would have cenſured them by death, and not by reſtitution, though quadruple. For, I ſpeak not of the poor and miſerable Souls, whom hunger and extreme neceſſity inforceth; but of thoſe deteſted Thieves, who, to maintain themſelves Lord-like, aſſault, rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and labouring man; or break by violence into other mens houſes, and ſpend in Bravery, Drunkenneſs and upon Harlots, in one day, what other men have ſometime laboured for, all their lives; impoveriſhing whole Families, and taking the bread and food from the mouths of their children. And that this

Commandment

Commandment might eaſily be obſerved, it would ſoon appear, if Princes would reſolve, but for a few years, to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and argument of ſparing the firſt offence, that incourageth theſe Hell-hounds. And if every man preſume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Commonwealth, but theſe men would in a ſhort time impoveriſh or deſtroy it.

The fifth Commandment of this ſecond Table, is, the prohibition of falſe witneſs: from which, if men could not forbear, all ſurety of eſtate and life were taken away. And ſo much did God deteſt a falſe witneſs, and a falſe accuſer, eſpecially in matters criminal, that the Law ordained him to ſuffer the ſame death or puniſhment, which he ſought by falſhood to lay on his brother.

The laſt of the ten Commandments forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupiſcence, or their goods for deſire of gain. And this Precept ſeemeth the hardeſt for men to obſerve; ſo eſteemed by reaſon of our frail affections; and yet, if we judg hereof rightly, it may be doubted, whether it extend to all our inconſiderate fancies, and vain thoughts. For, although it be not eaſie to maſter all our ſudden paſſions, yet we may reſtrain and hinder the growing, and farther increaſe, if we pleaſe to intend our ſtrength, and ſeek for grace. How the word *Coveting*, reacheth to all thoſe, it is to be conſidered. For, *Concupiſcentia*, according to ſome, *Eſt effrænatus habendi appetitus*; *An unbridled, or unreſtrained appetite of having:* And, as touching ſuch an appetite, we cannot excuſe our ſelves by any our natural frailty, or unadviſed error; But, as I ſuppoſe, the word *Concupiſcence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evil intent, or for ſome urging inclination thereunto. All the queſtion is of the later ſort; which is, *Actus imperfectus, id eſt, non deliberatus ratione, quæ eſt principium proprium actus boni aut vitioſi*; *Such paſſions, or inclinations are imperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reaſon, which is the proper Principle of a good or vicious action.* And ſure, it may ſeem, that ſo long as we reſiſt ſuch motions, they harm us not: as they ſay, *Quamdiu refragamur, nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus*; *As long as we give no aſſent unto them, it is thought by ſome, that they hurt us not; and that then onely they hurt, when we ſuffer them to bear ſway.* But theſe men, as it ſeems, make nothing forbidden in the tenth Precept, but what hath been forbidden in the other: for in every Commandment, not onely the outward act, but alſo the inward aſſent unto evil, though it break not out into act, is forbidden; therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandment and the reſt, the diſtinction of deſires is to be held; that ſome are with aſſent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without aſſent. For, even ſo the Moral *Philoſopher* can tell us, that the continent man hath evil deſires, but without aſſent (for they are bridled by the ſtrength of right reaſon) as on the other ſide, the Incontinent hath good deſires but reſtrained and ſuppreſſed by contrary paſſions. The evil deſires, when they are accompanied with aſſent, are in every Commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if we will have any thing proper to this Commandment, we muſt needs ſay, that the evil deſires of the continent man (that is, even thoſe which we reſiſt and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridled his evil deſires, be much better than he that yieldeth unto them; yet, ſuch a man according to the Heathen *Philoſopher*, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For *Ariſtotle* himſelf makes *Continentia*, not to be vertue, but only a degree unto it; confeſſing, that though the Continent man do well in bridling his evil affections, yet he doth not all, ſeeing he ought not ſo much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true Divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he ſaith, that in the Continent man the having of theſe evil deſires, though he reſiſt them, is the cauſe that he cannot be called a vertuous man: ſo we, that the having of them is a ſin. Onely in this we excel him here; that we are able out of Divinity, to give the true reaſon of this doctrine; which is, that every one ſinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evil deſires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridleth them, muſt needs be ſin: ſeeing ſuch deſires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleaſed God, to make us know, that by our faithful endeavours to keep his Commandments, we witneſs our love toward himſelf; we may not ſafely give liberty to our vanities, by caſting back upon God (who is Juſtice it ſelf) that he hath given us Precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandments impoſſible for us to keep. For, as he is accurſed (ſaith Saint *Hierom*) that avows that the Law is in all things poſſible to be obſerved: ſo he hath made this addition: *Maledictus*

qui

qui dicit impossibilia Deum præcepisse; Accursed is he that saith, that God hath cõmanded things (in themselves, and not through our fault) *impossible.* Now, as the places are many which command us to keep the Law; so is our weakness also in the Scriptures laid before us, and therefore it is thus safely to be understood, that we should without evasion, or without betraying of our selves, do our faithful endeavours to observe them: which if we do unfeignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man just, *David* witnesseth: *Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight, no flesh that liveth shall be justified.* And in the first of *Kings*, *There is no man that sinneth not*; And again, *Who can say, I have made my heart clean?* But, seeing there is no sin grievous without deliberation; let every man's conscience judg him, whether he give way willingly, or restrain himself in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King gives to his subject a commandment upon pain of loss of his love, to perform some service: if the subject, neglecting the same, seek to satisfie his *Soveraign* with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himself to be derided therein.

Psal 143.

Cap. 8. v. 46.

Prov. 20 9

§. XIV.

If there were not any Religion, nor Judgment to come, yet the Decalogue *were most necessary to be observed.*

AND if we consider advisedly, and soberly, of the Moral Law, or ten Commandments, which God by the hand of *Moses* gave unto his People, it will appear, that such was his merciful Providence in the choice of them, as, were there neither pain nor profit adjoyned to the observing, or not observing of them; were there no divine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet, if we did not for our own sakes strive to observe these Laws, all Society of men, and all endeavours, all happiness and contentment in this life would be taken away, and every State and Common-weal in the World fall to the ground and dissolve. Therefore these Laws were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that every man might enjoy the fruits of his own travel, that right might be done to all men, from all men: that by Justice, Order, and Peace, we might live the lives of reasonable men, and not of Beasts; of free-men, and not of slaves; of civil men, and not of Salvages. And hereof making our humane reason onely Judg, let us see the inconveniences in this life, which would follow by the breach and neglect of these Laws.

As first, what would the issue be, if we acknowledged many gods? would not a farr greater hatred, warr, and bloud-shed follow, than that which the difference of Ceremony, and diversity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, even among those Nations which acknowledg one *God*, and one *Christ*?

And what could it profit mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of Gold, Metal, dead Stones, and rotten Wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loss of time, and an impossibility to receive thence-from, either help or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandment bringeth therewith this disadvantage, and ill to man, that whosoever taketh the Name of God in vain, shall not at any time benefit himself by calling God to witness for him, when he may justly use his Holy Name.

The observing the *Sabbath* Holy, giveth rest to Men and Beasts, and Nature her self requireth intermission from labour.

If we despise our Parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our children, to scorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If Murther were not forbidden, and severely punished, the race of mankind would be extinguished; and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giveth liberty to others to destroy himself.

If Adultery were lawful, and permitted, no man could say unto himself; This is my Son: there would be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to Posterity, no endeavour by vertue and undertaking to raise Families; murthers and poisonings between Man and Wife would be daily committed; and every man subject to most filthy and unclean Diseases.

If Stealth and violent Rapine were suffered, all mankind would shortly after perish, or live as the Salvages, by Roots and Acorns. For no man laboureth but to enjoy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischief of Robbery, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes, appointed restitution fourfold, policy of State, and necessity, hath made it death.

To permit false Witnesses, is to take all mens lives and estates from them by corruption; the wicked would swear against the vertuous; the waster against the wealthy; the idle Beggar and Loyterer, against the careful and painful Labourer; all trial of right were taken away, and Justice thereby banished out of the World.

The coveting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of mind, with an inward vexation; for while we covet what appertains to others, we neglect our own: our appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitless hopes, so long as we do but covet; and if we do attain to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the Wives, or goods of our neighbours; we can look for no other, but that our selves shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandments, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the general and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in respect of himself, did the most merciful and provident God ordain them; without the observation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the blessings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable, and of no use. For we should remain but in the state of brute Beasts, if not in a farr more unhappy condition.

§. XV.

Of humane law, written, and unwritten.

HUmane law, of which now it followeth to speak, is first divided into two (*viz.*) Written, and unwritten. The unwritten consists of usage, approved by time; which *Isidore* calls *Mores*; and he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probatæ*; to be *customs approved by antiquity, or unwritten laws.* Now custom differeth from use, as the cause from the effect; in that custom is by use and continuance established into a law; but yet there, where the law is defective, saith *Isidore.*

And of customs there are two general natures, containing innumerable particulars; the first are written customs, received and exercised by Nations, as the customs of *Burgundy* and *Normandy*, the antient general custom of *England*, and the customs of *Castile*, and other *Provinces.*

The second are these petty customs, used in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The general or National customs are some written, others unwritten.

The particular or petty customs are seldom written, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitance. The custom of the *Dutchie* of *Cornwall*, comprehending also the *Stannary* of *Devon*, as touching *Tinn*, and *Tinn* causes are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwall.* But howsoever, use and time hath made these customs as laws, yet ought every custom to be *rationabilis*, as well as *præscripta. Non firmatur tractu temporis, quod de jure ab initio non subsistit*; *That which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time.* And (saith *Ulpian*) *quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis convalescere*; *Course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning.* For these two defences are necessary in all laws of custom; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law Divine, and Natural; the other, that the cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth, and necessary continuance; it being manifest, that every custom which is against the law, had its beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customs of this nature, were but tollerated for a time, by the law-makers, though they have been since continued; because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moved. For, *Non sufficit simplex toleratio.* And it is in this sort over-ruled in the law; *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui novam legem & novam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus princeps est*; *The people cannot bring in a new custom against law, save by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the Prince.*

In Reg. Jur. v. c. q. 117. art. 1.

Ulp. l. 29.

Humane law, generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doom of practick reason; by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the law a common precept, the advisement of wise men, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calls the law, a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for government and common profit; And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione consistit*; *All that stands with reason.*

Lastly, and more precisely, it is thus defined. Humane law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the law natural and eternal; made by the rational discourse of those, that exercise publick authority; prescribing necessary observances to the subject. That every law ought to be a righteous decree, S. *Augustine* teacheth, saying, *Mihi lex esse non videtur, quæ justa non fuerit*; *It seems to be no law at all to me, which is not just*; and just it cannot be, except it agree with the law natural and eternal. For there is no law just and legitimate (saith S. *Augustine*) which the Law-makers have not derived from the eternal. *Nihil justum atque legitimum est, quod non ab æterna lege sibi homines derivaverunt.*

Greg. de Val. ex Tho q. 91. art. 3. & q 94. art. 2

Lib. 1. de li. arb. cap. 6.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse

discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the law natural, to wit, the natural, demonstrable, or needing no demonstration, from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorised Magistracy, it cannot be doubted, be the government of what kind soever. For it falleth otherwise under the title of those decrees called *Violentiæ*, or *iniquæ constitutiones*; *Violences, or wicked constitutions.*

4 *Parts.* Of humane law there are four properties, especially answering these four conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawn out of the law of Nature; so every particular of the humane law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the natural.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred unto, and doth respect, the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publick authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the law, it prescribeth and directeth all humane actions. And so is the law as large and divers, as all humane actions are divers, which may fall under it. For, according to *Thomas*, *Alia lex* Julia *de Adulteriis*, *alia* Cornelii *de Sicariis*; *The law of* Julian *against Adultery, is one, the* Cornelian *against Ruffians, is another.* Now, the humane law generally taken, is in respect of these considerations, divided into the law of Nations, and the Civil.

The law of Nations is taken less or more properly; less properly for every law which is not of it self, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it seemeth that *Ulpian* understands it: for he defineth *Jus Gentium*, or *the law of Nations*, to be that which is only common amongst men, as Religion, and the Worship of God; which is not in the very nature of this law of Nations; but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other divine Revelations. But the law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawn from a very probable, though not from an evident principle, yet so probable, that all Nations do assent unto the conclusion, as that the free passage of *Ambassadors* be granted between enemies, *&c.* which National law, according to divers acceptations, and divers considerations had of the humane law, may be sometime taken for a *Species* of the Natural, sometime of the Humane.

Jus civile, or the civil Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in divers Estates it is also divers and peculiar, and this law is not so immediately derived from the law of Nature, as the law of Nations is: For, it is partly deduced out of such principles, as all Nations do not agree in, or easily assent unto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are divers, and do not fit all Estates. Hereof *Ulpian*, *Jus civile neque in totum a Naturali & Gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, vel detrahimus juri communi, jus proprium, id est, Civili efficimus*; *The civil Law* (saith he) *doth neither wholly differ from the law of Nature and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore, when we add ought to, or take from the law that is common, we make a law proper, that is, the Civil Law.* *In Leg. 6. ff. de Justitia.*

The law now commonly called the *Civil Law*, had its birth in *Rome*; and was first written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. years after the foundation of the City. It was compounded as well out of the *Athenian* and other *Grecian* laws, as out of the antient *Roman* customs and laws *Regal*. The Regal laws were devised by the first Kings, and called *Leges Regiæ*, or *Papyrianæ*, because they were gathered by *Papyrius*, *Tarquin* then raigning. For, though so many of the former laws as maintained Kingly authority, were abolished with the name; yet those of *Servius Tullius*, for commerce and contracts, and all that appertained to Religion and common Utility, were continued, and were a part of the laws of the twelve Tables. To these laws of the twelve Tables, were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the *Senate*, called *Senatus-consulta*: those of the common people, called *Plebei-scita*, those of the Lawyers, called *Responsa-prudentum*; and the Edicts of the *Annual Magistrate*; which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and presented to *Adrian* the Emperor, they were by him confirmed, and made perpetual laws, and the *Volume* styled, *Edictum perpetuum*; as those and the like collections of *Justinian* afterward were. *Dion. Hal.* *C. Signon. l. 1. de Antiquo Jure Italiæ.*

The difference antiently between Laws and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that laws are the Constitutions made or confirmed by Soveraign Authority (be the soveraignty in the People, in a few, or in one) and are withall general and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Jussum Magistratus*, unless by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the Officer, who made the same, saith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam esse dicunt*; *They who ascribe the most to an Edict, say that it is a law for one year:* Though *Isidore* doth also express by the word *Constitutions* or *Edicts*, those Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogatives*; as, *Constitutio, vel Edictum est quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit*; *An Ordinance or Edict is that which*

a King or Emperour doth ordain, or proclaim.

Lastly, the *humane Law* is divided into the *Secular*, and into the *Ecclesiastical*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporal good, to wit, the Peace and tranquility of the Common-weal; the *Ecclesiastical*, the spiritual good, and right government of the *Ecclesiastical Common-wealth*, or *Church*: *Illud naturæ legem, hoc divinam spectat*; *That respecteth the law of Nature, this the Law of God.* And so may *jus Civile* be taken two ways; First, as distinguished from the law of Nations, as in the first division: Secondly, as it is the same with the *Secular*, and diverse from the *Ecclesiastical*. But this division of the *School-men* is obscure. For although the *Civil* be the same with the *Secular*, as the *Civil* is a law, yet the *Secular* is more general, and comprehendeth both the *Civil* and all other laws not *Ecclesiastical*. For, of *Secular* laws in use among *Christian* Princes, and in *Christian* Common-weals, there are three kinds; the *Civil*, which hath every where a voice, and is in all *Christian* Estates (*England* excepted) most powerful; the laws of *England*, called *Common*, and the laws of custom, or *Provincial*. In *Spain*, besides the law *Civil*, they have the customs of *Castil*, and other Provinces. In *France*, besides the *Civil*, the customs of *Burgundy*, *Bloys*, *Berri*, *Nivernois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tous liez situes & assis en Lodunois, seront governez selon les costumes du dit pays*; *All places lying within the precincts of Lodunois, shall be governed according to the customs of that place.* There are also in *France* the customs of *Normandy*, and these of two kinds: General, and Local; and all purged and reformed by divers Acts of the three Estates. The *Charters* of confirmation of these antient customs, before and since their reformation have these words: *Nos autem Registrum prædictum, usus laudabiles, & consuetudines antiquas*, &c. *laudamus, approbamus, & autheritate Regia confirmamus*; *The Register aforesaid, laudable use, and antient customs, we praise, approve, and by our Kingly Authority confirm.* The Common Law of *England* is also compounded of the antient customs of the same, and of certain *Maxims* by those customs of the Realm approved. Upon which customs also are grounded those Courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other small Courts.

Art 3 tit. 5 5. cust.

These antient customs of *England* have been approved by the Kings thereof from Age to Age: as that custom by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, nor otherwise destroy'd, but he must first be put to answer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the *Statute* of *Magna Charta*. It is by the antient custom of *England*, that the eldest Sons should inherit without partition. In *Germany*, *France*, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In *Ireland*, it is the custom of all Lands (that have not been resigned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the House shall enjoy the Inheritance during his own life; and so the second and third eldest (if there be so many brothers) before the Heir in lineal descent; this is called the custom of *Tanistry*. For example, if a Lord of Land have four Sons, and the eldest of those four have also a Son, the three brothers of the eldest Son shall, after the death of their brother, enjoy their Fathers Lands before the grandchild: the custom being grounded upon the reason of necessity. For the *Irish* in former times, having always lived in a subdivided *civil* Warr, not onely the greatest against the greatest, but every *Baron* and *Gentleman* one against another, were enforc'd to leave successors of age and ability, to defend their own Territories. Now, as in *Normandy*, *Burgundy*, and other Provinces of *France*, there are certain peculiar and petty Customs, besides the great and general custom of the Land, so are there in *England*, and in every part thereof. But the greatest bulk of our Laws, as I take it, are the *Acts* of *Parliament*; Laws propounded and approved by the three Estates of the Realm, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which, all men are therefore bound, because they are *Acts* of choice, and self-desire. *Leges nulla alia causa nos tenent, quam quod judicio populi receptæ sunt*; *The Laws do therefore bind the Subject, because they are received by the judgment of the Subject. Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim suam, cum fuerint non modo institutæ, sed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*; *It is then that humane laws have their strength, when they shall not onely be devised, but by the approbation of the People confirmed.*

Vlp. ff de Leg. Leg. 3. Aug. de vera relig. cap. 31. Gratian in dec dist 4. Cum in ipsis.

Isidore fastneth these properties to every *Christian* Law, that the same be honest, that it be possible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the custom of the Countrey; also for the time and place, convenient, profitable, and manifest; and without respect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. He also gives four effects of the Law, which *Modestinus* comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, and instigation: the former binds us by fear, to avoid vice; the later encourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For, according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet esse vitiorum emendatricem*,

tricem, commendatricemque virtutum: It behooveth the Law to be a mender of Vices, and a commender of Vertue. The part obligatory, or binding us to the obſervation of things commanded, or forbidden, is an effect common to all laws; and it is two-fold: the one conſtraineth us by fear of our conſciences, the other by fear of external puniſhment. Theſe two effects the Law performeth, by the exerciſe of thoſe two powers, to wit, *Coactive* and *Directive*.

The ſecond of theſe two effects remembred by *Modeſtinus*, is *Inſtigation*, or incouragement to Vertue, as *Ariſtotle* makes it the end of the Law, to make men vertuous. For laws being ſuch as they ought to be, do both by preſcribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing; laying before us the good and the evil, by the one and the other purchaſed. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evil, are thoſe into which the law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and ſubſtance thereof: ſaying, *Declina a malo, & fac bonum, Decline from evil, and do good.* Pſalm 37.

§. XVI.

That onely the Prince is exempt from humane laws, and in what ſort.

NOw, whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any perſon, it is doubtfully diſputed among thoſe that have written of this ſubject, as well *Divines* as *Lawyers*; and namely, whether Soveraign Princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the Law, as aforeſaid; the one *Directive*, the other *Coactive:* to the power *Directive* they ought to be ſubject, but not to that which conſtraineth. For, as touching violence, or puniſhments, no man is bound to give a prejudicial judgment againſt himſelf; and, if equals have not any power over each other, much leſs have inferiours over their ſuperiours, from whom they receive their authority and ſtrength.

And ſpeaking of the ſupreme power of Laws, ſimply then is the Prince ſo much above the laws, as the Soul and Body united, is above a dead and ſenſleſs Carkaſs. For the King is truly called, *Jus vivum, & lex animata: An animate, and living law.* But this is true, that by giving authority to laws, Princes both add greatneſs to themſelves, and conſerve it; and therefore was it ſaid of *Bracton* out of *Juſtinian*; *Meritò debet Rex tribuere legi quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit ut ipſe ſit Rex: Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the law firſt attributeth to the King; for it is the law that doth make Kings.* Bract. l. 2.

But whereas *Bracton* aſcribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein miſtaker. For Kings are made by God, and laws divine; and by humane laws onely, declared to be Kings. As for the places remembred by the *Divines* and *Lawyers*, which inferr a kind of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conſcience, and profit ariſing from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to give an accompt of their actions to God onely.

Tibi ſoli peccavi, ſaith *David*; *againſt thee onely have I ſinned*; therefore the Prince cannot be ſaid to be ſubject to the law; *Princeps non ſubjicitur legi.* For ſeeing, according to the *School-men*, the law humane, is but *quoddam organum, & inſtrumentum poteſtatis gubernativæ: non videtur poſſe ejus obligatio ad eum ſe extendere, ad quem ipſa vis poteſtatis humanæ non pertinet; ſed vis poteſtatis humanæ non ſe extendit ad gubernatorem in quo illa reſidet. Ergo, neque lex condita per talem poteſtatem obligare poteſt ipſum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia activa, eſt principium tranſmutandi aliud; Seeing humane law* (ſay they) *is but a kind of organ, or inſtrument of the power that governeth, it ſeems that it cannot extend it ſelf to bind any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold of: but the Governour himſelf, in whom the governing power doth reſide, is a perſon that cannot by himſelf, or by his own power, be controlled. And therefore the law which is made by ſuch a power, cannot bind the Law-maker himſelf: for every active ability, is a cauſe or principle of alteration in another body*, not in the body in which it ſelf reſides. And ſeeing Princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the law; *Ergo, etiam poteſt ipſemet Princeps, ſive Legiſlator ſua ſe voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; Therefore alſo may a Prince, or Law-maker, at his own will and pleaſure, deliver himſelf from the bond of the Law.* Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: *Subditi tenentur leges obſervare neceſſitate coactionis. Princeps vero ſola voluntate ſua, & intuitu boni communis; The ſubjects are bound to fulfill the Law by neceſſity of compulſion, but the Prince only by his own will, and regard of the common good.* Pſalm 50. Aff. de Leg. Greg. Valentia de Leg.

Now, concerning the politick laws, given by *Moſes* to the Nation of the *Iſraelites*, whether they ought to be a Preſident, from which no civil Inſtitutions of other People ſhould preſume to digreſs, I will not preſume to determine, but leave it as a queſtion

on for ſuch men to decide, whoſe profeſſions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirm, That we ought not to ſeem wiſer than God himſelf, who hath told us, that there are no laws ſo righteous, as thoſe which it pleaſed him to give to his Elect People to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their ſeveral qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no leſs than in their peculiar Languages; which diſagreeable conditions to govern aptly, one and the ſame law very hardly were able. The *Roman* civil laws did indeed contain in order a great part of the then known World, without any notable inconvenience, after ſuch time as once it was received and become familiar; yet was not the adminiſtration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural cuſtoms of the ſundry people which it governed. For, whether it be through a long continued perſuaſion; or (as *Aſtrologers* more willingly grant) ſome influence of the Heavens; or, peradventure, ſome temper of the ſoil and climate, affording matter of provocation to vice (as plenty make the *Sybarites* luxurious; want, and opportunity to ſteal, makes the *Arabians* to be Thieves) very hard it were to forbid by law, an offence ſo common with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be diſtinguiſhed from juſt and honeſt. By ſuch rigour was the Kingdom of *Congo* unhappily diverted from the Chriſtian Religion, which it willingly at the firſt imbraced, but after, with great fury rejected, becauſe plurality of Wives was denied unto them, I know not how neceſſarily, but more conſcientiouſly than ſeaſonably. In ſuch caſes, methinks it were not amiſs to conſider, that the high God himſelf permitted ſome thing to the *Iſraelites*, rather in regard of their natural diſpoſition (for they were hard-hearted) than becauſe they were conſonant unto the antient Rules of the firſt perfection. So, where even the general nature of man doth condemn (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjuſt; there may the law, given by *Moſes*, worthily be deemed the moſt exact reformer of the evil, which forceth man, as near as may be, to the will and pleaſure of his Maker. But where nature or cuſtom hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habit, with ſo long and ſo publick approbation, that the vertue oppoſing it would ſeem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in *England*, or to wear the *Engliſh* faſhion of apparel in *Turkie*; there may be a wiſe and upright Law-giver, without preſumption, omit ſomewhat that the rigour of *Moſes* law required; even as the good King *Hezekiah* did, in a matter meerly *Eccleſiaſtical*, and therefore the leſs capable of diſpenſation, praying for the people; The good Lord be merciſull unto him, that prepareth his whole heart to ſeek the Lord God, *the God of his Fathers*, though he be not cleanſed according to the puriſication of the Sanctuary; which Prayer the Lord heard and granted. *2 Chron. 30.18,19.*

To this effect it is well obſerved by Mr. Doctor *Willet*, that the moral Judicials of *Moſes* do partly bind, and partly are let free. They do not hold affirmatively, that we are tied to the ſame ſeverity of puniſhment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the puniſhment of death ſhould not be adjudged, where ſentence of death is given by *Moſes*; Chriſtian Magiſtrates ruling under *Chriſt* the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the ſeverity of *Moſes* law, and mitigate the puniſhment of death, but they cannot add unto it, to make the burthen more heavie: for to ſhew more rigour than *Moſes*, becometh not the Goſpel. *Iſai 9.*

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath been the ſubject of many learned diſcourſes, neither will I take upon me, to ſpeak any thing definitively in a caſe which dependeth ſtill in ſome controverſie among worthy *Divines*. Thus much (as in honour of the Judicial law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly ſay, that the defence of it hath always been very plauſible. And ſurely, howſoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a general and onely law; yet ſhall we hardly find any other ground, wheron the conſcience of a Judg may reſt, with equal ſatisfaction in making interpretation, or giving ſentence upon doubts ariſing out of any law beſides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Judg could have been witneſs, of whom *Forteſcue*, that notable Bulwark of our laws, doth ſpeak, complaining of a judgment given againſt a Gentlewoman at *Salisbury*; who being accuſed by her own man, without any other proof, for murthering her Huſband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to aſhes: the man who accuſed her, within a year after, being convict for the ſame offence, confeſt that his Miſtriſs was altogether innocent of that cruel fact, whoſe terrible death he then (though over-late) grievouſly lamented; but this Judg, ſaith the ſame Author, *Sæpius ipſe mihi faſſus eſt, quod nunquam in vita ſua animum ejus de hoc facto ipſe purgaret*; *He himſelf often confeſſed unto me, that he ſhould never, during his life, be able to clear his* *Cap. 5. 3.*

his conſcience of that fact. Wherefore, that acknowledgment which other *Sciences* yield unto the *Metaphyſicks*, that from thence are drawn Propoſitions, able to prove the principles of Sciences, which out of the Sciences themſelves cannot be proved, may juſtly be granted by all other politick inſtitutions, to that of *Moſes*; and ſo much the more juſtly, by how much the ſubject of the *Metaphyſicks* which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*; *Being as it is being*; is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*; *The Being of beings*, the onely good, the fountain of Truth, whoſe fear is the beginning of Wiſdom. To which purpoſe, well ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, *Conditor legum temporalium ſi vir bonus eſt, & ſapiens, illam ipſam conſulit æternam, de qua nulli animæ judicare datum eſt*; *The Author of temporal Laws, if he be good and wiſe, doth therein conſult the Law æternal, to determine of which, there is no power given to any Soul.* And as well Prince *Edward*, in *Forteſcue* his Diſcourſe, *Nemo poteſt melius, aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quàm poſuit Dominus*; *No man can lay a better, or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.*

CHAP. V.

The Story of the Iſraelites *from the receiving of the Law, to the death of* Moſes.

§. I.

Of the numbring and diſpoſing of the Hoſt of Iſrael, *for their marches through the Wilderneſs; with a note of the reverence given to the Worſhip of God, in this ordering of their troups.*

WHen *Moſes* had received the Law from God, and publiſhed it among the People, and finiſhed the Tabernacle of the *Ark*, and *Sanctuary*; he muſtred all the Tribes and Families of *Iſrael*; and having ſeen what number of Men fit to bear Arms, were found in every Tribe, from twenty years of age upwards; he appointed unto them, by direction from the LORD, ſuch Princes and Leaders, as in Worth and Reputation were in every Tribe moſt eminent. The number of the whole Army was 603550. able men for the Warrs, beſides Women and Children; alſo, beſides the ſtrangers which followed them out of *Egypt*. This great Army was divided by *Moſes* into four groſs and mighty Battalilions, each of which contained the ſtrength of three whole Tribes.

The firſt of theſe containing 186400. able Men, conſiſted of three Regiments, which may well, in reſpect of their number, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Iſſachar* and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600. fighting men, led by *Naaſſon*; in *Iſſachar*, 54400. led by *Nathaniel*; in *Zabulon* 57400 led by *Eliab*. All theſe marched under the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who held the Vaunt-guard, and was the firſt that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general encamping on the Eaſt-ſide of the Army, which was held the firſt place, and of greateſt dignity.

The ſecond Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures, the hoſt of *Reuben*, had joyned unto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number, 151450. All which marched under the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. under *Elizur*; in *Simeon*, 59300. under *Shelumiel*; in *Gad*, 45650. under *Eliaſaph*: Theſe had the ſecond place, and encamped on the South-ſide of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched under the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were joyned the Regiment of *Manaſſe* and *Benjamin*; who joyned together, made in number 108100. able men. Theſe marched in the third place, encamping on the Weſt quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. under *Eliſhama*; *Manaſſe* 32200. under *Gamliel*; *Benjamin* 35400. under *Abidam*.

The fourth and laſt Army, or Squadron, of the general Army, containing 157600. able men, marched under the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were joyned the two Tribes of *Nephtali* and *Aſher*. And theſe had the Rere-ward, and moved laſt, encamping on the North-ſide. *Dan* had 62700. under *Ahiezer*; *Aſher* 41500. under *Pagiel*; *Nephtali* 53400. under *Ahira*.

Beſides theſe Princes of the ſeveral Tribes, there were ordained Captains over Thouſands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over

over Tens; as it may appear by that mutiny and insurrection against *Moses*; *Numb.* 16. *verse* 1. and 2. For there arose up against *Moses* 250. Captains of the *Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renown*; of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principal Mutineers, with those 250. Captains that followed them, were not any of the Princes of the Tribes or general Colonels before spoken of, as by their names, *Numb.* 1. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, took place not only in the division of the Land of Promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in sorting them under their several Standards in the Wilderness it was observed. For *Judah* had the precedency, and the greatest Army, which also was wholly compounded of the Sons of *Leah*, *Jacob*'s Wife. *Reuben* having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had under-gone his Fathers curse; and with *Gad*, the Son of his Mothers Hand-maid. *Joseph*, who, in temporal blessings, had the prerogative of the first-born, a double portion, was accompted as two Tribes, and divided into two Regiments; the younger (according to *Jacob*'s prophecy) taking place before the elder, he was assisted by *Bejamin*, his best beloved brother, the other son of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest son of *Jacob*'s Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Jacob*'s prophecy. He had with him under his Standard, none of the children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*, but only the sons of the Hand-maids.

In the middle of these four Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, surrounded by the *Levites*. Near unto which, as the *Heathens* and *Pagans* could not approach, by reason of these four powerful Armies which guarded the same; so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come near it, who were not of the *Levites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the movable Temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof: of which, 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their several offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the People observed the former order in their incampings: so did the *Levites* quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the Tabernacle; the *Gershurites* on the West, within the Army, and Standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Elisaph* commanded, in number, 7500. The Family of *Cohath* on the South-side, guided by *Elizaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and between him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third Company were of the Family of *Merari* over whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North-side, within the Army of *Dan*. On the East-side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Judah* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of Ceremonies, and of the People; under whom, as the chief of all the other *Levitical* Families, was *Eleazar*, the son of *Aaron*, his successor in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Army of *Israel*, and of their encamping and marching; the Tabernacle being always set in the middle and center thereof. The reverend care which *Moses* the Prophet, and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, Ark, and Sanctuary, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeal born towards God himself. The industry used in the framing thereof, and every, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the dutiful observance in the laying up, and preserving the holy Vessels; the solemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all Ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the *Family*, by the *Anabaptist*, *Brownist*, and other *Sectaries*, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accompted a kind of *Popery*, and as proceeding from an Idolatrous disposition; insomuch as time would soon bring to pass (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barns, and from thence again into the Fields, and Mountains, and under the Hedges, and the offices of the *Ministery* (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as those places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-government, left to newness of Opinion, and mens fancies; yea, and soon after, as many kinds of Religions would spring up, as there are Parish-Churches within *England*; every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancy with the *Spirit of God*, and his imagination with the gift of *Revelation*; insomuch, as when the *Truth*, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no less variable than

than contrary to it self, the Faith of men will soon after die away by degrees, and all Religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gave a great Prince of *Germany* cause of this Answer to those that perswaded him to becom a *Lutheran*; *Si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis: si me aliis adjungo, à vobis condemnor; quid jugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo: If I adjoin my self to you, I am condemned by others; If I joyn with others, I am condemned by you: what I should avoid I see, but I see not what I should follow.*

§. II.

The offerings of the twelve Princes: the Passover of the second year: the departing of Jethro.

NOw, when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the service of God, written the laws, numbred his Army, and divided them into the battels and troups before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all sorts; The twelve Princes or Commanders of the Tribes, brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, six covered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the *Sanctuary* excepted, which for reverence was carried upon the shoulders of the Sons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots, in which was conveyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Levites* for that service, namely, to the sons of *Gershan* and *Merari*. *Numb.* 6.

Besides these Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered unto God, and for his service in the Temple, a Charger of fine Silver, weighing 130. shekels; a silver Bowl of 70. shekels, after the shekel of the *Sanctuary*; and an Incense-Cup of Gold, of ten shekels, which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated unto God by *Aaron*; and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their conquest, besides the Beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the law Ceremonial, the weight of all the twelve silver Chargers, and twelve silver Bowls, amounted unto 2400. shekels of silver; and the weight of gold in the Incense-Cups, to 120. shekels of gold; which makes of shekels of silver, 1200. every shekel of gold valuing ten of silver, so that the whole of gold and silver which they offered at this time, was about four hundred and twenty pound sterling. This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest, by the Spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the *Passover*, which they performed on the fourteenth day of the second Moneth of the second year; and on the twentieth day of the same, the cloud was lifted up from above the Tabernacle, as a sign of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this invocation to God: *Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee, flie before thee.* Then all the people of *Israel* removed from their encamping at the foot of the Mountain *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the Army, or great squadron of *Juda*, led by *Naasshon*, taking the Vaunt-guard, followed by *Nathaniel* and *Eliab*. Leaders of the Tribes of *Issachar* and *Zabulon*; after whom the rest marched, as in the Figure expres'd. And because the passage through so many Desarts and Mountains, was exceeding difficult: *Moses* leaving nothing un-forethought, which might serve for the advancement of his enterprise, he instantly intreated his Father-in-law, whom, in the tenth of *Numbers*, he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journey towards *Canaan*; promising him such part and profit of the enterprise, as God should bestow on them; for this man, as he was of great understanding and judgment (as appeared by the counsel he gave to *Moses* for the appointing of Judges over the People) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himself inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian* or *Madian*: and (as it seemeth) a man of great years and experience; for he was then the Priest or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moses* fled first out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. years before this request made. And though *Moses* himself had lived 40. years in these parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to travel; yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of souls, which could not be so few as a Million, it was necessary to use many guides, and many conductors. To this request of *Moses*, it may seem by the places, *Exod.* 18. 27. and *Numb.* 10. 30. that *Jethro*, otherwise called *Hobab*, yielded not; for it is evident, that he went back from *Moses* into his own Country. But because it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the Posterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Israelites*, it is most likely that this his return to his own Country, was *Judic.* 1. 16. & 4. 11. Also *1 Sam.* 15. 6. And *2 Reg.* 10. 15. *1 Chron.* 2. 55. *Jer.* 35.

The Hebrew *Gerah* weigheth sixteen grains: so a *Gerah* of Silver is about three half pence sterling: the *Sicle* of the Sanctuary (as it is expounded, *Exod.* 30. 13.) containeth 20. *Gerahs*, so a Sanctuary *Sicle* of Silver is about 7. Groats, the common *Sicle* is but half as much, to wit, 10. *Gerahs*: as it is usualy expounded; though *Villalpandus* labours to prove that the common, and the Sanctuary *Sicle* were all one, *Numb.* 9. 5. *Numb.* 10. 11. *Exod.* ult. 34. *Num.* 9. 17.

rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leave of his own Country, by setting things in order, than to abide there.

§. III.

The Voyage from Horeb *to* Kades; *the Mutinies by the way; and the cause of their turning back to the Red Sea.*

AFter this dismission of *Hobab*, *Israel* began to march towards the desarts of *Paran*; and after three days wandring, they sate down at the *Sepulchres* of lust, afterward called *Tabeera*, or *Incensio*; by reason that God consumed with fire those Mutineers and Murmurers, which rose up in this remove, which hapned about the 23. day of the same Moneth. And from this 23. day of the second Moneth of the second year, they rested, and fed themselves with Quails (which it pleased God by a Sea-wind to cast upon them) to the 24. day of the third Moneth; to wit, all the Moneth of *Sinan*, or *June*; whereof surfeiting, there died great numbers; from whence
Numb. 11. and 13. in the following Moneth, called *Thamus*, an-
Numb. 12. swering to our *July*, they went on to *Hazeroth*, where *Miriam* the sister of *Moses* was stricken with the leprosie, which continued upon her seven days, after whose recovery *Israel* removed toward the border of *Idumæa*, and encamped at *Rithma*, near *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moses* sent the twelve discoverers into the Territory of *Canaan*, both to inform themselves of the fertility and strength of the Countrey; as also to take knowledg of the ways, passages, rivers, fords and Mountains. For *Arad* King of the *Canaanites*, surprized divers companies of the *Israelites*, by lying in ambush near those ways, through which the discoverers and searchers of the Land had formerly past. Now, after the return of the discoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned against *Israel*;
Numb. 21. whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefits, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliverance from the *Egyptian* slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *Wilderness* (for so *Moses* calleth it) with the Victory which he gave them against the powerful *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on, and preserved them, but to bring them, their Wives and Children to be slaughtered, and given for a prey and spoile to the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*. For, it was reported unto them by the searchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong Towers and Castles, that many of the people were *Giant-like* (for they confess'd that they saw the Sons of *Anac* there) who were men of fearful stature, and so far over-topped the *Israelites*, as they appeared to them and to themselves, but as Grashoppers in their respect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a Captain (or as they call it now aday, an *Electo*) to carry them back again into *Egypt*; so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every Soul of the whole multitude (*Josua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promises, persuaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then near it; and at the mountain foot of *Idumæa*, which is but narrow; laying before them the fertility thereof, and assuring them of Victory. But as men whom the passion of fear had
Numb. 14. 10. bereaved both of reason and common sense, they threatned to stone these encouragers to death; accompting them as men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the fear of his bright glory between the unadvised fury of the multitude, and the innocency & constancy of his servants, preserved them thereby from their violence; threatning an entire destruction of the whole Na-
Numb. 14. 22. tion, by sending among them a consuming and mercileſs Pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion, which they had made, since God delivered them from the slavery of the *Egyptians*. But *Moses* (the
Numb. 11. 3. mildest or meekest of all men) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies; alleging, that this so severe a judgment, how deservedly soever inflicted, would increase the pride of the heathen Nations, and give them occasion to vaunt, that the God of *Israel* failing in power to perform his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitless Desarts. Yet, as God is no less just than merciful, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire; the same being once kindled by the violent breath of man's ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand less heavie than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity; so by the measure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and derision) he suffered not the wicked to pass unpunished; reserving his compassion for the innocent; whom, because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleased to preserve, and in them to perform his promises, which have never been frustrate.

§. IV.

§. IV.

Of their unwillingneſs to return; with the puniſhment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.

NOw, when *Moſes* had revealed the purpoſes of God to the People, and made them know his heavie diſpleaſure towards them, they began to bewail themſelves, though over-late; the times of grace and mens repentance, having alſo their appointment. And then when God had left them to themſelves, and was no more among them, after they had ſo often plaid and dallied with his merciful ſufferings, they would needs amend their former diſobedience by a ſecond contempt, and make offer to enter the Land, contrary again to the advice of *Moſes*; who aſſured them that God was not among them; and that the *Ark* of his Covenant ſhould not move, but by his direction, who could not err; and that the Enemies ſword, which God had hitherto bended, and rebated, was now left no leſs ſharp than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites*, no leſs cruel. But as men from whom God hath with-drawn his Grace, do always follow thoſe counſels which carry them to their own deſtructions: ſo the *Hebrews*, after they had forſaken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered: and might then have entred *Judæa* before their Enemies were prepared and joyned; did afterward, contrary to Gods Commandment, undertake the enterpriſe of themſelves, and ran head-long, and without advice, into the Mountains of *Idumæa*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joyned, and attending their advantage, ſet on them, brake them, and of their numbers ſlaughtered the greateſt part: and following their victory and perſute, conſumed them all the way of their flight, even unto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites*, in revenge of their former loſs, and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites*, to prevent their diſplantation and deſtruction threatned. Of which powerful aſſembly of thoſe two Nations (aſſiſted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings, joined together for their common ſafety) it pleaſed God to forewarn *Moſes*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by thoſe painful paſſages of the Deſarts, through which they had formerly travelled, till they found the banks of the *Red Sea* again; in which retreat, before they came back to paſs over *Jordan*, there were conſumed eight and thirty years; and the whole number of the 600. and odd thouſand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moſes*, *Joſua*, and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderneſs, the ſtubborn and careleſs generations were wholly worn out, and the promiſed Land beſtowed on their children; which were increaſed to 600000. and more. For, beſides the double fault, both of refuſing to enter the Land upon the return of their diſcoverers, and the preſumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it ſeemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worſhipping *Moloch*, and the Hoſt of Heaven. *Amos* 5. 25. For, although *Moſes* doth not mention it, yet *Acts* 7. 42. *Amos* doth, and ſo doth the Martyr *Stephen*; 2 *King.* 17. 16. & *cap.* 21. *v.* 3. & as alſo that the *Iſraelites* worſhipped the Sun and Moon in after-times, it is proved *c.* 23. *v.* 4, out of ſundry other places. 5, 11. 2 *Chron.* 33. 3.

Now, after the broken Companies were returned to the Camp at *Cades*, *Moſes*, according to the commandment received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the ſhoars of the *Red Sea*. And ſo from *Cades*, or *Rithma*, he removed to *Remmonparez*, ſo called of abundance of Pomegranates there found, and divided among them. From whence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankincenſe there found. From *Libnah* he *Numb.* 33. croſſed the Valley, and ſate down at *Reſſa*, near the foot of the Mountain. And after he had reſted there, he bended towards the Weſt, and encamped at *Ceelata*; where one of the *Hebrews*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was ſtoned to death. After which, *Moſes* always keeping the Valley, between two great legdes of Mountains (thoſe which bound the Deſart of *Sin*, and thoſe of *Pharan*) croſs'd the ſame from *Ceelata*, and marched Eaſtward to the Mountain of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*; this making the twentieth Manſion. From thence he paſſed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceloth*; and then to *Thahah*, and ſo to *Thara*, or *Thare*; the four and twentieth Manſion. Where *Moſes* reſted, the people began that inſolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; who for their contempt of God and his Miniſters, were ſome of them ſwallowed up alive, and by the earth, opening her mouth, devoured; others, even two hundred and fifty which offered Incenſe with *Korah*, were conſumed with fire from Heaven; and 14700. of their party, which murmured againſt *Moſes*, ſtricken dead with a ſudden peſtilence: one of the greateſt marvels and judgments of God that hath been ſhewed in all the time of *Moſes* his Government, or before. For

among so great a multitude, those lay-men, who would have usurped Ecclesiastical authority, were suddenly swallowed up alive into the Earth, with their Families and goods; even while they sought to overthrow the Order, Discipline, and Power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the *High Priest and Magistrate*, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church, and Common-weal of his People. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleaseth him in this place also to approve by miracle the former election of his servant *Aaron*, by the 12. Rods given by the Heads of the 12. Tribes; of which *Moses* received one of every Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which, being all withered and dried Wands, and on every Rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aaron*'s on that of *Levi*, it pleased God, that the Rod of *Aaron* received, by his power, a vegetable spirit, and having lain in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the *Ark* one night, had on it both Buds, Blossoms, and ripe Almonds.

From *Tharah*, the whole Army removed to *Methra*; and thence to *Esmona*; and thence to *Moseroth* (or *Masurit*, after S. *Hierom*) and from *Moseroth* to *Benejacan*; and so to *Gadgad*, which *Hierom* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Jetabata*, the thirtieth Mansion; where, from certain fountains of water gathered in one, *Adricomius* maketh a River, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, between *Madian*, and *Asiongaber*.

Now, although it be very probable, that at *Asiongaber*, where *Solomon* furnished his Fleet for the *East-India*, there was store of
Herod. l. 3. fresh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great River in *Arabia the Stony*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (saith he) the Inhabitants convey water in Pipes of Leather to other places, by which device the King of *Arabia* relieved the Army of *Cambyses*; yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding these Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Jetabata*, being the nine and twentieth, or thirtieth Mansion. For it was at *Punon*, that those Springs are spoken of, which in *Deuteronomy* the tenth, and the seventh Verse, is also called *Jetabata*, or *Jotbath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the River *Zared*, the next adjoyning. And that these Springs should fall into the *Red Sea* at *Asiongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot believe, for the way thither is very long. And this I find in *Belonius*, that there are divers Torrents of fresh water in those sandy parts of *Arabia*; which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirsty sand, before they can recover the banks of the *Red Sea*.

From *Jetabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and encamped at *Hebrona*, & from thence to *Esiongaber*; which City in *Josephus* time, had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hieroms*, *Essia*. From thence, keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded; *Esiongaber* being the far-
Deut. 2. thest place towards the South-East, that *Moses* travelled in that passage.

It seemeth that *Esiongaber*, or *Asiongaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is said, *That the Lord spake unto* Moses *and* Aaron *in the Mount Hor, near the coast of the*
Numb. 20. 13. *Land of Edom*; so as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumæa*. And if *Esiongaber*, and the other places near the *Red Sea*, had at this present been subject unto the *Idumæans*, *Moses* would also have demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumæans* obtained those places: for it is said; *And they arose out of Midian, and came to Pa-*
1 King. 11. 18. *ran, and took men with them*; which were those Companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumæa* into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Joab*. Likewise it is said of *Solomon*, that he made a Navie of Ships in *Esiongaber*, besides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*.

§. V.

Of Moses *arrival at Zin Kades: and of the accidents while that they abode there.*

FRom *Esiongaber* he turned again towards the North, and pitched in the *Wilderness* of *Zin*, which is *Kadesh*; or in *Beroth*, of the children of *Jacan*; where they sate down in the first Moneth of the fourtieth year, after they left *Egypt*. For, at the next Mansion, *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fourtieth year; the nine and thirtieth year taking end at *Esiongaber*. And at this City of *Cades* (for so it was thought to be) or near it, died *Miriam*, or *Mary*,
Numb. 20. 1. *Moses* sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seen in S. *Hieroms* time, as himself avoweth. From
Numb. 20. 3. hence, ere they departed to the Mountain *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcity of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heaven; by being devoured and swallowed up by the Earth; by the sudden Pestilence, which often seized them; nor any

any miracle formerly ſhewing, either the love or wrath of God, could prevail with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and ſatisfied in every of their appetites; but in ſtead of ſeeking for help and relief at Gods hands, when they ſuffered hunger, thirſt, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed eſtates, and caſting ungratefully on *Moſes* all their miſadventures; yea, though they well knew that their own fathers had left their bodies in the Deſarts, and they were now entred into the fourtieth year, wherein all their miſeries were to take end. And being, as it were, in ſight of the Land promiſed, they again as obſtinately tempted God as in former times, and neither truſted his promiſes, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purpoſes of God are without beginning; ſo his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moſes* to ſtrike a Rock adjoyning, with his Rod, and the waters iſſued out in a great abundance, with which both themſelves and their cattel were ſatisfied. Nevertheleſs, becauſe God perceived a kind of diffidence both in *Moſes* and *Aaron* at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promiſed, whereto perchance their worldly deſires might invite them. But it pleaſed him to end the travels of *Aaron* at the Mountian *Hor*, being the next, and the four and thirtieth Station. At which Mountain *Hor*, *Aaron* was deſpoiled of the garments of his Prieſt-hood, and the ſame put on *Eleazar* his Son, as God hath commanded. Which done, *Moſes* and *Eleazar* deſcended the Mountain; but God received *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more ſeen.

Numb. 20 9.

3553.

Of this Mountain called *Hor*, otherwiſe *Moſera*, as in *Deut.* 10. *verſ.* 6. thoſe *Horites* took name, which the *Idumæans* had formerly vanquiſhed. Some there are which make *Moſera*, which was the ſeven and twentieth Manſion; and *Moſera*, which they write *Moſeroth*, for difference, which was the four and thirtieth Manſion, and is alſo called *Hor*, to be two diſtinct places; becauſe *Moſes* in paſſing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Eſiongaber*, encamped at *Moſera*, after he departed from *Heſmona*, and before he came to *Benjaacan*. And this *Moſera*, which is alſo called *Hor*, he came unto after he had left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moſes* ſiſter, died; the firſt being the ſeven and twentieth, and the ſecond being the four and thirtieth Manſion. But for *Hor*, which is alſo called *Moſera*, it ſhould have been written, *Hor juxta Moſera*; *Hor near Moſera*; for it is but one root of a Mountain, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: Whereof the Weſt part *Moſes* calleth *Moſera*, and the Eaſt part *Horeb*. By the Weſt part *Moſes* encamped, as he paſt towards the *Red-Sea* on his left hand; by the Eaſt part, as he went back again North-wards towards *Moab*, as in the deſcription of *Moſes* his paſſage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceive.

Numb. 33.

Now, it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, becauſe *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moſes* ſent meſſengers to the Prince of *Idumæa*, praying him that he might paſs with the people of *Iſrael* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neareſt way of all other from the City of *Kadeſh*, where *Moſes* then encamped; whereas otherwiſe, taking his journey by the Rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon* and *Jordan*, he might have run into many hazards in the paſſage of thoſe Rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful Kings, which commanded in thoſe Regions. Now, the better to perſuade the Prince of *Idumæa* hereunto, *Moſes* remembred him, that he was of the ſame Race and Family with *Iſrael*; calling him by the name of Brother, becauſe both the *Edomites* and *Iſraelites* were the Sons of one father, to wit, *Iſaac*; inferring thereby, that he had more reaſon to favour and reſpect them, than he had to aſſiſt the *Canaanites*; againſt whom, *Eſau* his Anceſtor had made Warr, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their antient Races deſcended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his own name, *Edom*, or *Idumæa*. He alſo making a ſhort repetition of Gods bleſſings beſtow'd on them, & of his purpoſes; and promiſes aſſured *Edom*, or the King thereof that he would no way offend his people, or waſte his Countrey, but that he would reſtrain his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high ways, paying money for whatſoever he uſed, yea, even for the water, which themſelves or their cattel ſhould drink. For *Moſes* was commanded by God, not to provoke the children of *Eſau*. But the King of *Idumæa* knowing the ſtrength of his own Countrey, the ſame being near *Canaan*, rampir'd with high and ſharp mountains; and withall ſuſpecting, as a natural wiſe man, that 600000. ſtrangers being once entred his Countrey, it would reſt in their wills to give him law, reſolvedly refuſed them paſſage, and delivered this anſwer to the Meſſengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and reſiſt them by all poſſible means. And not knowing whether ſuch a denial might ſatisfie or exaſperate, he gathered the ſtrength of his Countrey together,

Deut. 2. 4.

Numb. 20. 20, 21.

ther, and ſhewed himſelf prepared to defend their paſſage. For, as it is written, Numb. 20. *Then* Edom *came out againſt him* (to wit, *Moſes*) *with much people, and with a mighty power.* Whereupon *Moſes* underſtanding, that the end of his enterpriſe was not the conqueſt of *Seir*, or *Idumæa*, and that the Land promiſed, was that of *Canaan:* like unto himſelf, who was of natural underſtanding the greateſt of any man, and the ſkilfulleſt man of Warr that the World had, he refuſed to adventure the Army of *Iſrael* againſt a Nation, which being overcome, gave but a paſſage to invade others; and which, by reaſon of the ſeat of their mountainous Countrey, could not but have endangered, or (at leaſt) greatly enfeebled the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, and rendred them leſs able, if not altogether powerleſs, to have conquered the reſt.

§. VI.

Of their compaſſing Idumæa, *and travelling to* Arnon, *the border of* Moab.

HE therefore leaving the way of *Idumæa*, turned himſelf towards the Eaſt, and marched towards the Deſarts of *Moab*. Which, when *Arad* the King of the *Canaanites* underſtood, and that *Moſes* had blanched the way of *Idumæa*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Iſrael* aimed at, he thought it ſafeſt, rather to find his enemies in his neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his own; which he might have done with a farr greater hope of victory, had *Moſes* been enforced firſt to have made his way by the Sword through *Idumæa*, and thereby, though victorious, greatly have leſſened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwiſe than *Arad* hoped for, yet, being reſolved to make trial, what courage the *Iſraelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came nearer his own home; leading the ſtrength of his Nation to the edge of the Deſart, he ſet upon ſome part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great ſpace, and for the many herds of cattel that they drave with them, could not encamp ſo near together, but that ſome quarter or other was evermore ſubject to ſurpriſe. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he ſlew ſome few of the *Iſraelites*, and carried with him many priſoners.

Now, it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predeceſſor, which joyned Numb. 14 45. his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gave an overthrow to thoſe mutinous *Iſraelites*, which, without direction from God by *Moſes*, would have entred *Canaan* from *Cadeſbarne*. For it ſeemeth, that the greateſt number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, becauſe in the firſt of *Deuteronomy* 44. the *Amorites* are named alone, without the *Amalekites*, and are ſaid to have beaten the *Iſraelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the ſame that had a victory over *Iſrael*, near *Cadesbarne*; or if it were his Predeceſſor that then prevailed; this man finding that *Moſes* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was firſt to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moſes* purpoſe to paſs *Moab*, determined, while he was yet in the Deſart, to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth in the third Verſe of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Iſraelites* utterly deſtroyed the *Canaanites*, and their Cities, they are much miſtaken that think, that this deſtruction was preſently performed by the *Iſraelites*. But it is to be underſtood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Joſua*. For, had *Moſes* at this time entred *Canaan* in the perſute of *Arad*, he would not have fallen back again into the Deſarts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and have fetch'd a wearisome and needleſs compaſs, by the Rivers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it ſelf, but that his Territory lay without it, and near to the Mountain *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt; which South part of *Canaan*, was the North part of *Edom*. Numb. 33. 40.

Again, *Horma* (for ſo farr the *Iſraelites*, after their victory, perſued the *Canaanites*) is ſeated in the South of *Judæa*. There is alſo a City of that name in *Simeon*. But there is no ſuch place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed preſently after the repetition of this Victory, it were enough to prove, that the ſame was obtained in the future, and in *Joſua* his time, and not at the inſtant of *Arads* aſſault. For, had the *Iſraelites* at this time ſack'd the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day have complained for want of Water and Bread. For where there are great Cities, there is alſo Water and Bread. But it was in the time of *Joſua*, that the *Iſraelites* took their revenge, and after they had paſs'd *Jordan*; *Joſua* then governing them, who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verſe, nameth this *Arad* by the

the name of his City ſo called; and with him the King of *Horma*; to which place the *Iſraelites* perſued the *Canaanites*. And he named them amongſt thoſe Kings, which he vanquiſhed, and put to death.

Now, after this aſſault, and ſurprize by *Arad*, *Moſes* finding that all entrance on that ſide was defended, he led the people Eaſtward to compaſs *Idumæa*, and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plains of *Moab*, at that time in the poſſeſſion of the *Amorites*. But the *Iſraelites*, to whom the very name of a Deſart was terrible, began again to rebel againſt their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whoſe Venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentiful grace, cured them again by their beholding an artificial Serpent, by his commandment ſet up.

From the *Mount Hor*, *Moſes* leaving the ordinary way which lyeth between the *Red Sea* and *Cœloſyria*, encamped at *Zalmona*; and thence he removed to *Phunon*, where he erected the Brazen Serpent; making theſe journies by the edg of *Idumæa*, but without it. For *Phunon* was ſometime a principal City of the *Edomites*. Now, where it is written in *Numb.* 21. 4. *That from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved the people*, it was not thereby meant, that the *Iſraelites* turned back towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonſeca*) *per viam quæ habet à latere mare rubrum*; *By the way that ſided the Red Sea*, but indeed they croſs'd; and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Traconitis*, and the Countreys of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Eſiongaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*; which way, as it lay North and South, ſo *Iſrael*, to ſhun the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmoſt Eaſt part of *Moab*, croſs'd the common way towards the Eaſt, and then they turned again towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*, where he entred the Territory of *Moab*, adjoyning to the Land of *Supk*, a Countrey bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Manſion, that is, where the Mountains ſo called take beginning, and are as yet but ſmall Mountures of Hills, on the Eaſt border of *Moab*; from thence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the River of *Zared*, which riſeth in the Mountains of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not farr from *Petra* the *Metropolis* thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having paſs'd that River, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremy* the Prophet, *Chap.* 48. *Verſ.* 22. calleth the *Houſe of Diblathaim*, the ſame which afterward was deſtroyed among the reſt by *Nebuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the River *Arnon*, and encamped in the Mountains of *Abarim*; though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moſes* doth not remember *Helmondiblathaim*, but ſpeaketh of his remove from the River of *Zared*, immediately to the other ſide of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, between them and the *Amorites*; ſpeaking as he found the ſtate of the Countrey at that time. For *Arnon* was not antiently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*; even from the Predeceſſor of *Balac Peor* then raigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moſes* ſent meſſengers to *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, to deſire a paſſage through his Countrey; which, though he knew would be denyed him, yet he deſired to give a reaſon to the neighbour Nations of the Warr he undertook. And though *Edom* had refuſed him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moſes* alſo in ſending meſſengers to *Sehon*, obſerved the ſame precept which he left to his Poſterity and Succeſſors, for a law of the Warr; namely, in *Deut.* 20. 10. in theſe words; *When thou comeſt neer unto a City to fight againſt it, thou ſhalt offer it peace; which if it do accept of, and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries unto thee, and ſerve thee; but if it refuſe*, &c. *thou ſhalt ſmite all the males thereof with the edg of the ſword*. Which ordinance all Commanders of armies have obſerved to this day, or ought to have done.

§. VII.

Of the Book of the battels of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Books mentioned in Scripture, which are loſt.

NOw, concerning the Warr between *Iſrael* and *Sehon*, Moſes ſeemeth to referr a great part of this Story to that Book, entituled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; *The book of Gods battels*: and therefore paſſeth over many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words, after the *Geneva* Tranſlation, are theſe: *Wherefore it ſhall be ſpoken in the book of the battels of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Rivers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* Copy differeth not in ſenſe from this: But the *Greek Septuagint* vary. For the *Greek* writes it to this effect; *For thus* Numb. 21. 14.

it

it is said in the book: The Warr of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brooks of Arnon. Junius for the *Red Sea*, which is in the *Genevian* and *Vulgar Edition* names the Region of *Suph*, a Country bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the East, as he conjecturth. The Text, he readeth thus. *Idcirco dici solet in recensione bellorū* Jehova, *contra* Vahebum *in Regione* Suph; *& contra flumina, flumina Arnonis; Therefore is it spoken in repeating of the battels of* Jehovah, *against* Vaheb *in the Country of* Suph, *and against the Rivers, the Rivers of Arnon.* In which words he understands, that amongst the Warrs which the Lord disposed for the good of the *Israelites*, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the Warr of *Sehon* against *Vaheb*, the King of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the Country near *Arnon*, out of the possession of the *Moabites*. For this *Vaheb* was the immediate Predecessor of *Balac*, who lived with *Moses*; though it be written that this *Balac* was the Son of *Zippor*, and not of *Vaheb*. For, it seems (as it is plain in the succession of the *Edomites*) that these Kingdoms were elective, and not successive. And as *Junius* in this Translation understandeth no special Book of the battels of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any special Book be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of Wars in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the book of *Judges*. *Syracides, cap.* 46. tells us plainly, that those battels of the Lord were fought by *Josua*; *Who was there* (saith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the battels of the Lord.* But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often pass over matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other books written of the same matter at large; therefore it seemeth probable, that such a book as this there was; wherein the several victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the *Israelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with divine discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have been destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrates. For the Books of *Henoch*, howsoever they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembred in an Epistle of *Thaddaus*, and cited by *Origen*, περὶ ἀρχῶν, and by *Tertullian*.

That work also of the Patriarch *Abraham*, *of Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Books remembred by *Josua, Chap.* 10. *Vers.* 13. and in the second of *Samuel, Chap.* 1. *Vers* 18. called the Book of *Jasher*, or *Justorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sun and Moon in the middest of the Heavens is recorded, and how they stood still till *Israel* had avenged themselves of their enemies; out of which also *David* took the Precept of teaching the Children of *Juda*, to exercise their Bows against their Enemies.

Some think this to be the Book of eternal Predestination, in which the just are written, according unto the sixty and ninth *Psalm, Vers.* 28. where it is said; *Let them be put out of the book of Life, neither let them be written with the Righteous. Hierom* thinks that *David* by this Book, understood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Solomon*, that the Books of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the just *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses* are written. Others, that it is was the Book of *Exodus*. Others, as *Theodoretus*, that is was a Commentary upon *Josua*, by an unknown Author.

The Book of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasse*, remembred in the second of *Chron. Chap.* 33. *v.* 18, and 19. Of this Book, also lost, *Hierom* conceives, that the Prophet *Esay* was the Author.

The same mischance came as well to the Story of *Solomon*, written by *Ahia Silonites*, who met with *Jeroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdom of *Israel* from the Son of *Solomon*: As to the Books of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Jeedo* the *Seer*, remembred in the second of *Chron. Chap.* 9. *Vers.* 29. With these have the Books of *Shemaiah* and of *Iddo*, remembred in the second of *Chron. Chap.* 12. *Vers.* 15. perished; and that of *Jehu* the Son of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Jehosaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron. Chap.* 20. *Vers.* 34. Also that Book of *Solomon*, which the *Hebrews* write *Hasçirim*, of 5000. Verses, of which, that part called *Canticum Canticorum*, onely remaineth, 1 *Kings* 4. 32. and with this, divers others of *Solomon*'s works have perished, as his Book of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, *&c.* 1 *Kings* 4. 33. with the rest remembred by *Origen*, *Josephus*, *Hierom*, *Cedrenus*, *Ciccus Asculanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of these, and other Books many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Hierusalem*. But let us return thither where we left.

§. VIII.

Numb. 21. Of the Country of Suph, see more, cap 10 fol. 4. ‖ 2. and of the force of the word Suph, also Chap 18. Sect. 3.

Numb. 21. 26.

1 Chron. 12.

Hier. in quæst. super lib. Reg.

Hier. in annot in Paralip.

§. VIII.

Of Moses *his sparing the issue of* Lot; *and of the Giants in those parts; and of* Sehon *and* Og.

WHen *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposite to the City of *Nibo*; leaving the City of *Midian* on the left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabite on the South-side of *Arnon*, having lost all his antient and best Territory, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to provoke them to battel, God having given that Land to the children of *Lot*; the same which was antiently possest by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called *Anakims*, or the sons of *Anac*.

Deut. 2. 9, 10, 11, 12.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Jordan*, even to the Desart of *Arabia*, as well on the West, as on the East-side of the Mountains of *Gilead*, was inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time pass those Mountains to the East of *Basan*, but left their Countrey to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the floud: so these Nations, which antiently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it self, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the City of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Josua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also been Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chief City was *Aroer* or *Ar*, near the River of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the same antient *Canaanites*: and their chief City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti, horrendique Gigantes*; *Strong men, and fearful Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the same Province, and not far to the North of *Aroer*.

Jos. 15. v. 13, 14, 15.

Now *Moses* having past *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and having (as before) sent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his Countrey, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conquest upon *Vaheb* the *Moabite*; which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as strangers and usurpers, (themselves being of the sons of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withal, prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* incamped in the Countrey of his new conquests, to wit, the Plains of *Moab*, the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which *Moses* wasted with the multitude of his people and cattel. Towards him therefore hasting himself, they encountred each other at *Jahaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited, and the victory so pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. He also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Essebon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basan* also were, and descended of *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus*: for *Moses* calleth the *Basanites* also *Amorites*. And although *Israel* might now have taken a ready way and passage into *Judæa*, being at this time, and after this victory, at the banks of *Jordan*: yet he knew it to be perillous to leave so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his back, as inhabited all the Region of *Basan*, or *Traconitis*: and therefore he led on his Army to invade *Og*, a person of exceeding strength and stature, and the only man of mark remaining of the antient Giants of those parts, and who at that time had 60 Cities walled and defenced: lying between the Mountain of *Hermon* (which Mountain, saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir*) and the River of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the King of *Basan* (who attended *Moses* coming at *Edrei*) as it did unto *Sehon*: for he and his sons perished, and all his Cities were taken and possest. After this, *Moses* with-drawing himself back again to the Mountains of *Abarim*, left the prosecution of that war unto *Jair* the son of *Manasse*: who conquering the East parts of *Basan*, to wit, the Kingdom of *Argob*, even unto the Nations of the *Gessuri* and *Machati*, 60. walled Cities, called the same after his own name *Havoth Jair*: of all which conquests afterward the half Tribe of *Manasse* possest the North part as far as *Edrei*, but the East part that belonged to *Sehon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountains of *Gilead* adjoyning, was given to *Reuben*, and unto *Gad*.

Deut. 1. 8.

§. IX.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, *and of* Moses *his death.*

AFter these victories, and while *Israel* sojourned in the valley of *Moab*, the *Madianites* and *Moabites* (over both which Nations it seemeth that *Balac* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chief) sought, according to the advice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrews* to the love of their daughters, and by persuading them to honour and serve their Idols, to divide them both in Love and Religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their own interest against them, as also to beat them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adjoyning. The *Israelites* as they had ever been enclined, so were they now easily persuaded to these evil courses, and thereby drew on themselvs the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished 24000. persons: be-
Nu. 25. 1. sides which punishment of God, the most of the offenders among the *Hebrews*, were by his commandment put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the son of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi*, a Daughter of one of the chief of the *Midianites*, the Plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appeased. For such was the love and kindness of his all-powerfulness, respecting the ardent zeal of *Phineas* in prosecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chief among the *Hebrews*, become an Idolater) as he forgave the rest of *Israel*, and stayed his hand for his sake.

In this valley it was that *Moses* caused the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to bear arms
Nu. 16 31. 601730. of which, as his last enterprise, he appointed 12000. to be chosen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who, together with the *Moabites*, practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel*: and after that, sought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worship of the true God, to the service of *Beth-Peor*: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which Companies of 12000.
Nu. 31. 8. Jos. 13. 21. *Moses* gave the charge to *Phineas* the son of *Eleazar* the high Priest: who slew the five Princes of the *Midianites*, which were, or had lately been, the vassals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Josuah*. These five Princes of the *Midianites* slain by *Eleazar*, were at this time but the vassals of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Rera*, the
Cap. 13. 21. Dukes of *Sehon*, saith *Josuah*. He slew also the men, male-children, and women: saving such as had not yet used the company of men, but those they saved, and dispers'd them among the children of *Israel* to serve them.

And *Moses* having now lived 120. years, making both his own weakness of body Deut. 31. known to the people, and his unability to travel: and also that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God, from whom he received a new commandment to ascend Deut. 31. 2. the Mountains of *Abarim*, and thereon to render up his life: He hastned to settle the government in *Josua*, whom he persuaded with most lively arguments to prosecute the conquest begun, assuring him of Gods favour and assistance therein. And so having spent these his latter days after the conquest of *Og*, and *Sehon* King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and exposition of the Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to Saint *Au-* Aug. l. 4. de Mirab. Sacr. Scrip. *gustine*) using both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people, which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirm them in knowledg, love, fear, and service of the all-powerful God: He blessed the twelve Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with several and most comfortable blessings: praising Deut. 33. the greatness and goodness of him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them: He also commanded the Priests to lay up the Deut. 31. 1. Book of the Law, by the side of the *Ark* of God, The last that he indited, was that Prophetical Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Hea-* Deut. 32. 1. *vens, and I will speak, and let the Earth hear the words of my mouth*: and being called by God from the labours and sorrows of this life, unto that Rest which never afterward hath disquiet, he was buried in the Land of *Moab*, over against *Beth-Peor*: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day; which happened in the year of the World, 2554.

§. X.

Observations out of the Story of Moses, *how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.*

NOw let us a little, for instruction, look back to the occasions of sundry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this Story of the life of *Moses*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promise, and fore-choice of this people) he wrought in all things else by the *medium* of mens affections, and natural appetites. And so we shall find that the fear which *Pharaoh* had of the increase of the *Hebrews*, multiplyed by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural cause of

of the ſorrows and loſs, which befel himſelf, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he ſought by cruel and ungodly policies to cut off and leſſen, as when he commanded all the male children of the *Hebrews* to be ſlain, God (whoſe providence cannot be reſiſted, nor his purpoſes prevented by all the fooliſh and ſalvage craft of mortal men) moved compaſſion in the heart of *Pharaoh*'s own daughter, to preſerve that child, which afterward became the moſt wiſe, and of all men the moſt gentle and mild, the moſt excellently learned in all Divine and Humane knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppreſſed brethren, and the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his Nation; even then, when he ſought by the ſtrength of his men of War, of his Horſe, and Chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the duſt. The grief which *Moſes* conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrews* in his own preſence, moved him to take revenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own Nation, by threatning him to diſcover the ſlaughter of the *Egyptian*, moved him to fly into *Madian*: the contention between the Shepherds of that place, and *Jethro*'s Daughters, made him known to their Father; who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of thoſe Siſters: and in that Solitary life of keeping of his Father-in-Law's ſheep, far from the preaſs of the World, contenting himſelf (though bred as a Kings Son) with the Lot of a poor Heardſ-man, God found him out in that Deſart wherein he firſt ſuffered him to live many years, the better to know the waies and paſſages through which he purpoſed that he ſhould conduct his people, toward the Land promiſed: and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his will and divine pleaſure for his return into *Egypt*. The like may be ſaid of all things elſe, which *Moſes* afterward by God's direction performed in the Story of *Iſrael* before remembred. There is not therefore the ſmalleſt accident, which may ſeem unto men as falling out by chance, and of no conſequence, but that the ſame is cauſed by God to effect ſomewhat elſe by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greateſt worldly importance, either preſently, or in many years after, when the occaſions are either not conſidered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Iſraelites *had dealing after their coming out of* Egypt; *and of the Men of renown in other Nations, about the times of* Moſes *and* Joſua; *with the ſum of the Hiſtory of* Joſua.

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the* Iſraelites *were to have War, were divers waies, as it were prepared to be their Enemies.

IN like manner, if we look to the quality of the Nations, with whom the *Iſraelites*, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to do, either in the Wilderneſs, or afterward, we ſhall find them long before-hand, by the diſpoſing providence of God, as it were, prepared for enmity: partly in reſpect that they were moſt of them of the iſſue of *Canaan*, or at leaſt of *Ham*; and the reſt (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*; and *Iſraelites*) were mingled with them by mutual marriages: whereas the *Iſraelites* ſtill continued ſtrangers, and ſeparate from them: and ſo partly in this reſpect, and partly by antient injuries or enmities, and partly by reaſon of diverſity in Religion, were theſe Nations, as it were, prepared to be enemies to the *Iſraelites*: and ſo to ſerve for ſuch purpoſes as God had reſerved them for. To make theſe things more manifeſt, we muſt underſtand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountains of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the ſame mountains continued as far as the Springs of *Arnon* on the Eaſt: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea*, on the South: and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one ſpringing from the ſons of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but thoſe of

Sem, were but as ſtrangers therein for a long time, and came thither, in effect, but with one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kinred. The other for the greateſt part, were the *Canaanites*, the antient Lords and poſſeſſors of thoſe Territories, by proceſs of time divided into ſeveral Families and Names: whereof ſome of them were of eminent ſtature and ſtrength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzummims*, or *Zuzei*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. Theſe (as men moſt valiant and able commonly do) did inhabite the utter borders and Mountains of their Countries: the reſt were the *Zidonians*, *Jebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Hetites*, and others, who took name after the ſons of *Canaan*, and after whom the Countrey in general was ſtill called.

It ſeemeth alſo that *Hus*, the Son of *Nachor*, and *Buz* his Brother, planted themſelvs in the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan*, about *Eſau*: wherethey find the Land of *Hus*, in which *Job* dwelt as one of the iſſue of *Hus*, the Son of *Nachor*, and *Elihu*, his friend who is called a *Buzite*. See hereafter *chap.* 10. *ſect.* 7.

As for the *Hebrews* which deſcended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Family, and ſtrangers in that Country, eſpecially the *Iſraelites*: and this was ſome cauſe that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them, no more than the *Philiſtims* did, who deſcended alſo of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham himſelf*, being a ſtranger, was highly eſteemed and honoured among them; eſpecially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the Weſt part of *Jordan*: yet now even they which deſcended from *Abraham*, or from his kinred, abode and multiplied in thoſe parts, were alienated in affections from the *Iſraelites*, as holding them ſtrangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the reſt of the iſſue of *Cham*, with whom they dayly contracted affinity, than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

Ex. 17. 16.

True it is, that theſe Nations deſcended of *Abraham*, or of his kinred, who had linked themſelves, and marched with the *Canaanites* and others, had ſo far poſſeſt themſelves of the borders of thoſe Regions, as they began to be equal in ſtrength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not ſuperiour. For of *Lot* came thoſe two great Families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Eſau* the *Idumæans*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Iſmael* the eldeſt ſon of *Abraham*, came the *Iſmaelites*, with whom are joyned, as of the ſame Nation, the *Amalekites*; whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have been a Tribe of *Edom*, becauſe *Eſau* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifeſt reaſon convinceth it to have been otherwiſe.

Deut 11. 5.

For the *Iſraelites* were forbidden to provoke the *Edomites*, or do them any wrong;

Ex. 17. 16.

whereas contrariwiſe *Amalek* was curſed, and endleſs war decreed againſt him: but hereof more elſewhere, Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Iſmael's* eldeſt ſon *Naboth* ſprung the *Arabians* of *Petræa*, called *Nabathæi*. Now even as *Abraham* beſought God to bleſs *Iſmael*, ſo it pleaſed him both to promiſe and perform it. For of him thoſe twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land between *Havilah* upon *Tygris*, and *Sur* which is the Weſt part of the *Deſart of Arabia Petræa*. Yet howſoever the ſtrength of theſe later named Nations, which deſcended from *Abraham*, were great; it is not unlikely, but that ſome reaſon which moved them not to favour the entrance of the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan*, was in reſpect of fear: becauſe all Princes and States do not wilingly permit any ſtranger or powerful Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all theſe Families before named, were not ſo united in and among themſelves, but that they had their jealouſies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more ſtrong than themſelves, whether they ſtood apart or united, they were taught by the care of their own preſervation, to joyn themſelves together againſt *Iſrael*: though they did it nothing ſo maliciouſly and reſolvedly as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumæans* onely denied the *Hebrews* a paſſage, which the *Moabites* durſt not deny: becauſe their Country lay more open; and becauſe themſelves had lately been beaten out of the richeſt part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites* their Country lay altogether out of the way, and the ſtrength of *Sehon* and *Og*, Kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and beſides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was ſtrong by reaſon of the mountains which divided it from *Baſan*. Again, that which moved the *Moabites* in their own reaſon not much to interrupt *Iſrael*, in the conqueſt of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate, was, that the *Moabites* might hope, after ſuch a time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moſes*, that themſelves might recover again their own inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plains lying between the mountains of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as ſoon as *Sehon* was ſlain, and that the King of *Moab*, *Balac*, perceived that *Moſes* allotted that Valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, he began to practiſe with *Balaam* againſt *Iſrael*, and by the daughters of *Midian*, as aforeſaid, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the *Moabites*, by ſpecial occaſion, were more and more ſtirred up to enmity againſt *Iſrael*. And as for divers of the reſt that were deſcended from *Abraham's* kinred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the Authours of their Pedigrees, God permitted

Gen. 17.

Nu. 21. 24.

ted ſome enmities to be, as it were, preſages of future quarrels, which in the poſterity might be the eaſier incenſed by the memory of old grudges: and withall, by ſome diſdain from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Iſmaelites* being deſcended from the eldeſt ſon of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldeſt ſon of *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, being but a ſecond ſon, of a ſecond brother; thoſe Princes which were deſcended of the elder Houſes, being natural men, might ſcorn to give place, much leſs to ſubject themſelvs to their inferiours, as they took it: and for a more aggravation, the iſſues of *Eſau*, Princes of *Idumæa*, might keep in record, that their Parent was bought out of his birth-
Gen. 25. Gen. 27. right by *Jacob*'s taking his advantage, and
Gen. 33. 14. that he was deceived of his Father's bleſſing alſo by him: and that *Jacob*, after reconciliation, came not unto him as he promiſed, into *Seir* or *Idumæa*.

So alſo in the poſterity of *Iſmael*, it might remain as a ſeed or pretence of enmity, that their fore-father was by the inſtigation of *Sara*, caſt out into the *Deſart*, with his mother *Hagar*; and had therein periſhed, but that it pleaſed God by his Angel to relieve them. *Iſmael* alſo had an Egyptian both to his Mother and to his Wife: and *Amalec* was alſo an *Horite* by his Mother: which *Horites* were of the antient *Canaanites*. The *Edumæans* alſo, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternal line deſcended of the *Canaanites*.
Gen. 36. For *Eſau* took two wives of that Nation: one of them was *Adath*, the daughter of *Elon*, the *Hittite*; and the other *Aholibamah*, the grand-child of *Zibeon*, the *Hevite*, Lord of *Seir*, before the ſame was conquered by *Eſau*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edumæa*.

Laſtly it appeareth that all thoſe Families of the *Iſmaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in proceſs of time corrupted, and drawn from the knowledg and worſhip of God, and became Idolaters, infected and ſeduced by the converſation of thoſe people among whom they dwelt, and by thoſe wives of the *Canaanites* which they had married: onely a few of the *Kenites* and thoſe *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the *Red Sea*, whereof *Jethro* was Prieſt, or Prince, or both, worſhipped the true and ever-living God.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites *and* Madianites, *mentioned in the antient Wars of the* Iſraelites.

OF the Kings of the *Canaanites*, deſcended of *Cham* (for *Melchizedek* may be thought to be of a better Pedigree) we find four named by *Moſes*: and one and thirty remembred by *Joſua*, though few of theſe named, otherwiſe than by the Cities over which they commanded: to which each of them had a ſmall Territory adjoyning, and no other Dominion. Theſe *Canaanites* in a general conſideration are to be underſtood for all thoſe Nations, deſcended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Jebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Gergeſites*, *Hevites*, &c. and ſo here we underſtand this name in ſpeaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and ſo alſo we call the Country of their habitation the holy Land, or the Land of promiſe: for God hath appointed that the ſeven principle Families ſhould be rooted out, and that his own people ſhould inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we conſider of the name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the Eaſt, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt: in which narrow Country, and in the cheifeſt places thereof, thoſe *Canaanites* which held their Paternal name chiefly inhabited.

The firſt King of theſe Nations, named in Gen 34.
the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemer*, of the *Hevites*, whom *Simeon* and *Levi* ſlew, together with his Son *Sichem*, in revenge of their ſiſters raviſhment.

Arad was the ſecond King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring Num. 21. 1.
Edom and the *dead Sea*; the ſame which ſurpriſed *Iſrael*, as they encamped in the *Wilderneſs* in the edge of *Edumæa*.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Eſſebon*, who before *Moſes* arrival had beaten the Nu. 21. 24.
Moabites out of the Weſt part of *Arabia Petræa*, or *Nabathea*, and thruſt them over *Arnon* into the Deſarts, the ſame whom *Moſes* overthrew in the plains of *Moab*: at which time he took *Eſſebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*. *Joſ. 9. Jo-*
ſeph. antiq.
lib 4. c. 5.

Preſently after which victory, *Og* was alſo Nu. 21. 35.
ſlain by *Iſrael*, who commanded the North part of that Valley between the Mountains *Traconi*, or *Galaad*, and *Jordan*, who was alſo a King of the *Amorites*.

The fifth was *Adonizedek* King of the *Jebuſites*, and of *Hieruſalem*, with whom *Joſua* nameth four other Kings.

Hoham,

Hoham, King of *Hebron*.
Piram, King of *Jarmuth*.
Japia, King of *Lachis*: and
Debir, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites* overthrown in battel; and hanged by *Josua*. After this overthrow *Josua* nameth *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, and

Josua 10. Joseph. ant. l. 5 cap 1.

Jobab, King of *Madon*: whom he also slaughtered, and took his Cities: and this *Jabin* seemed to have some dominion over the rest; for it is said in the Text, *For Hazor before times was the head of all those Kingdoms.*

Jos. 11. 1.

After these *Adonibezek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of seventy Kings, inforcing them to gather crumbs under his Table: who, after *Juda* and *Simeon* had used the same execution upon himself, acknowledged it to be a just revenge of God: this King was carried to *Hierusalem* where he died.

Jud 1. Josephi. l. 5 c. 2.

The last King named is *Jabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Josua*. For at such time as he employed *Sisara* against *Israel*, whom he oppresst twenty years after the death of *Ehud*, he inhabited *Hazor*. This *Jabin*, *Barac* (encouraged by *Debora*) overthrew; and his Captain *Sisara* had by *Jael*, the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a nail driven into his head while he slept in her Tent: *Jabin* himself perishing afterward in that war.

Jud. 4. Jud 4. Psal. 83.

The *Madianites* had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathea*: to the South-East of the *Dead Sea*. They descended from *Madian Abrahams* son, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* surnamed *Gethegleus* or *Jethres*, saith *Josephus*, called *Jethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Judges*, the son of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Jexanis*, or *Jokshan*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, was Priest or Prince of the *Madianites* by the Red Sea: whose Daughter or Neece, *Moses* married, and of whom, I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Jethro*, if he were not the same with *Hobab*, must be his father: and this *Hobab* had seven daughters. He guided *Moses* in the *Wilderness*, and became one of the *Israelites*: of him descended the *Kenites*, so called of his father *Raguels* surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Jabin* the second, even now remembred.

Joseph. l. 5. c 6. Exod. 3. Cedren. p. 34. Jud. 1.

At such time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Israel*, gave them warning to separate themselves: and yet the *Kenites* had strong seats, and lived in the mountains of the Desarts.

1 Sam. 15. 6.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named, were these:

1. *Homer* the *Hevite* of *Sichem*
2. *Arad* of the South parts
3. *Sehon* of *Essebon*
4. *Og* of *Basan*
5. *Adonizedek* the *Jebusite*, King of *Hierusalem*. Jos. 10.
6. *Hoham* of *Hebron*
7. *Piram* of *Jarmuth*
8. *Japia* of *Lachis*
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*
10. *Jabin* of *Hazor*
11. *Jobab* of *Modon*. Jos. 11.
12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Jabin* the second King of *Hazar*.

Of the *Madianites* these:

* *Evi* or *Evis*.
Rekam or *Recem*, who built *Petra* the *Metropolis* of *Petræa*, so called by the *Greeks*: and by *Esay*, cap. 16. v. 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and so also it is called 2 *Reg.* 14. 7. where it is also called *Joktheel*.
Zur
Hur and
Reba
* *Oreb*
Zeb
Zebah
Zalmunna.

* These five were first all at one time Kings of several portions of the *Madianites*, slain by *Phinees*, and the 12000. which he led against them: *Num.* 31. 8.
* These four last were likewise at one time slain in the pursuit of *Gideons* victory, *Jud.* c. 7. v. 25. & c 8. v. 12.

After the death of *Barac*, *Judge* of *Israel*, the four last named of these *Madianite* Kings vexed *Israel* seven years: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and slain by the *Ephraimites*, at the passage of *Jordan*, as in the 6. 7. and 8. of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterward in the pursuit of the rest, *Gideon* himself laid hands upon *Zebah* and *Salmana*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being prisoners; in which expedition of *Gideon* there perished 120000. of the *Madianites* and their confederates. Of the *Idumæans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will speak hereafter in the description of their Territories.

§. III.

Of the Amalekites and Ismaelites.

OF the Kings of the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*, I find few that are named; and though of the *Ismaelites* there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according unto the promise of God made unto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midi-*

Gen. 17. 20. Jud. c. 7.

Midianites were numbered among them, were more renowned in *Moses* time than the reſt of the *Iſmaelites*. So alſo were they when *Saul* governed *Iſrael*. For *Saul* purſued them from *Sur* unto *Havilah*, to wit, over a great part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſart*. The reaſon to me ſeemeth to be this: That the twelve Princes which came of *Iſmael*, were content to leave thoſe barren *Deſarts* of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the iſſue of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, that joyned with them (for ſo ſeem the *Amalekites* to have been, and ſo were the *Madianites*:) themſelves taking poſſeſſion of a better ſoil in *Arabia the Happy*, and about the Mountains of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petræa*: For *Nabaioth* the eldeſt of thoſe twelve Princes planted that part of *Arabia Petræa*; which was very fruitful, though adjoyning to the *Deſart* in which *Moſes* wandred, afterward called *Nabathea*: the ſame which neighboureth *Judæa* on the Eaſt-ſide. They alſo peopled a Province in *Arabia the Happy*, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathæi* (*B*) changed into (*P.*)

Kedar, the ſecond of *Iſmaels* ſons, gave his own name to the Eaſt-part of *Baſan*, or *Batanea*, which was afterward poſſeſt by *Manaſſe*, ſo much thereof as lay within the mountains *Traconi*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, and *Pliny*, *Cedræans*.

Abbeel ſat down in the *Deſart Arabia*, near the Mountains which divide it from the *Happy*: and gave name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

Mibſam was the Parent of the *Maſamancuſes*, near the Mountain *Zamath*, in the ſame *Arabia the Happy*.

The *Raabens* were of *Miſhma*: who joyned to the *Orchens*, near the *Arabian* gulf, where *Ptolomy* ſetteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumæans*, between the *Adubens* and *Raabens*: where the City *Dumeth* ſometimes ſtood.

Of *Maſſa* the *Maſſani*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar*, the *Athritæ*, who bordered the *Napatheans* in the ſame *Happy Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountains, where alſo the City of *Thema* is ſeated.

Of *Jetur* the *Ituræans*, or *Camathens*: of whom *Tohu* was King in *Davids* time. *Plin. l. 6. c. 28.*

Of *Naphri*, the *Nubeian Arabians*, inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: over whom *Adadezer* commanded, while *David* ruled *Iſrael*.

Cadma, the laſt and twelfth of *Iſmaels* ſons, was the Anceſtor of the *Cadmonæans*: who were afterward called *Aſitæ*, becauſe they worſhiped the Fire with the *Babylonians*. *Junius.*

The *Amalekites* gave their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the antient *Syrians*, *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian Nabatheans*, *Aretas*, as names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the firſt that fought with *Moſes* after he paſt the *Red Sea*: when of all times they flouriſhed moſt, and yet were vanquiſhed. *Exod. 17.*

Afterward they joyned with the *Canaanites*, and beat the *Iſraelites* near *Cadesbarne*. After the government of *Othoniel*, they joyned them with the *Moabites*: after *Barac*, with the *Madianites*, and invaded *Iſrael*. God commanded that as ſoon as *Iſrael* had reſt, they ſhould root out the name of the *Amalekites*: which *Saul* executed in part, when he waſted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Chaldæa*: from *Havilah* to *Shur*. *Num. 14.*

In *Davids* time they took *Siklag* in *Simeon*: but *David* followed them, and ſurpriſed them, recovering his priſoners and ſpoils. And yet, after *David* became King, they again vexed him, but to their own loſs. *1 Sam. 30.*

In *Ezekias* time, as many of them as joyned to *Edumæa*, were waſted and diſplanted by the children of *Simeon*. *2 Sam. 8. 12.*

§. IV.

Of the inſtauration of Civility in Europe about theſe times, and of Prometheus *and* Atlas.

THere lived at this time, and in the ſame age together with *Moſes*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily ſtrength as in all ſorts of learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the written Law of the living God, ſo did Art and Civility (bred and foſtered far off in the Eaſt, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to diſcover a paſſage into *Europe*, and into thoſe parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Aſia* and *Judæa*. For if *Pelaſgus*, beſides his bodily ſtrength, was choſen King of *Arcadia*, becauſe he taught thoſe people to erect them ſimple Cottages, to defend them from rain and ſtorm: and learned them withal to make a kind of Meale, and bread of Acorns, who before lived, for the moſt part, by Herbs and Roots: we may thereby judge how poor and wretched thoſe times were, and how falſly thoſe Nations have vaunted of thoſe their antiquities, accompanied not only with civil learning, but with all other kindes of knowledg. And it was in this age of the World, as both *Euſebius* and S. *Auguſtine* have obſerved, that *Prometheus* flouriſhed: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formaſſe homines* *Aug. l. 18. c. 8. de civit. Dei.*

homines, quia optimus ſapientiæ doctor fuiſſe perhibetur; *Of whom it is reported, that he formed men out of clay, becauſe he was an excellent teacher of wiſdom:* and ſo *Theophraſtus* expoundeth the invention of fire aſcribed to *Prometheus*, *Ad inventa ſapientiæ pertinere*; *To have reference to wiſe inventions:* and *Æſchylus* affirmeth, That by the ſtealing of *Jupiters* fire was meant, that the knowledg of *Prometheus* reached to the Stars, and other celeſtial bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the art ſo to uſe this fire, as thereby he gave life to the Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning, that before his birth and being, thoſe people among whom he lived, had nothing elſe worthy of men, but external form and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucaſus*, his entrails the while devoured by an *Eagle*, was meant the inward care and reſtleſs deſire he had to inveſtigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of heavenly bodies; for ſo it is ſaid: *Ideo altiſſimum aſcendiſſe Caucaſum, ut ſereno cœlo quam longiſſimè aſtra, ſignorum obitus & ortus ſpectaret*; *That he aſcended Caucaſus, to the end that he might in a clear skie diſcern a far off the ſettings and riſings of the Stars:* though *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it otherwiſe, and others diverſly.

Æſchyl. in Prom. vinct. *Inc. 8 lib. 18. de civit. Dei.* *Lud. Vives ex Heſ.*

Of this mans knowledg Æſchylus *gives this teſtimony.*

Aſt agebant omnia
Ut fors ferebat: donec ipſe repperi
Signorum obitus, ortuſque qui mortalibus
Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium
His repperi: componere inde literas;
Matremque Muſarum auxi ego Memoriam
Perutilem cunctis, &c.

Æſchyl. in Prom. vinct.

(when
But Fortune govern'd all their works, till
I firſt found out how Stars did ſet and riſe:
A profitable art to mortal men:
And others of like uſe I did deviſe:
As letters to compoſe in learned wiſe
I firſt did teach: and firſt did amplifie
The Mother of the *Muſes*, *Memorie*.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* far more antient, and but 94. years after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrius* ſayes, that he lived at once with *Inachus*, who lived with *Iſaac*.

Aug. l. 18. c. 3. de civit. Dei.

There lived alſo at once with *Moſes*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the ſons of *Japetus*, of whom though it be ſaid, that they were born before *Moſes* dayes, and therefore are by others eſteemed of a more antient date: yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men, which came into the World long after them. Beſides theſe ſons of *Japetus*, *Æſculus* finds two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Heſperus*, who being famous in the Weſt, gave name to the Evening, and ſo to the Evening Star. Alſo beſides this *Atlas* of *Lybia*, or *Mauritania*, there were others which bare the ſame name: but of the *Lybian*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that thoſe Mountains which croſs *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco*, *Sus*, and *Hea*, with the Sea adjoyning, took name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* beſtowes on *Atlas*, the ſon of *Neptune*.

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tuſculan* queſtions affirmeth, that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by thoſe names to expreſs divine knowledg. *Nec vero* Atlas *ſuſtinere cœlum, nec* Prometheus *affixus Caucaſo, nec ſtellatus* Cepheus *cum uxore traderetur, niſi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxiſſet*; *Neither ſhould* Atlas *be ſaid to bear up heaven, nor* Prometheus *to be faſtened to Caucaſus, nor* Cepheus *with his wife to be ſtellified, unleſs their divine knowledg had raiſed upon their names theſe erroneous fables.*

Orpheus ſometimes expreſs'd *Time* by *Prometheus*, ſometime he took him for *Saturn*; as, *Rheæ conjux alme Prometheu.* But that the Story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction, and that he lived about this time, the moſt approved Hiſtorians and Antiquaries, and among them *Euſebius* and S. *Auguſtine* have not doubted: For the great judgment which *Atlas* had in *Aſtronomy*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, were his daughters called by the names of conſtellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*. Others attribute unto him the finding out of the Moons courſe, of which *Archas* the ſon of *Orchomenus* challengeth the invention. Of this *Arcas*, *Arcadia* in *Peloponneſus* took name; and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more antient than the Moon: *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit:* which is to be underſtood, ſaith *Natalis Comes*, before there had been any obſervation of the Moons courſe: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that beſtow the finding out thereof upon *Endymion:* others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon:* yet *Iſacius Tzetzes*, a curious ſearcher of antiquities, gave it *Atlas* of *Libya:* who, beſides his gifts of mind, was a man of unequalled and incomparable ſtrength: from whom *Thales* the *Mileſian*, as it is ſaid, had the ground of his *Philoſophy*.

Lib. 18. cap. 8 de civit. Dei.

Ovid. de faſt. l. 1.

§. V.

§. V.

of Deucalion *and* Phaeton.

AND in this age of the World, and while *Moſes* yet lived, *Deucalion* reigned in *Theſſaly*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argives*. This *Deucalion* was the ſon of *Promotheus*, ſaith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Heſiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Heſiodus* gave him *Pandora* for mother; the reſt *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odyſſes*, makes *Deucalion* the ſon of *Minos*: but he muſt needs have meant ſome other *Deucalion*; for elſe either *Ulyſſes* was miſtaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Ulyſſes*, after his return from *Troy*, feigned himſelf to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was ſon to this later *Deucalion*, the ſon of *Minos*: but this *Minos* lived but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* ſerved in that war) and this *Deucalion* the ſon of *Prometheus*, who lived at once with *Moſes*, was long before. In the firſt *Deucalion*'s time happened that great inundation in *Theſſaly*: by which in effect every ſoul in thoſe parts periſhed, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his wife, and ſome few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this flood in *Theſſaly*, thoſe people exceeded in all kind of wickedneſs and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of Gods vengeance, ſo did all that Nation for their foul ſins periſh by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and cruelty of all mankind drew on them that general deſtruction by the flood univerſal. Onely *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God ſpared, were both of them eſteemed to be lovers of Vertue, of Juſtice, and of Religion. Of whom *Ovid:*

Con. Alex Giron. l. 1. Symbol. 9.

Non illo melior quiſquam, nec amantior æqui
Vir fuit: aut illa reverentior ulla dearum.

No man was Better, nor more juſt than hee:
Nor any woman godlier than ſhee.

It is alſo affirmed, that *Prometheus* foretold his ſon *Deucalion* of this over-flowing, and adviſed him to provide for his ſafety: who hereupon prepared himſelf a kind of Veſſel, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue* of *Timon* calls *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax*. And becauſe to theſe circumſtances, they afterward add the ſending out of the Dove, to diſcover the waters fall and decreaſe, I ſhould verily think that Story had been but an imitation of *Noah*'s flood deviſed by the *Greeks*, did not the time ſo much differ, and S. *Auguſtine* with others of the Fathers and reverent Writers approve this Story of *Deucalion*. Among other his children, *Deucalion* had theſe two of note; *Hellen*, of whom *Greece* had firſt the name of *Hellas*; and *Melantho*, on whom *Neptune* is ſaid to have begot *Delphus*, which gave name to *Delphos*, ſo renowned among the Heathen for the *Oracle* of *Apollo* therein founded.

Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 10. ex Euſebio & Hieronimo.

And that which was no leſs ſtrange and marvellous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time alſo happened under *Phaeton*; not only in *Ethiopia*, but in *Iſtria*, a Region in *Italy*, and about *Cuma*, and the Mountains of *Veſuvius*: of both which the *Greeks*, after their manner, have invented many ſtrange fables.

§. VI.

Of Hermes Triſmegiſtus.

BUt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the moſt famous and renowned; the ſame which was alſo called *Triſmegiſtus*, or *Ter Maximus*; and of the *Greeks*, *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name; and how to diſtinguiſh, and ſet them in their own times, both S. *Auguſtine* and *Lactantius* find it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was eſteemed the god of Theeves, the God of Wreſtlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the god of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the ſame with that *Mercury*, of whoſe many works ſome fragments are now extant.

Cicero, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certain of the *Greeks* reckon five *Mercuries*. Of which, two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worſhipped; one, the ſon of *Nilus*, whoſe name the *Egyptians* feared to utter, as the *Jews* did *Tetragrammaton*; the other that *Mercury*, which ſlew *Argus* in *Greece*, and flying into *Egypt*, is ſaid to have delivered literature to the *Egyptians*, and to have given them laws. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: which *Plato* alſo confirmeth, ſaying; That letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which ſlew *Argus*, but by that antient *Mercury*, otherwiſe *Thevet*; whom *Philo Byblius* writeth *Taautus*; the *Egyptians*, *Thoyth*; the *Alexandrians*, *Thot*, and the *Greeks*, (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiatho*, who lived about the the war of *Troy*, gives the invention of let-

Lud. Vives out of Cicero in Aug de civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

ters. But S. *Augustine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, calls neither of them the son of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have slain *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercury* the slayer of *Argus*, to the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which lived while *Moses* was yet young. And yet *L. Vives* upon S. *Augustine* seems to understand them to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest have remembred. But that conjecture of theirs, that any *Grecian Mercury* brought letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truth in prophane antiquity) that all the knowledg which the *Greeks* had, was transported out of *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*, and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Grecian* into *Egypt*. For they all confess, that *Cadmus* brought letters first into *Bœotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phœnicia*: it being true, that between *Mercurius*, that lived at once with *Moses* and *Cadmus*, there were these descents cast; *Crotopus* King of the *Argives*, with whom *Moses* lived, and in whose time about his tenth year *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus*, who reigned eleven years; after him *Danaus* fifty years; after him *Linceus*: in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Bœotia*. And therefore it cannot be true that any *Mercurius* about *Moses* his time, flying out of *Greece* for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom Saint *Augustine* remembreth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moses* found out letters, and taught the use of them to the *Jews*: of whom the *Phœnicians* their neighbours received them; and the *Greeks* of the *Phœnicians* by *Cadmus*. But this invention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembred; that is, because the *Jews* and the *Phœnicians* had them first from him. For every Nation gave unto those men the honour of first Inventors, from whom they received the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, upon part of whose works he commenteth, to have been four descents after *Moses*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who cals *Atlas*, that lived with *Moses*, the maternal grand-father of the first famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counseller and Instructer of that renowned *Isis*, wife of *Osiris*. But *Ficinus* giveth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* instructed *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that such an Inscription was found on a pillar erected on the Tomb of *Isis*. *Lod. Vives* upon the six and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Book of Saint *Augustine*, *de Civitate Dei*, conceiveth, that this *Mercury*, whose works are extant, was not the first which was entituled *Ter Maximus*, but his Nephew or Grand-child, * *Sanchoniaton*, an ancient *Phœnician*, who lived shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the *Scribe of Saturn*, and called by the *Phœnicians*, *Taautus*, and by the *Egyptians*, *Thoot*, or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many years which he is said to have lived, to wit, three hundred years, gave occasion to some Writers to find him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those who have collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philosophy and Divinity, he is found more antient than *Moses*: because the Inventor of the *Egyptian Wisdom*, wherein it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

It is true, that although this *Mercury* or *Hermes* doth in his Divinity differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images, which *Moses* of all things most detested: yet whosoever shall read him with an even judgment, will rather resolve, that these works which are now extant, were by the *Greeks* and *Egyptian* Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, then that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and spirit devised. For there is no man of understanding, and master of his own wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Tract, those things which are directly contrary in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (*Moses* excepted) there was never any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a stile more reverend and divine unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two Treatises now among us; the one converted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had been found in all things like themselves: I think it had not been perillous to have thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moses* himself; and that the *Egyptian Theologie* hereafter written, was devised by the first, and more antient *Mercury*, which others have thought to have been *Joseph*, the son of *Jacob*: whom, after the exposition of *Pharaoh*'s dreams, they called *Saphanetphane*, which is as much to say, as *Absconditorum repertor*; *A finder out of hidden things*. But these are overventurous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledg of him: of whom, whosoever he were, *Lactantius* writeth

Euseb. l. 1. c. 6. de Prap Evan.

* Or Sanchoniatho: See Euseb. de prap Evang. l. 1. c. 6.

Vives in lib. 8. c. 26. Aug. de Civ. Dei.

Virg. l. 4. Æneid.

Ficin in Præf. Pœmand. Mercurii Trismegisti.

Mosis.

Lact. ſ 4. eth in this ſort: *Hic ſcripſit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Majeſtatem ſummi ac ſingularis Dei aſſerit, iiſdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; He hath written many Books belonging to, or expreſſing the knowledg of divine things, in which he affirmeth the Majeſty of the moſt High, and one God, calling him by the ſame names of God and Father, which we do.* The ſame Father alſo feareth not to number him among the *Sybils* and *Prophets*. And ſo contrary are theſe his acknowledgments to thoſe Idolatrous fictions of the *Egyptians* and *Grecians*: as for my ſelf I am perſuaded, that whatſoever is found in him contrary thereunto was by corruption inſerted. For thus much himſelf confeſſeth: *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & ſpiritus; & omnia in ipſo, & ſub ipſo ſunt. Verbum enim ex ejus eſſe prodiens, perfectiſſimum exiſtens, & generator, & opifex, &c. God* (ſaith he) *the Lord and Father of all things, the fountain and life, and power, and light, and mind, and ſpirit: and all things are in him, and under him. For his Word out of himſelf proceeding, moſt perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful nature, made it alſo fruitful and producing.* And he was therefore (ſaith *Suydas*) called *Ter Maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus eſt, in Trinitate unum eſſe Deum aſſerens; Becauſe he ſpake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. Hic ruinam* (ſaith *Ficinus*) *prævidit priſcæ Religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Chriſti, hic futurum judicium, reſurrectionem ſæculi, beatorum gloriam, ſupplicia peccatorum; This* Mercury *foreſaw the the ruine of the old or ſuperſtitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the coming of Chriſt, the future judgment, the reſurrection, the glory of the bleſſed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.*

In Proſ. Mer. Triſ.

To this I will onely add his two laſt ſpeeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platoniſt*, and by *Volteran* out of *Suydas*. *Hactenus, fili, pulſus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto. Cumque poſt paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis abſolutus diſceſſero, videtote ne me quaſi mortuum lugeatis: nam ad illam optimam beatamque Civitatem regrediar, ad quam univerſi cives mortis conditione venturi ſunt. Ibi namque ſolus Deus eſt ſummus Princeps, qui cives ſuos replet ſuavitate mirifica: ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam exiſtimant, mors eſt potius dicenda quam vita; Hitherto, O ſon, being driven from my country, I have lived a ſtranger and baniſhed man: but now I am repaired homeward again in ſafety. And when I ſhall after a few days* (*or in a ſhort time*) *by being looſed from theſe bonds of fleſh and blood, depart from you, ſee that you do not bewail me as a man dead; for I do but return to that beſt and bleſſed City, to which all her Citizens* (*by the condition of death*) *ſhall repair. Therein is the onely God, the moſt high and chief Prince, who filleth or feedeth his citizens with ſweetneſs more than marvellous: in regard whereof, this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life.* The other, and that which ſeemeth to be his laſt, is thus converted by others, agreeing in ſenſe, but not in words: with *Suydas*: *O cœlum, magni Dei ſapiens opus, teque O vox Patris quam ille primam emiſit, quando univerſum conſtituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus Verbum, & Spiritum, cuncta comprehendentem, Miſeremini mei: I adjure thee O heaven, thou wiſe work of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he firſt uttered, when he framed the whole World, by his onely begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, Have mercy upon me.*

But *Suydas* hath his invocation in theſe words: *Obteſtor te cœlum, magni Dei ſapiens opus, obteſtor te vocem Patris, quam loquutus eſt primùm cum omnem mundum firmavit, obteſtor te per unigenitam Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius eſto; I beſeech thee O heaven, wiſe work of the great God, I beſeech thee O voice of the Father, which he ſpake firſt when he eſtabliſhed all the world, I beſeech thee by the onely begotten Word containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.*

§. VII.

Of Jannes *and* Jambres, *and ſome other that lived about thoſe times.*

THere were alſo in this age both *Æſculapius*, which after his death became the god of the *Phyſicians*, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Vives* thinks in his Commentary upon *Auguſtine*, *de Civitate Dei*, *lib.* 8. and alſo thoſe two notorious Sorcerers, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that ever had been heard of to this day: and yet *Moſes* himſelf doth not charge them with any familiarity with Divels, or ill Spirits: words indeed that ſeldom came out of his mouth: however by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophiſtæ*, or *Venefici*, and *Incantatores*; Sophiſts, Poyſoners, and Inchanters: by *Hierome*, *Sapientes, & malefici*; Wiſe men, and evil doers: and ſo by *Vatablus*, who alſo uſeth the word *Magi*. The *Greek* it ſelf ſeems to attribute ſome-

L. Vivet in l. 8 Aug. de civ Dei. c. 19.

what of what they did to natural *Magick:* calling them φαρμακεῖς, workers by drugs. The *Genevan*, *Sorcerers and Inchanters:* Junius, *Sapientes, Præstigiatores, & Magi.* Magicians and Wise men here by him are taken in one sence: and Prestigiators are such as dazel mens eyes, and make them seem to see what they see not: as false colours, and false shapes. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicesly distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded; and the one taken for the other (Religion and Superstition having one face and countenance) so did the works and working of *Moses*, and of *Pharao*'s Sorcerers appear in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the same art and gift of knowledg. For the Divel changeth himself into an *Angel* of light: and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the most High. And yet, on the contrary, every work which surmounteth the wisdom of most men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the help or ministery of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to natural things, are such, as where he also bestoweth the knowledg to understand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought to pass, which seem altogether impossible, and above nature or art: which two speculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names; *Opus de Bercsith, & opus de mercana:* the one they call, *Sapientiam naturæ*; *The Wisdom of nature:* the other, *Sapientiam divinitatis*; *The Wisdom of divinity:* the one *Jacob* practised in breeding the pied Lambs in *Mesopotamia*; the other *Moses* exercised in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*, having received from God the knowledg of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledg of nature: of the other so far as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he used to his glory that gave them: assuming to himself nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also S. *Augustine* noteth, that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Joshua*, divers other famous men lived in the World, who, after their deaths, for their eminent vertues, and inventions, were numbred among the gods: as *Dionysius*, otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Grecians* the use of the Vine in *Attica:* at which time also there were instituted *Musical* plays to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regain his favour, who brought barrenness and scarcity upon that part of *Greece*, because they resisted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who spoiled his Temple, and set it on fire: so did *Erichthonius* institute the like games to *Minerva*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of *Oyl*, in memory of her that first prest it out of the Olive.

Ex. 6. 11.

In this age also *Xanthus* ravished *Europa*, and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon* and *Minos*, which three are also given to *Jupiter* by other Historians. To these Saint *Augustine* addeth *Hercules*; the same to whom the twelve labours are ascribed, native of *Tyrinthia* a City of *Peloponnesus*: (or as others say, onely nursed and brought up there) who came into *Italy*, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philostratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian: Manifestum fit, non Thebanum* Herculem, *sed Egyptium ad Gades pervenisse, & ibi finem statuisse terræ* (saith *Philostratus*;) *It is manifest, that it was the Egyptian* Hercules, *and not the Theban, which travelled as far as the straights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth.* In this time also while *Moses* wandered in the Desarts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania.*

Lib. de Civ. Dei, c. 12.

Philost. l. 1.

But whosoever they were, or how worthy soever they were that lived in the Dayes and Age of *Moses*, there was never any man, that was no more than Man, by whom it pleased God to work greater things; whom he favoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared; never any man more familiar and conversant with Angels; never any more learned both in Divine and Humane knowledge; never a greater Prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World Universal, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of Idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Syracides calleth *Moses* the beloved of God and men, whose remembrance is blessed. *He made him* (saith the same Author) *like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the fear of his enemies, made him glorious in the sight of Kings, shewed him his glory, caused him to hear his voyce, sanctified him with faithfulness and meekness, and chose him out of all men.*

Syrac. 45. 1.

He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetick*: by *Megastenes*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian.* The long lives which the *Patriarchs* enjoyed

ed before the flood, remembred by *Moſes, Eſticus, Hieronymus, Ægyptius, Hecataeus, Elanicus, Acuſilaus, Ephorus,* and *Alexander the Hiſtorian,* confirm. The univerſal flood which God revealed unto *Moſes, Beroſus, Nicolaus Damaſcenus,* and others, have teſtified. The building of the Tower of *Babel,* and confuſion of tongues, *Abydenus, Eſtieus,* and *Sybilla* have approved. *Beroſus* alſo honoureth *Abraham. Hecataeus* wrote a book of him. *Damaſcenus* before cited, ſpeaketh of *Abrahams* paſſage from *Damaſcus* into *Canaan,* agreeing with the books of *Moſes. Eupolemon* writeth the very ſame of *Abraham,* which *Moſes* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel,* and the overthrow thereof by divine power, he ſaith that *Abraham,* born in the tenth generation, in the City called *Camerina,* or *Urien,* excelled all men in wiſdom: and by whom the Aſtrology of the *Caldeans* was invented. *Is juſtitia pietateque ſua* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of the ſame Author) *ſic Deo gratus fuit, ut divino præcepto in Phæniciam venerit, ibique habitaverit; For his juſtice and piety he was ſo pleaſing unto God, as by his commandment he came into Phœnicia, and dwelt there.* Likewiſe *Diodorus Siculus* in his ſecond Book and fifth Chapter, ſpeaketh reverently of *Moſes:* There are many other among prophane Authors, which do confirm the books of *Moſes,* as *Euſebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Goſpel,* Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I refer the Reader. Laſtly, I cannot but for ſome things in it commend this notable teſtimony of *Strabo,* who writeth of *Moſes* in theſe words: Moſes *enim affirmavit, docebatque Ægyptios non recte ſentire, qui beſtiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: Itemque Aſros & Græcos, qui diis hominum figuram affinxerunt: id vero ſolum eſſe Deum, quod nos, & terram, & mare continet, quod cœlum, & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cujus profecto imaginem nemo ſanæ mentis, alicujus earum rerum, quæ penes nos ſunt, ſimilem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni ſimulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum conſtituendum, ac ſine aliqua figura colendum:* Moſes *affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amiſs, which attributed unto God the images of beaſts and cattel: Alſo that the Africans and Greeks greatly erred in giving unto their gods the ſhapes of men: whereas that onely is God indeed, which containeth both us, the earth and ſea, which we call heaven, the world, and the nature of all things, whoſe image, doubtleſs, no wiſe man will dare to faſhion out unto the likeneſs of thoſe things, which are amongſt us. That therefore (all deviſing of Idols caſt aſide) a worthy Temple and place of prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worſhipped without any figure at all therein.*

Strab. l. 16.

Now concerning the *Egyptian* wiſdom, for which the *Martyr Stephen* commended *Moſes,* ſaying, *That Moſes was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in his works and words;* the ſame is corrected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus, Diogenes, Laertius, Iamblicus, Philo Judæus,* and *Euſebius Cæſarienſis,* and divided into four parts, *viz.* Mathematical, Natural, Divine, and Moral. Act. 7. 22.

In the Mathematical part, which is diſtinguiſh'd into *Geometry, Aſtronomy, Arithmetick,* and *Muſick,* the antient *Egyptians* exceed all others. For *Geometry* which is by interpretation, Meaſuring of grounds, was uſeful unto them: becauſe it conſiſting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus,* were yearly overflown and confounded, ſo as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the ſecond part, to wit, *Aſtronomy,* the ſite of the Countrey being a level and ſpacious Plain, free and clear from the clouds, yielded them delight with eaſe, in obſerving and contemplating the riſings, fallings, and motions of the Stars.

Arithmetick alſo, which is the knowledg of numbers, they ſtudied; becauſe without it, in *Geometry* and *Aſtronomy,* nothing can be demonſtrated or concluded. But of *Muſick* they made no other account, nor deſired farther knowledg, than ſeemed to them ſufficient to ſerve and magnifie their gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Natural part of this Wiſdom, which handleth the principles, cauſes, elements, and operations of natural things, differs little from *Peripatetical Philoſophy;* teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies, and living creatures have their being; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Stars have a certain fovent heat, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that rains proceed and be from mutations in the air; that the Planets have their proper ſouls, &c.

The Divine part of this wiſdom, which is called *Theology,* teacheth and believeth that the world had a beginning, and ſhall periſh; that men had their firſt original in *Egypt;* partly by means of the temperateneſs of that Countrey, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heat, are offenſive; and partly through the fertility, that *Nilus* giveth

in

in those places: That the soul is immortal, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all gods, and that from this God, other gods are, as the Sun and Moon, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, because the true similitudes of the gods is not known; that many of the gods have been in the estate of mortal men, and after death, for their virtues and benefits bestowed on mankind, have been Deified; that those beasts, whose Images and Forms the Kings did carry in their Arms, when they obtained victory, were adored for gods: because under those Ensigns they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover the *Egyptian* Divines had a peculiar kind of writing, mystical, and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

Clem. Stron l. 5. *Clemens* distributeth the whole sum of this later *Egyptian* learning into three several sorts, *viz. Epistolar*, which is used in writing common Epistles; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their Priests; and *Sacred*, which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which is expressed by letters Alphabetical in obscure and figurative words; as for example, where it is written: The *Ibis* by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moon doth by the Sun borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of Divine beauty; the other symbolical, or by signatures, which is threefold, *viz.* Imitative, Tropical, and Ænygmatical: Imitative, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified, as by a Circle, the Sun; and by the Horns of the Moon, the Moon it self: Tropical or transferent, which applys the divers forms and figures of natural bodies or creatures, to signifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections, and actions of their gods, and of men. So with the *Egyptian* Divines, the Image of an Hawke signifieth God, the figure of the Hornet signifieth the Sun, the picture of the Bird *Ibis* signifieth the Moon: by the form of a Man, Prudence, and Skilfulness: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse, Liberty: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fish, Hatred is to be understood: Ænigmatical is a composition, or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sence, the monstrous Image of a Lions body having a Mans head, was graven on their Temples and Altars, to signifie, that to men all divine things are Ænigmatical and obscure. So the Image of the Sun set on the head of a Crocodile, (which liveth as well in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth, that the Sun nourisheth Meteors in the Air, aswell from the Waters, as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Ear, signifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and governing all things. The *Scythians* are thought to have been delighted with this kind of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* sending letters, threatned *Idanthura*, King of the *Scythians*, with ruine and destruction of his Kingdom, unless he would acknowledge subjection: *Idanthura* returned to him a Mouse, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Ploughshare: which *Orontopagas*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to signifie, that by the Mouse, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their air: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their Lands were signified to be ready to be delivered to *Darius*, as their Soveraign Lord. But *Xyphodres* made another construction, *viz.* that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his men did hasten away, as a Bird through the aire, or creep into holes as a Mouse, or run into the waters which they had passed as a Frog, they should not escape his arms, but either be slain, or, being made Captives, till his grounds. The same History is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*. Herod. l. 4.

The fourth and last part, which is Moral and Politick, doth contain especially the Laws, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus* devised: who in his Books or Dialogues of *Pimander* and *Asclepius*, hath written so many things of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (saith *Sixtus Senensis* of the *Trinity*, and of the coming of *Christ*, as of the last and fearfull day of *Judgment*: that (as saith the same Author, the opinion being also antient) he is not onely to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Books of Mysteries of the *Egyptians*, taking two very antient Historians for their Authors, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Menætus*, affirmeth, that this *Mercury* was not only the Inventor of the *Egyptian* Philosophy, but of all other learning, called the *Wisdom of the Egyptians*, before remembred: and that he wrote of that subject 36525. Books or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Books; of Aereal Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestial a thousand; which because they were out of the *Egyptians* language converted by certain learned Philosophers into natural *Greek*, they seemed to have been first written in that Tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, Clem. Strm l. 6.

writeth, that among the Books of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *Wisdom of the Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. Of *Physick*, six Books; of the orders of *Priests*, ten; and of *Astrology*, four.

§. VIII.

A Brief of the History of Josua; *and of the space between him and* Othoniel: *and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to* Josua: *and of the breach of Faith.*

AFter the death of *Moses*, and in the one and fortieth year of the Egression, in the first moneth called *Nisan*, or *March*, *Josua*, the son of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wisdom, took on him the government of *Israel:* God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to pass the River of *Jordan*, and to possess and divide among the *Israelites*, the land promised.

The beginning of *Josua*'s rule, Saint *Augustine* dates with the reign of *Amyntas*, the eighteenth King in *Assyria*; with *Corax* the sixteenth King in *Sicyonia*, when *Danaus* governed the *Argives*; and *Erichthonius*, *Athens*.

Lib. 18. de Civit. Dei. c. 11.

Josua imitating in all things his Predecessor, sent over *Jordan* certain discoverers to view the seat and strength of *Jericho*, the next City unto him on the other side of the River, which he was to pass over. Which discoverers being saved, and sent back by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a Tavern or Victualling-house, made *Josua* know, that the inhabitants of *Jericho*, and those of the Country about it, hearing of the approach of *Israel*, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the return of the Spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth year after the Egression, *Josua* removed from *Sittim* in the plains of *Moab*, and drew down his Army to the banks of the River *Jordan*; and gave them commandment to put themselves in order to follow the *Ark of God*, when the Levites took it up, and moved towards the River, giving them withal this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselves of his favour and presence, who is Lord of all the world, when the River of *Jordan* should be cut off and divided, and the waters coming from above should stand still in a heap, whereby those below towards the *Dead Sea* wanting supply, they might pass over into the Land of *Canaan* with dry feet.

Jos 2. 1.

Jos 2. 11.

Jos. 3. 1.

Jos. 3. 3.

Jos. 3. 13.

Jos 1. 12. He also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*, to prepare themselves (according to their Covenant made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and, as we call it in this age, to lead in the Vaunt-guard, which through all the Desarts of *Arabia*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, those of the Tribe of *Juda* had performed. For these Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and Country, and Cities of the *Amorites* by the help of the rest, conquered for them: it agreed with justice and equality, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half of *Manasse* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

On the banks of *Jordan* they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first moneth *Nisan*, or *March*, they past over to the other side, taking with them twelve stones from the dry ground in the midst of the River: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they set up at *Gilgal*, on the East-side of the city of *Jericho*, where they incamped the first night. At which place *Josua* gave commandment, that all born in the last fortieth year in the Desarts should be circumcised, which ceremony to that day had been omitted. Of the neglect whereof S. *Augustine* giveth for cause, The peoples contempt of their Superiours. *Thomas* excuseth it in this sort; That the *Israelites* knew not the certain time of their removing from one place to another: *Damascen*, That it was not needfull by circumcision to distinguish them from other Nations, at such times as they lived by themselves, and a-part from all Nations.

Jos. 4. 19.

Jos. 5. 2.

Aug. q. 3. in Jos.

Thom. part. 3 quæst 70. art. 4 ad. 3.

On the fourteenth day of the same moneth, the children of *Israel* celebrated the *Passover* now the third time; first, at their leaving *Egypt*; secondly, at Mount *Sinai*; and now at *Gilgal*. After which, being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Country, and having, as it were, surfetted on *Manna*, they parched of the Corn of the Land, being not yet full ripe, and eat thereof.

Jos. 5. 10.

And as *Moses* began to distribute those Regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the Lands of the *Amorites*, which *Og* of *Basan*, and *Sehon* held, so did *Josua* perform the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gave to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three several times; first, by *Moses* to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*, of the Lands over *Jordan*; secondly, by *Josua*, to the Tribe of *Juda*, *Ephraim*, and the other half Tribe of *Manasse*, about the fifth year of his government; proved in the 14. of *Josua. v.* 10. and a third division was made to the other seven Tribes at *Shilo*, where *Josua* seated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*.

Jos. 14. 5.

Jos. 18.

The

The victories of *Josua* against the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are so particularly set down in his own books, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose Story I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the war, those little kings, or *reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not so much understanding, as to unite themselves together against the *Israelites*; but according to the custom of those estates, from whose Governours God hath taken away all wisdom and foresight, they left those of their own Nation, which were next the invaders, to themselvs, and to their own defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat far off, might again have been quenched, ere it could spread it self so far as their own Territories and Cities. But after such time as *Jerico* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed; five of those 31 Kings (all which at length perished in that war) joyned themselves together, first attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themselves to *Josua*. Onely five (the rest looking on to the success) namely, the King of the *Jebusites*, in *Jebus*, or *Hierusalem*, the Kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmoth*, *Lachis*, and *Eglon*, addrest themselves for resistance: whose Army being by *Josua* surprized and broken, themselves despairing to escape by flight, and hopeless of mercy by submission, creeping into a Cave under ground, were thence by *Josua* drawn forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which victory he also took *Makkedath*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the relief whereof *Horam* King of *Gezar* hastened, and perished. After which *Josua* possest himself of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

Jos 10

Jos. 10.

In the end, and when the South Countries were possest, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made dust: the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the over-late counsels of necessity, united themselves, to make one gross strength and body of an Army: which *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, practised and gathered together, by *Josua* discovered, as the same rested neer the Lake of *Merom*, he used such diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining absolute victory over them, he prosecuted the same to the utmost effect. And besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* onely, reserving the rest for *Israel* to inhabit and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that *Josua* shewed himself a skilful man of War, for that in those antient times he used the stratagem of an ambush in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the Armies of the first five Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by surprise. For he marched all night from his Camp at *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day; when he overthrew *Jabin* and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victory, he assaulted the great City of *Hazor*. *Jos.* 10 3.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this war, were exceeding admirable as the stay of the River *Jordan* at the Springs, so as the Army of *Israel* past it with a dry foot; the fall of *Jerico* by the sound of the Horns; the showers of Hale-stones, which fell upon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, wherby more of them perished than by the sword of *Israel*: again, the arrest of the Sun in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lightened, as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those which fled after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a work only proper to the all-powerfull God. *Jos* 3. 13. & 10 v. 11.

Fourthly, out of the passage between *Josua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evasion, it admitteth no intrusion, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousnes, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Equivocation*. For, notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Hevites*, expresly and by name, by the commandment of God to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did over-reach, and as it were, deride *Josua*, and the Princes of *Israel*, by feigning to be sent as Embassadours from a far Country, in which travel their cloths were worn, their bread mouldie, which they avowed to have been warm for newnes when they first set out; their barrels and bottles of wine broken; their shoos patch'd; and their sacks rent and ragged: Yet *Josua* having sworn unto them by the Lord God of *Israel*, he durst not, though urged by the multitude of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but he spared both their lives, and the Cities of their inheritance. *Jos.* 9.7. *Jos* 9 from the 5. to the 13.

Now if ever man had warrant to break faith, and to retract his promise made, *Josua* had it. For first, the commandment which he received from God to root out this Nation among the rest, preceded by far the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, he might justly have put these men to the sword, and have sack'd their Cities, if there be any evasion from a promise made, whereof the living God is called to witnes. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* he gave peace, because

cauſe he knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of
Joſ 9. 7. the *Hevites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a ſtrange people that he gave faith, and to a Nation which came from far, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Iſrael* had done
Joſ 9. 11. in *Egypt* and over *Jordan*, ſought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Iſrael* made with theſe crafty *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the ſame place, That the *Iſraelites* accepted their tale, that is, believed what they had ſaid, *and counſelled not with the mouth of the Lord.* Fourthly, theſe men who were known Idolaters, and ſerved thoſe Puppets of the Heathen, men of an apiſh Religion, as all Worſhippers of Images are, could not challenge the witneſs of the true God, in whom they believed not. I ſay therefore, that if ever man might have ſerved himſelf by any evaſion or diſtinction, *Joſua* might juſtly have done it. For he needed not in this caſe the help of *Æquivocation* or *Mental Reſervation.* For what he ſware, he ſware in good Faith; but he ſware nothing, nor made any promiſe at all to the *Gibeonites.* And yet, to the end that the faithleſs ſubtilty of man ſhould borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promiſes he made in the Name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying man, he held them firm and inviolable, notwithſtanding that they, to whom he had ſworn it, were worſhippers of the Devil.

For it is not, as faithleſs men take it, that he which ſweareth to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a King, and ſweareth by the Name of the living Lord, and in his preſence, That this promiſe (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a Prince; but the Promiſe in the Name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect: we therein profeſs that we fear him not, and that we ſet him at naught, and defie him. If he that without reſervation of Honour, giveth a lie in the preſence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth, in point of Honour, give the lie to the King himſelf, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he break Faith with God, that giveth Faith in the preſence of God, promiſeth in his Name, and makes him a witneſs of the Covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearfull thing for a Son to break the Promiſe, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdom, to break thoſe Contracts which have been made in former times, and confirmed by publick faith. For though it were 400 years after *Joſua*, that *Saul*, even out of devotion, ſlaughtered ſome of thoſe people deſcended of the *Gibeonites:* yet God, who forgat not what the Predeceſſors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Iſraelites* had ſworn in his Name, afflicted the whole Nation with a conſuming famine; and could not be appeaſed, till ſeven of *Sauls* ſons were delivered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous diſtinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to ſwear one thing by the Name of the living God, and to reſerve in ſilence a contrary intent: the life of man, the eſtates of men, the faith of Subjects to Kings, of Servants to their Maſters, of Vaſſals to their Lords, of Wives to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trials of right, will not onely be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby free-men are tied in the world, be torn aſunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot paſs) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that wars take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it, or ought it to be, that makes an oath thus powerful, but this; That he that ſweareth by the Name of God, doth aſſure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true, whom he calleth for a Witneſs, and in whoſe preſence he that taketh the oath hath promiſed? I am not ignorant of their poor evaſions, which play with the ſeverity of Gods Commandments in this kind: But this indeed is the beſt anſwer, That he breaks no faith, that hath none to break. For whoſoever hath faith and the fear of God, dares not do it.

The *Chriſtians* in the *Holy Land*, when they were at the greateſt, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not onely looſe it again, but were ſoon after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it ſelf: by reaſon (ſaith *William* of *Tyre*, a reverend Biſhop which wrote that Story) that *Almerick* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadech*, and his Vicegerent. The *Soldan Sanar*, who being ſuddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turk Syracon* to their aid: whoſe Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his own, beat the *Chriſtians* out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden Croſs (the very *Croſs*, ſay they, that Chriſt died on) give them victory over *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their laſt refuge, ſeeing they had forſworn themſelves in his Name that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from

Psal. 5. 6. Wisd. 1. 11. the Holy Ghost. *That he that speaketh lies, shall be destroyed*, and that *the mouth which uttereth them, slayeth the soul:* how much more perillous is it (if any peril be greater than to destroy the soul) to swear a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that persuaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungary* after his great victory over *Amurath* the *Turk*, and when the said King had compelled him to peace, the most advantagious that ever was made for the Christians, to break his Faith, and to provoke the *Turk* to renew the war. And though the said King was far stronger in the field than ever; yet he lost the battel with 30000. *Christians*, and his own life. But I will stay my hand: For this first volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgments upon faith-breakers; be it against *Infidels*, *Turks*, or *Christians* of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oaths now-a-dayes, is rather made a matter of custom, than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable, That it pleased God to leave so many Cities of the *Canaanites* unconquered by *Israel*, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatry, and, as it is said in the Scriptures, *To be thorns in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make War.* For these Cities hereafter named did not onely remain in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Josua*; but soon after his death the children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plain Countries; and enforc'd to inhabit the Mountains, and places of hardest access. And those of *Juda* were not able to be masters of their own Vallies; because as it is written in the *Judges*, The *Canaanites* had Chariots of Iron. And those principal Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adjoyning unto *Juda*, were still held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philistims*: as *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Asdod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembred in *Samuel*.

Jos. 23. Judg 1. & Judg. 3. 2. Judg 1. 34 Judg 1. 19 Jos. 11. 19 1 Sam. 17 4.

Neither did the children of *Manasse* over *Jordan* expel the *Gesshurites*, nor the *Maachathites*; which inhabited the North parts of *Basan*, afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Nepthalims* possess themselves of *Bethshemish*, nor of *Bethanah*; but they inforc'd those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Asher* expel the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlab*, *Achzib*, *Heblah*, *Aphike*, & *Rehob*, nor inforc'd them to tribute.

Jos. 13. 13 Judg 1. 31

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy *Kitron*, and *Nahalol*, but received tribute from them. Also the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims:* and among the children of *Manasse*, on the West of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Bethshean*, *Taacnah*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megaddo*; yea *Hierusalem* it self did the *Jebusites* defend above four hundred years, even till *David*'s time.

Jos. 16. 10. Judg. 2. 27.

Now *Josua* lived one hundred and ten years, eighteen of which he governed *Israel*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which causeth divers to conjecture diversly of the continuance. *Josephus* gives him five and twenty years: *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Authors of the *Hebrew Chronologie* eight and twenty; and *Massius* six and twenty: *Maimonius* cited by *Massius*, fourteen: *Joannes Lucidus*, seventeen: *Cajetanus*, ten: *Eusebius* giveth him seven and twenty: and so doth S. *Augustine*: *Melanthon*, two and thirty: *Codoman*, five and twenty. But whereas there passed 480. years from the delivery of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, unto the building of the Temple, it is necessary that we allow to *Josua* onely eighteen of them; as finding the rest supplyed otherwise, which to me seems the most likely, and, as I think, a well approved opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480. years from the departure out of *Egypt* unto the building of the Temple, convinceth of errour, such as have inserted years between *Josua* and *Othoniel*, of whom *Eusebius* finds eight years, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which he giveth his reason in his four and twentieth and last Chapters upon *Josua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine years: *Bucolzer* and *Reusner* but one; *Codoman*, twenty; and *Nicephorus* no less than three and thirty: whereas following the sure direction of these 480. years, there can be no void years found between *Josua* and *Othoniel*, unless they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed unto *Josua* by the account already specified. The praises and acts of *Josua* are briefly written in the six and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where among many other things it is said of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battels of the Lord?*

Euseb. Prap. Evang.

That he wrote the book called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last Chapter, *verse* 26. *And* Josua *wrote these words in the book of the Law of God:* which seemeth rather to have been meant by the covenant which *Josua* made with *Israel* in *Sichem*, where they all promised to serve and obey the Lord: which promise *Josua* caused to be written in the book of the Law: and of this opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abulensis*: *Theodoret* doth likewise conceive, that the book of *Josua* was collected out of an antient Volume, intituled *Liber Justorum*, remembred by *Josua* himself; and others, that it was the work of

1 Sam. 10. 25. Josh. 24. 26.

of *Samuel:* for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion upon these words of the 26. Verse, *And* Josua *wrote these words, &c.* this place hath nothing in it to prove it: for when the people had answered *Josua*; *The Lord our God will we serve, and his voyce will we obey*, it followeth that *Josua* made a covenant with the people, and wrote the same in the book of the Law of God.

There lived at once with *Josua*, *Erichthonius* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke beasts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speed: And about the same time the fifty Daughters of *Danaus* (as it is said) slew the fifty sons of *Egyptus*, all but *Lynceus*, who succeeded *Danaus*, if the tale be true. There lived also with *Josua*, *Phœnix*, and *Cadmus*, and neer the end of *Josua*'s life, *Jupiter* is said to have ravished *Europa* the daughter of *Phœnix* (afterward married to *Asterius* King of *Creta*) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But S. *Augustine* reports this ravishment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of *Jupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was father to *Deucalion*, and *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the war of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in person a young or strong man at the same *Trojan* war. And so doth *Nestor* reckon up in the Council of the *Greeks*, *Theseus* and *Perithous* for men of Antiquity and of Ages past: *Minos* being yet more antient than any of these. But hereof elsewhere.

Lib. 18 c. 12 De Civ. Dei. Homer Odyss. & Iliad. Hora. Iliad. 1.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Israel *that were planted in the borders of* Phœnicia, *with sundry Stories depending upon those places.*

§. I.

The Prowme to the description of the whole Land of Canaan; *with an Exposition of the name of* Syria.

THE Story of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Josua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the Jews was governed by Kings, of which so many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, shall be remembred when we come to the description of *Samaria*: but because the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greatest part of the Story past, with that which followeth, hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a *Geographical* description of those Regions: that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be understood, and conceived. To which purpose (besides the addition of the neighbour Countries) I have bestowed on every Tribe his proper portion: and do shew what Cities and Places of strength were by the Jews obtained: and what numbers it pleased God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when ungrateful for his many graces, they at sundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deaf and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Divina bonitas* (saith *Augustine*) *ideo maximè irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro: & misericorditer temporalem adhibet severitatem, ne æternam justè inferat ultionem; The divine goodness is especially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come, and doth mercifully use temporal severity, that it may not justly bring upon us eternal vengeance.*

To the Cities herein described, I have added a short Story of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdoms and Common-weals: and to help my self herein, I have perused divers of the best Authors upon this subject: among whom, because I find so great disagreement in many particulars, I have rather in such cases adventured to follow mine own reason, than to borrow any one of their old patterns.

And because *Canaan*, with *Palestina* of the *Philistims*, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sehon* Kings of *Basan*, and the *Arabian Amorites*, were but small Provinces of *Syria*: it shall be necessary, first to divide and bound the general, and so to descend to this particular, now called the *Holy Land*.

Ptol. Asiæ tab 4. Ptol 5.

Syria, now *Soria*, according to the largest description, and as it was antiently taken, imbraced all those Regions from the *Euxine Sea*, to the *Red Sea*: and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which look into *Pontus*, called *Leucosyrians*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it shorter, and from the coast of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, unto *Idumæa*, towards the South, *Tigris* towards the Sunrising, and the *Mediterran Sea* Westward: it then containeth besides *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, *Arabia the Desart*, and *Arabia Petræa*, that Region also which the *Greeks* call *Mesopotamia*, the *Hebrews Syria*, of the two Rivers, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for so *Aran Naharaim* is expounded: also *Padan Aram*; that is, *Jugum Syriæ*, because the two Rivers go along in it as it were in a yoke.

Aurogallas

Edessa, sometime *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the Metropolis of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria* taken largely, there were many small Provinces, as *Cœlosyria*, which the *Latins* call *Syria Cava*, because it lay in that fruitfull Valley between the Mountains of *Lybanus*, and *Antilybanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others, were seated. Then *Damascena*, or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the City *Damascus*, and the Mountains of *Lybanus*, the Regal seat of the *Adades*, the first Kings of *Syria*. Adjoyning to it was the Province of *Sophene*, or *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobal*: over which *Adadezer* commanded in *Solomon's* time. Then *Phœnicia*, and the people *Syraphœnicies*: and lastly, *Syria Palæstina* bordering *Egypt*: of which *Ptolomy* maketh *Judæa* also a part: and to that Province which *Moses* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giveth the name of *Syrea Judæa*.

1 Kings 11.

Herod. in Pelim Dio. l. 27.

Ptol. Asiæ tab. 4.

§. II.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this Land.

BUt that Land which was antiently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phœnicia*, and stretcheth from behind *Lybanus* to the great *Desarts* between *Idumæa* and *Egypt*: bounded by the *Mid-land Sea* on the West, and the Mountains of *Hermon*, *Galaad*, and *Arnon* towards the East: the same Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi*, or *Traconitæ*, and *Ptolemie*, *Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the Son of *Cham*: *Et lingua appellata fuit* Canaan; *The language was also called* Canaan, saith *Montanus*: and after *Hebræa* of the *Hebrews*: who took name from *Heber*, the Son of *Sale*, according to Saint *Augustine*. But *Arias Montanus* not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of *Noah's* Sons, who past over *Euphrates* towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, saith he, is as much as *transiens*, or *transmittens of going*, or *passing over*. And because the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certain abiding: therefore, as he thinks, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebræi*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of *Eusebius* long before them both. It had also the name of *Judæa* from *Juda*; and then afterwards intituled the *Holy Land*, because therein our *Saviour Christ* was Born, and Buried. Now this part of *Syria* was again divided into four; namely, into *Edom*, (otherwise *Seir*, or *Edumæa*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*. *Galilee* is double, the *superiour* called *Gentium*, and the *inferiour*: and that *Galilee* and *Judæa* are distinguished, it is plain in the *Evangelists*, though both of them belong to *Phœnicia*.

Strab. l. 16. Caleb f 62.

Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 7. c. 3.

Matth. 2. Luke 2. John 4.

Now besides these Provinces of *Phœnicia*, and *Palæstina* (both which the River of *Jordan* boundeth; saving that *Phœnicia* stretcheth a little more Easterly towards *Damascus*) that part also of the East of *Jordan*, and within the Mountains of *Hermon*, *Gilead*, and *Arnon*, otherwise *Traconi*, fell to the possession of half *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* also: as well because antiently possest by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the *Israelites*; which Eastermost parts are again divided into *Basan*, or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Machati*, *Gessuri*, *Argobe*, *Hus*. They are known to the later *Cosmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in general: and by the names of *Traconitis*, *Pieria Batanea*, *&c.* of which I will speak in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, he maketh no mention of the later Provinces, which fell to *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, for these be his words: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comest to Gerar untill Azzah* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the Countrie North and South: then it followeth in the Text; *And as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboiim, even unto Lasha:* by which words *Moses* seteth down the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead Sea* to the *Mediterran*. But in *Deuteronomy* it seemeth to be far more large: For it is therein written; *All the places whereon the soal of your feet shall tread, shall be yours: your coast shall be from the Wilderness,*

Deut. 11. 24.

ness, and from Libanon, and from the River Perah, unto the uttermost Sea. Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this discription agreeth with the former: only *Libanon* is put for *Zidon*; and the *Wilderness* for *Gerar* and *Azza*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if *Perah* be taken for *Euphrates:* then the Land promised stretcheth it self both over *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desart*, as far as the border of *Babylon:* which the *Israelites* never possest; nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceive, that by the River *Perah* was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates:* taking light from this place of *Jo-* Jos. 23. 4. *sua: Behold, I have divided unto you by lot these Nations, that remain to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Jordan with all the Nations that I have destroyed, even unto the great Sea Westward.*

And though it be true, that *David* greatly enlarged the Territory of the *Holy Land:* yet as *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the former place be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it put *per in gentes amicitiam receptas.* For *David* did not at any time enter so far to the East as *Assyria*, or *Babylonia.* Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cavill, as touching the promise of God to the *Israelites* unperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and service, it pleased him not onely to include them within that Territory, which was for so many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elsewhere to subject them unto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish gods themselves also served and obeyed. And sure the promise by which the *Hebrews* claimed the inheritance of *Canaan*, and the lasting enjoy- Deut 11 21. ing thereof, to wit, *as long as the heavens were above the earth*, was tied to those conditions, both in the Verses preceeding, and subsequent; which the *Israelites* never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankind could or can expect; who knew that all sorts of comforts from the merciful goodness of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, then while we persevere in his love, service, and obedience. So in the eighth Verse of the eleventh of *Deuteronomy*, the keeping of Gods Commandments was a condition joyned to the prosperity of *Israel.* For therein it is written; *Therefore* Deut 11. *shall ye keep all the Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and go in, and possess the Land, whither ye go to possess it. Also that you may prolong your daies in the Land which the Lord sware unto your fathers, &c.*

Vadian. Epitom. trium terrapartium c. Palæstin.

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the Land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the heavens were above the earth. *For if ye keep dili-* Deut. 11. *gently*, saith he, *all these commandments, which I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you, and ye shall possess great Nations, and mightier than you.* And here, though it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandments, and their falling away from the worship of his allpowerfull Majestie, to the Idolatry of the Heathen, the conditional promises of God were absolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed: yet I cannot mislike that exposition of *Melanthon: For*, saith he, *Ostendit promissionem præcipuam non esse de hoc politico Regno; He sheweth that his chief promise is not of a civil Kingdom.* To which agrees that answer which S. *Hierome* made to a certain Heretick in his Epistle *ad Dardanum*, who accused S. *Hierome*, that he overthrew the reputation of the *Jews* Story, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an *Allegorie*, and *ad illam duntaxat viventium terram quæ in cœlis est*; (that is) *Onely to that land of the living which is in heaven. Quoniam tota Judæorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat* 160. *milliarium, latitudinem verò* 40. *& in his etiam regiones, loca, urbes, & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam à Judæis occupata, sed tantùm divina pollicitatione promissa; Because the whole Countrey of the Jews is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath* 160. *miles in length, and* 40. *miles in breadth, and in these are countries, places, cities, and many towns, which the Jews never possest, but were onely granted by divine promise.* In like manner the same Father speaketh upon *Esay*, touching the blessings promised unto *Hierusalem*, where he hath these words: Sap 49 14. *De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Palæstinæ regione petendam, qua totius Provinciæ, deterrima est: & saxosis montibus asperatur, & penuriam patitur sitis: ita ut cœlestibus utatur pluviis, & raritatem fontium cisternarum extructione soletur: sed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur, festinaverunt structores tui; From whence*, saith he, *we learn, that Hierusalem is not to be sought in that region of Palæstina, which is the worst of the whole Province, and ragged with craggie mountains, and suffereth the penury of thirst: so as it preserveth rain water, and supplieth the scarsity of Wells by building of cisterns; but this Hieru-*

salem

salem is in Gods hands, to which it is said, Thy builders have hasted: so far St. *Hierome*; where also to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himself: *Neque hoc dico in suggillationem terræ Judææ, ut hæreticus Sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam historiæ veritatem quæ fundamentum est intelligentiæ spiritualis: sed ut decutiam supercilium Judæorum, qui synagogæ angustias latitudini Ecclesiæ præferunt: Si enim occidentem tantum sequantur literam, & non spiritum vivificantem, ejurdant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem: Neither* (saith he) *say I this to disgrace the land of Judæa; as the heretical Sycophant doth believe: or to take away the truth of the history which is the foundation of spiritual understanding: but to beat down the pride of the Jews, which enlarge the straits of the Synagogue farther than the breadth of the Church: For if they follow only the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them shew the land of promise, flowing with Milk and Honey.*

By this it may also be gathered, howsoever it be unlikely (seeing the West-bound in the place, *Deut.* 11. 24. had his truth in the literal sense, that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the East-bound, should be taken only in a spiritual sense) yet nevertheless that *Hierom*'s opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be understood of *Euphrates*, and that the promise it self was never so large: much less the plantation and conquest of *Israel*.

And now for a more particular description of this *Holy Land*: because *Asher*, *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon* held the Northermost part, and were seated in *Phœnicia*, I will begin with these three, taking *Asher* for the first: of which I must yet before I spake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names, by reason of the divers fancies of Translators, are diversly expressed, so that to the unskilfull they may seem divers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diversity (as by those learned in the *Hebrew* tongue I am taught) is partly because the words of both sorts of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the *Hebrew* Editions have; and partly, because the Antient expressed or omitted divers consonants, otherwise than the later do think fit.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

¶. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

THe *Asherites* descended of *Asher* the son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, were increased while they abode in *Egypt*, to the number of 41500. and odd persons, all men above twenty years of age, and able to bear arms, at the time when they were mustered by *Moses* at Mount *Sinai*: all which number perishing in the Desarts, there remained of their issues, besides women and children, 53400. bodies fit for the wars: which past the river of *Arnon* into the Plains of *Moab*, and after the conquest of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phœnicia*, from *Zidon* and the fields of *Libanus*, unto *Ptolomais Acon* alongst the Sea-coast, containing thirty English miles, or thereabout: and from the Mid-land Sea to the East border some twelve miles: though *Antoninus* makes it some what larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitful, abounding in Wine, Oyl, and Wheat, besides the *Balsamum*, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that *Prophecy*, Asher *pinguis panis*: Concerning *Asher*, his bread shall be fat: *And he shall give pleasures for a King.* *Ant. Itin.* *Gen. 40.*

¶. II.

Of Zidon.

THe first City seated on the North border of the Territory of *Asher*, was *Zidon*, which *Josua* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for strength and magnitude. The *Greeks* and *Q. Curtius* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Justine* derives the name from the abundance of fish found on those shores: whereof it hath been called *Zidona*. But that it was far more antient, *Moses*, *Josua*, and *Josephus* witness, the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaan*'s sons: and so strong it was in *Josua*'s time, as neither did himself attempt it, neither could the *Asherites*, or any of their successours master it: but it continued all the time of the *Judges* and *Kings*, even unto the coming of *Christ*; a City interchangeably governed, by their own Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, *Esay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and *Zacharie*, it was often afflicted, both by the enemies *Justin. l. 18.* *Gen. 10.* *Joseph.* *Esa. 23. Hier. 47. Ezek. 28. & 32. Zac. 9.*

enemies Sword, and by the Pestilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wash of the *Phœnician Sea*, which is a part of the *Mediterran* or *Mid-land Sea*. It hath to the North the City of *Berythus*, and the River *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*, which standeth between it and *Tyre*: the distance between which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14. thousand paces, saith *Seiglerus*: but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *Weissinburie* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five and twenty miles. This difference of distance as well between these two known Cities, as all the rest, make it over-difficult to divise any new Scale to the Map and Description of the Holy Land.

Joseph. Ant. l. 9. Vadian. Pom. l. 2. c. 8. Strabo. l. 16.

What Kings it had till *Agenors* time there is no memory: the story which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It seemeth to be more antient than *Tyre*; which was also built by the *Zidonians*. For as * *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memory of *Tyre*, because it was but a member of *Zidon*; and a City subject to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacy, and became far more renowned, opulent, and strong: From *Zidon* had *Solomon* and *Zorobabel* their principal workmen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other Mechanical Arts or Trades: the Prophet *Zachary* calling them the *wise Zidonians*. The City was both by nature and art exceeding strong, having a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing upon an unaccessible Rock, and compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the *Dutch* Order: and another Castle it hath on the South-side by the Port of *Egypt*, which the Templers guarded. It also sent many other *Colonies* beside that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as unto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, Cities of *Bœotia* in *Greece*. *Strabo* and *Pliny* give the *Zidonians* the invention of * Glass, which they used to make of those Sands which are taken out of the River *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterran Sea*, neer *Ptolomais*, or *Acon*: and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of those cleer Glasses which they make at *Murana*: of which St. *Hierom* and *Pliny*: Zidon *insignis artifex vitri*: Zidon *vitrariis officinis nobilis*; Zidon *a famous Glass-maker, or a skilful worker in Glass-houses*.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the *Canaanites*) worshippers of *Baal* and *Astaroth*: which Idols though common to the other of the issue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of 1 *Sam.* 31.10. and *Judg.* 10.6.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the gods of the *Zidonians*: as appears 1 *Reg.* 11. 5. in the story of *Solomons* Idolatry: where *Astaroth* is called the god of the *Zidonians*: and 1 *Reg.* 16. 33. in the story of *Achab*, the chief worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said, that he marrying *Jezabel* the daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Baal*. Divers *Baals* and divers *Astaroths* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appears by the plural names of *Baalim*, and *Astaroth*, 1 *Sam.* 12. 10. and elsewhere: for even the name *Astaroth*, as I am informed by a skillful *Hebritian*, is plural; the singular being *Astoreth*: whence *Judg.* 2. 13. the *Septuagint* read ἐλάτρευσαν ταῖς ἀστάρταις· *They worshipped the Astarties*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals* and *Astoreths*, may be diversly understood: either in respect of the diversity of the forms of the Images, or of the worship in divers places, or of the stories depending upon them: which (as fables use to be) were doubtless in divers Cities divers. *Augustine quæst.* 19. *in Judg.* thinks *Baal* and *Astarte* to be *Jupiter* and *Juno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Juno* by such a name as *Astarte*. *Tully*, *lib.* 3. *de Nat. Dearum*, making divers *Goddesses* of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Astarte*: whom he makes to be born of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to have been the wife of *Adonis*: as also *Macrob.* 2. *Saturn. cap.* 21. sayes, that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worshipped of the *Assyrians*: and *Hierome* upon *Ezek.* 8. 44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewail) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may seem that in the worship of *Astarte* or *Venus*, they did bewail her husband *Adonis*: as also the *Grecians* did in their songs of *Adonis*: *Mourn for* Adonis *the fair, dead is* Adonis *the fair*. Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Osiris* in the sacrifice of *Isis*: whose loss of her Husband *Osiris*, was as famous in the *Egyptian* Idolatry, as with the *Grecians*, *Venus* loss of *Adonis*. And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iside & Osiride*; that *Osiris* with the *Egyptians* is called *Ammuz*: which word may seem to be the same with *Ezekiels Thammuz*. But howsoever these *Zidonians* were thus antiently fostered with the milk of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the Doctrine

The form of *Astoreth* (or *Astarte*) seemeth to have been a sheep, for *Deut* 7.13 the word in the plural number signifieth sheep and this may confirm *Augustines* opinion, that *Astarte* was *Juno*: for the form of her husband *Jupiter Hammon* was a Ram.

Κλαίετε Ἄδωνιν τὸν καλὸν Ἄδωνιν.

* Strabo, l. 16. Zach. 9, 3 Herod. l. 3. Plin. l. 5. c. 9.

* It seems that even in *Josua's* time they practised glass-making, whence *Junius* for *Misphrebothmajim* which od verbum is as much as combusti eorum aquarum, reads fornaces vitrarias, *Jos.* 11. 8. as it seems because those fornaces were where there was store of water, either for the moving of the bellows by the force of the water, or for other necessary uses. But there are others that take them for salt-pits, and others again for hot baths.

of the Gospel of *Christ* after his Ascension, than the *Jews*: who had been taught by *Moses* and the *Prophets* so many years, whereof our Saviour in *Matthew* and *Luke*: *Woe* Mat. 11. 21 *be to thee Corazin, &c. for if the great works which were done in thee, had been done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agone, &c. but I say unto you, it shall be easier for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of judgment, than for you.*

It received a *Christian* Bishop with the first: who was afterward of the Dioceſs of *Tyre*. But in the year of our Redemption Tyr. 11. Bell. Sacr. 14. Vitric. c 27. 636. it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*, and continued in their possession till *Baldwinus* the first, then King of *Hierusalem*: in the year 1111. by the help of the *Danes* and *Norwaies*, who came with a Fleet to visit the *Holy Land*, and took Port at *Joppa*, it was again recovered, the commandment thereof being given to *Eustace Gremer*, a Noble man of that Country. And again in the year 1250. it was re-edified and strengthened by *Lodowick* the French King: while he spent four year in the War of the *Holy Land*. Lastly, in the year 1289. it was reconquered by Niger. Tolletus. the *Saracens*: and is now in possession of the *Turk*, and hath the name of *Zai*.

§. III.

Of Sarepta, with a brief History of Tyre in the same Coast.

Sarepta, or after the *Hebrew*, *Sarphath*, is the next City Southward from *Zidon*, between it and the River called *Naar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a City very famous for the excellent Wine growing neer it: of which *Sidonius*:

Vina miki non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quæque Sareptano *palmite missa bibas.*

I have no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* wine,
Nor any for the drinking of *Sarepta*'s vine.

This City had also a *Bishop*, of the Dioceſs of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turks*, as the rest: and is now called *Saphet*, saith *Postellus*.

Not far from *Sarepta* was scituate that sometime famous City of *Tyre*, whose fleets of ships commanded, and gave the law over all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatness and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Utica*, *Leptis*, Virgil. l. 1. and *Carthage* in *Africa*, of which *Virgil*. *Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere Coloni, Carthago.* And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quasi Phœnicum*, a *Colony* of the *Phœnicians*. In *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Caliz*. In *Italy*, *Nola*: in *Asia* the less *Dromos Achillis*, Plin. l. 5. c. 19. Marcelin. l. 22. which City the *Scholiast* of *Apollonius* placeeth neer the River *Phyllis*, in *Bythinia*.

It had antiently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and so it is written in *Josua* the 19. taking name from the scituation; because built on a high Rock, sharp at one end. The *Latines*, as it seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*: Gellius l. 6. c. 6. for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Ostrum Sarranum*, by which name *Juvenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it upon a high hill, whereof many ruins remain to this day; the place being still known by the name of the antient *Tyre*: and because it was a *Colony* of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet *Esay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*; which *Trogus* also confirmeth, though *Berosus* by Cap 23. affinity of name makes *Thiras* the son of *Japhet* to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very antient (for so much the Prophet *Esay* also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious Citie, whose antiquity is of antient days?*) Cap. 23. yet that *Thiras* the son of Japhet set himself in the bosom of the *Canaanites* who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region, I see nothing to persuade me.

But that new *Tyre* in after-times so renowned, seemeth to be the work of *Agenor*: Justin l. 18 Curt. l. 4. and of this opinion was *Curtius*: and *Josephus* and *Eusebius* make this City elder than Euseb. in Chron. Joseph. an. l. 8. cap. 2. *Solomon*'s Temple 240 years: *Cedrenus* 361. Cedren. p. 27. who also addeth, that *Tyrus* the wife of *Agenor*, gave it her name: but of *Agenor* I will speak more at large in the story of their Kings.

For strength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Island 700. paces from the Continent; and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth Ezek. 28. 2. 27. it in the middest of the Seas, as some read, vers. 3. or as others, in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence he called it *scituate at the entry of the Sea*, as also the same Prophet calleth it, *the Mart of the people for many Isles*: and *Esay*, Esay 23. 3. *a Mart of the Nations*: and so proud, wealthy, and magnificent was this City, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World.

It excelled both in learning, and in manufacture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, saith *Julius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules* Dog, who passing along the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*, the

the hair of his lips became of that colour. It worſhipped the Idols that *Zidon* did: ſaving that *Hercules* became their *Patron* in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* preſented him with a Crown of gold, and other gifts, deſiring to remain his friends and allies, anſwered them, that he had vowed a ſacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defendor of their City, and the Anceſtor of the *Macedonian* Kings: and muſt therefore enter it. Whereupon they ſent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountain of old *Tyre*: where he might perform that ceremony. But this availed not: for *Alexander* was not ſo ſuperſtitious, as ambitious; he deſired to enter the Town, which being denied, he, as one whom no peril could fear, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ſhips as he could, and brought from *Libanus* ſo great a number of *Cedars*, & ſo many weighty ſtones from the old City of *Tyre* adjoyning, as, notwithſtanding that his materials were often waſht away with the ſtrength of the Sea and the Tides, yet he never reſted, till he had made a foot-paſſage from the Continent to the Iſland: and having once approached their walls, he overtopt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving ſpirit of reſolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that reſiſted; after which, he cauſed 2000. more to be hung up in a rank all alongſt the Sea-ſhore: which execution upon cold bloud he performed (as ſome Authors affirm) upon the iſſues of thoſe ſlaves which had formerly ſlain all their Maſters, taking their Wives, Children, Riches, and power of Government to themſelves. This victory of *Alexander* over the *Tyrians*, *Joſephus* remembreth: and how *Sanaballat* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Souldiers: who was the laſt *Satrapa* or Provincial Governour, which *Darius* ſeated in *Samaria*: the ſame who having married his Daughter to *Manaſſe*, brother to *Jaddas* the high Prieſt of *Hieruſalem*, obtained of *Alexander*, that a Temple might be built on the Mountain *Garizim* over *Samaria*: that the forces of the *Jews* being divided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which Prieſthood he beſtowed on his ſon in law *Manaſſe*, whom the *Jews* oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a *Gentile*: but while *Alexander* beſieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom *Guil. Tyrius* called *Sanabula*, died.

Joſeph.ant. jud. l. 11. c. 8.

Be bell. ſacr. l. 13. c. 4.

Long before this deſolation of *Tyre* by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanaſſer* the *Aſſyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Aſſyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the reſt of *Syria*, became envious of the beauty, riches, and power of that city. He beſieged it both on the Land-ſide, and with threeſcore ſhips of war held the Port: to the end that neither any victuals nor any ſupply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelve ſail ſcattered that fleet, and took 500. priſoners of the *Aſſyrians*: notwithſtanding, the *Aſſyrian* continued his reſolution, and lay before it by his Lievtenants five years, but with ill ſucceſs. And this ſiege *Menander Epheſius*, cited by *Joſephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as he found the Story among the *Annals* of the *Tyrians* (which the ſaid *Menander* converted into *Greek*) adding, that *Elulæus*, whom *Tyrius* called *Heliſæus*, was then King of *Tyre*, having governed the ſame ſix and twenty years. Soon after this repulſe of *Salmanaſſer*; and about 200. years before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, at ſuch time as he deſtroyed *Hieruſalem* with the Temple, came before this City: who indeed gave to *Alexander* the example of that deſpairful work, of joyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonoſor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the ſtrength of the Sea, the ſame cawſey and paſſage was again broken down, and demoliſhed.

Joſeph. ant. lib. 9. c. 14.

Et cont. Ab. 1. Guil. Tyr. de Bell. Sacr. l. 13. 14. Joſeph ant. lib. 9. c. 15.

Againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, for many years, the *Tyrians* defended themſelves: for ſo long did thoſe *Babylonians* continue before it, *As every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder made bare*, ſaith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Eſay* had manifeſtly foretold the deſtruction of this proud place. In the end, and after 13. years ſiege or more, the *Tyrians* deſpoyled of all their hopes, and remembring over-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a convenient number of ſhips, abandoned their City, tranſporting with themſelvs the ableſt of all that remained: and with their wives, children, and portable riches, ſayled thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: ſo as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to ſatisfie ſo many labours and perils, or any perſon upon whom to avenge themſelves for the loſs of ſo many bodies in that War: It pleaſed God in recompence thereof (who ſtrengthened this reſolution, as in a work of his own) to make *Nabuchodonoſor* victorious over the *Egyptians*: and gave him that Kingdom and the ſpoil thereof, as it were, in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint *Hierom* noteth, that God leaveth

Eze. 29 18. Iſa. 23. &c.

Eze. 29. 19

not the good deeds of the Heathen unrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attain unto that eternal happiness reserved for his *Servants* and *Saints*: yet such is the boundless goodness of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporal blessings.

Joseph. ant. l. 10. c. 13. Now of this enterprise of *Nabuchodonosor's* against *Tyre*, prophane Historians have not been silent. For both *Diocles*, and *Philostratus* (as *Josephus* citeth them) the one in his second Book, the other in his *Phœnician* Histories remember it.

After these two great *Vastations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*, this City of *Tyre*, repaired and recovered it self again: and continued in great glory about 300. years, even to the coming of our *Saviour Christ*: and after him flourished in the *Christian* Faith neer 600. years: the *Archbishop* whereof gave place to none but to the *Patriarch* of *Hierusalem* onely, who within his own Dioceis had fourteen great Cities, with their Bishops and Suffragans: namely *Caipha*, *Guil. Tyr. bell. sac.* otherwise *Porphiria*, *Acon*, or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cæsarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthosia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus*, (or *Tortosa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the year 636. it was with the rest of that beautiful Region of *Phœnicia* and *Palestina*, subjected to the cruel and faithless *Saracen*: under the burthen and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered, with the other *Palestine* Cities, 488. years.

Guil. Tyr. 11. Bell. sacr. 17. In the year 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hierusalem*; but in vain: yet in the year 1124. by *Guaremonde*, *Patriarch* of *Hierusalem*, *Vicegerent* to *Baldwine* the second, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, and their fleet of Gallies, it was again recovered, and subjected to the Kings of *Hierusalem*, and so it remained 165. years.

Finally, in the year 1189. *Saladine* having first taken *Hierusalem*, removed his whole Army, and sate down before *Tyre*: drawing his fleet of Ships and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port, this City as then onely remaining in the Christian power.

The Citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certain rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleet, and sallyed out resolvedly upon his Army, slew so great numbers of them; and followed their victory with such fury, as that the Saracens forsaking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two years after which victory the body of that famous *Frederick Barbarossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Christians* enemies over a River unfoordable perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the *Cathedral* Church of *Tyre*, neer unto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and graven with guilt pillers of Marble, 940. years before therein buried: but in the year 1289. the *Saracens* again attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the *Turks*.

||. IV.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

THe third City alongst the coast of the Sea, which the *Asserites* could not obtain, on the South bound of *Asser* was *Acho*, which was the antient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authours affirm, that it took name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolomie*. *Pliny* calleth it *Ace*: and otherwise the Colony of *Claudius*. It had also the name of *Coth*, or *Cod*, and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Hactipos*. *Plin. l. 5. c. 19. In descrip. terr. sanct.*

But lastly, it was intituled *Ptolomais*, after the name of one of the *Egyptian Ptolomies*: which City also, as it is 1 *Mac.* 11. another of the *Ptolomies*, infideliously wrested from his son in law *Alexander*, which called himself the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*: the same *Alexander* having married *Cleopatra*, daughter of the said *Ptolomie*, not long before. Therein also was *Jonathan Machabæus* treacherously surprised and slain, as it is 1 *Mac.* 12. 48. by the perfidiousness of *Tryphon*, whom soon after *Antiochus* pursued, as it is in the Story ensuing: and, by like reason, about the same time was the aforesaid *Alexander* in the war against *Demetrius*, one of the sons of *Antiochus* the great, with whom *Ptolomy* joyned, overthrown and treacherously murthered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian*: to whom he fled for succour: and his head presented unto his father in law *Ptolomie*: who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treason above three daies, for God struck him by death. *Ptolomeus Philometer.* *1 Mac. 1. 10.* *1 Mac. 11. 18.*

For the beauty and strength of this City, this *Alexander* made it his regal seat; two parts of the same being invironed by the Sea, and the Port, for safety and capacity, not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This City is distant from *Hierusalem* some four and thirty miles: four miles to the North from the Mountain *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Castrum Lamberti*: from *Tyre*, *Antonius* maketh it two and thirty *Italian* miles. *Ant. Itin.*

miles. In the middeſt of the City there was a Tower of great ſtrength, ſometime the Temple of *Bel-zebub:* and therefore called the *Caſtle of Flies*, on the top whereof there was mantained a perpetual light like unto that called *Pharus* in *Egypt:* to give comfort in the night to thoſe ſhips which came neer and ſought that part. It had in it a Biſhops ſeat of the Dioceſs of *Tyre*, after it became *Chriſtian:* but in the year 636. (a fatal year to the *Chriſtians* in thoſe parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus* the *Saracen.* In the year 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the firſt, by the help of the Gallies of *Genoa:* to whom a third of the revenue was given in recompence. Again, in the year of our Lord God, one thouſand one hundred fourſcore and ſeven, *Saladine* King of *Egypt* and *Syria*, became Lord thereof. In the year of Chriſt, one thouſand one hundred ninety and one, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*, it was repoſſeſſed and redelivered to the *Chriſtians.* Laſtly, in the year 1291. it was by the fury of the *Saracens* beſieged with an Army of 150000. entered, ſack'd, and utterly demoliſhed: though in ſome ſort afterward reedified, and it is now *Turkiſh.*

Herold.

G. Tyr. hiſt. ſacr. lib. 10. cap. 28 Herold. l. 1. hiſt. ſacr. tit. 7. & l. 2. c. 2. & alibi.

||. V.

Of the Caſtle of Saint George.

FIve miles from *Ptolomais* towards the Eaſt, is a Caſtle of St. *George* ſeated, in which he was born: the Valley adjoyning bearing the ſame name. And though for the credit of Saint *Georges* killing the Dragon, I leave every man to his own belief: yet I cannot but think, that if the Kings of *England* had not ſome probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was ſtrange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Succeſſors royally have continued, ſhould have born his name, ſeeing the World had not that ſcarcity of Saints in thoſe daies, as that the *Engliſh* were driven to make ſuch an erection upon a fable, or perſon feigned. The place is deſcribed by *Adricomius* in his deſcription of *Aſſer*, to have been in the fields of *Libanus*, between the River *Adonis*, and *Zidon:* his own words are theſe: *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longè à Beryto, memorant inclytum Chriſti Militem* D. Georgium, *Regis filiam ab immaniſſimo Dracone aſſervâſſe: eamque mactata beſtia parenti reſtituiſſe. In cujus rei memoriam Eccleſia poſtmodum fuit ædificata; In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called* Cappadocia, *not far from* Berytus, *men ſay that the famous Knight of Chriſt, Saint* George, *did reſcue the Kings daughter from a huge Dragon: and having killed the beaſt, delivered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a Church was after built there:* Thus far *Adricomius.* His Authors he citeth *Lodovicus Roman, Patric. Navigationum l.* 1. *c.* 3 and *Eridenbach Itin.* 5. The Valley under this Caſtle ſometime called *Aſſer*, was afterward called the Valley of Saint *George.* If this authority ſuffice not, we may rather make the Story allegorical, figuring the victory of *Chriſt*, than except of *George* the *Arrian* Biſhop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus.*

Brit.

Itin. 4. Of the place and memory of his death. See th. 9. foll. 2.

||. VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

BEtween *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* alongſt the Sea-coaſt, was the ſtrong City of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which S. *Hierome* called *Achziph*, and *Joſephus Ecdippos*, *Plinie Ecdippa*, one of thoſe which defended it ſelf againſt the *Aſſerites. Belforreſt* finds *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the Caſtle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not from whence he had it.

The twelve Searchers of the Land which *Moſes* ſent from *Cadesbarn*, travelled as far to the North as *Roob*, or *Rechob*, in the Tribe of *Aſſer*, which *Rechob*, as alſo *Berothæ*, which by *Ezechiel*, *cap.* 47. *ver.* 16. is placed in theſe North borders, belonging in *Davids* time to the King *Hadarhezer*, as it may be gathered out of the ſecond of *Samuel*, *chap.* 8. *ver.* 8. and *chap.* 10. *ver.* 6. and it defended it ſelf againſt the *Aſſerites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achziph*, *Ptolomais*, *Alab*, *Helbah*, and *Aphek* did.

Hieron de Locis Hebr. Joſ. Bell. Jud. l. 1. *c.* 11. *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 19.

This *Aphek* it was, whoſe wall falling down, ſlew ſeven and twenty thouſand of *Benhadads* Souldiers, after that a hundred thouſand had been ſlaughtered by the *Iſraelites*, under the conduct of *Ahab.* Here *Junius* finds that the *Philiſtims* encamped a little before the battel at *Gilboa*, though in his note upon the firſt of *Samuel* the 9. & 1. he takes *Aphek* there mentioned (at which battel the Ark was taken) to have been in *Juda.* Of which *Joſ.* 15. and 53. & in the ſecond of *Kings* 13. 17. he reads, *Fortiter*, for, *in Aphek.* Where others covert it, *Percutiens Syros in Aphek.*

1 *King.* 20 29. 1 *Sam.* 29. 1.

The next place alongſt the coaſt is *Sandalium*, firſt called *Schandalium* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander Macedon* built it when he beſieged *Tyre*: and

set it on a point of Land which extendeth it self into the Sea, between *Acziba* and *Tyre:* which Castle *Baldwine* the first rebuilt and fortified; in the year of *Christ* 1157. when he undertook the recovery of *Tyre.*

Not much above a mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentiful Spring of water, which *Solomon* remembreth, called *the Well of living Water:* from whence not only all the fields and plains about *Tyre* are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn: but the same Spring, which hath not above a bow-shot of ground to travel till it recover the Sea, driveth six great Mills in that short passage, saith *Brochard.*

Cant 4.

Itin. 1.

Within the Land, and to the East of *Acziba*, and *Sandalium*, standeth *Hosa:* and beyond it, under the Mountains of *Tyre*, the City of *Achsaph*, or *Axab*, or after S. *Hierome*, *Aciſap*, a City of great strength, whose King, amongst the rest, was slain by *Josua*, at the waters of *Merom.*

Jos. 12. 20

||. VII.

Of Thoron, Giscala, and some other places.

FUrther into the Land, towards *Jordan*, was seated the Castle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the Eastermost hills of *Tyre*, in the year 1107. thereby to restrain the excursions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* against the *Christians:* the place adjoyning being very fruitful, and exceeding pleasant. From this Castle the Lords of *Thoron*, famous in the story of the Wars for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, derive their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappel, dedicated to the blessed *Virgin*, in which *Humfrey* of *Thoron*, Constable to *Baldwine* the 3. King of *Hierusalem*, lieth buried: There were five Castles besides this within the Territory of *Asser:* whereof four are seated almost of equal distance from each other: to wit, *Castrum*, *Lamperti*, *Montfort*, *Indin* (or *Saron*) *Castrum Regium* and *Belfort:* the first neer the Sea under the hills of *Saron*, the next three, to wit, *Indin*, *Montfort*, and *Regium*, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and fellowship of the *Teutonici*, or *Dutch Knights* (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians at such time as the *Saracens* possest the best part of the upper *Galilee*) the chief of which Order was in *Ptolomais Achon.* The first fortress was for beauty and strength called *Belfort*, seated in the high ground upon the River *Naar*, neer the City *Rama:* of which in this Tribe *Jos.* 19. 29. for which the Vulgar reads *Horma:* making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels: from the siege of this Castle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine* King of *Syria* and *Egypt*, was by the Christians Army raised, and with great loss and dishonour repulsed.

Herold. l. 1. c. 4. Continuationis Bell. &c.

To the East of *Belfort*, is the strong City of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which S. *Hierome* calleth *Chalab*, one of those that defended themselves against *Asser*, as *Roob* (or *Rechob*) not far thence did.

Towards the South from *Roob* they place *Gabala* (which *Herod* surnamed the *Ascalonite* rebuilt) making it of the Territory of *Chabol*, *Quod Syrorum lingua dispicere significat* (saith *Weishenburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of *Tyre* was ill pleased with those twenty Cities, seated hereabout, which *Solomon* presented unto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others think this *Chabol* (or *Cabul*) containing a circuit of those twenty Cities given to *Hiram*, to have been without the compass of the Holy Land, though bordering *Asher* on the North side: as it is said, 1 *Reg.* 9. 11. That they were *in Regione limitis:* that is, *in limite Regionis*, in the border of the Countrey: for as it was not lawful, say they, to give to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the *Israelites:* howsoever, that after *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by the *Israelites*, it appears, 2 *Chron.* 8. 14. And it seems they were conquered by *David* from the *Syri Rechobeæ*, whose City *Roob*, or *Rechob*, was in these parts.

Joseph. ant. 19. 27. & 15. 29.

Jun. annot. in 1 Reg. 9. 11.

2 Sam. 10. 6.

Almost of equal distance from the Castle of *Thoron*, they place the Cities of *Giscala*, and *Gadara:* of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed over Jordan: *Giscala* was made famous by *John* the son of *Levi*, who from a mean estate gathering together four hundred Thieves, greatly troubled all the upper *Galilee*, at such time as the *Romans* attempted the conquest of *Judæa:* by whose practice *Josephus*, who then commanded in the upper *Galilee*, was greatly indangered: whereof himself hath written at large, in his second Book of those Wars. This *John* betraying, in all he could, the City of *Giscala* (whereof he was native) to the *Roman State:* and finding a resistance in the City, gave opportunity, during the contention, to the *Tyrians* and *Gadarims*, to surprize it: who at the same time forc't it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Josephus* authority rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to *Titus* by composition. They finde also the Cities of *Cana Major*, and * *Cades* (or *Cadessa*) of

Cap. 16.

* See Kedesh in Nephthalim Matth. 15. Mark 7. Macca. 1. 73. Josephus Antiq. 13. c. 8.

of the first was that *Syro-phœnician*, whose Daughter *Christ* delivered of the evil spirit. Neer the other, they say, it was that *Jonathas Machabeus* overthrew the Army of *Demetrius*.

There are, besides these fore-named Cities, within the Tribe of *Asser*, divers others: as on the South border, and near the Sea, *Mesall*, or *Misheall*: within the Land (*a*) *Besara*, (*b*) *Bethdagon*, and *Bethemec*, standing on the South border between *Asher* and *Zabulon*: on the North side joyning to *Syrophœnicia*, is the City of *Hethalon*, or *Chethlon*, the utmost of the *Holy Land* that way: under which, towards the Sea, is *Chali*, and then (*c*) *Enoch*, supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his son *Enoch*, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others also besides these, as *Ammon*, or *Chammon*, of which *Jos.* 19. 28. where also we read of *Nehiel*, *Rama*, *Alamelec*, and *Beron*: the Cities of *Alcath*, or *Chelcath*, *Habdon*, and *Rechob*, and *Misheal*, which we have already mentioned, were by the *Asserites* given to the *Levites*. Of others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made, *Judg.* 1. 30. to which out of *Josua* we may add *Ebron*, *Amhad*, and others, on which no story dependeth; and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

(a) Of which *Josephus in vita sua.*
(b) Of both which *Jos* 19. 27. *Ezek.* 47. 15.
(c) Or *Enos*, *Joseph. ant l.* 1. *c* 4. *Jos.* 21. 30.

§. VIII.

Of the Rivers and Mountains of Asser.

THE Rivers to the North of *Asser*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Zeigler* joyneth *Lycus*; *Ptolomy*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea neer *Berytus*: which River of *Leontis*, *Montanus* draws neer unto *Zidon*: finding his head notwithstanding where *Ptolomy* doth, between *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath also a River called *Fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Brochard* intituleth *Eleutherus*: for which he also citeth *Pliny*, and the first of *Machabees* the eleventh Chapter; but neither of those authorities prove *Eleutherus* to be in *Asser*: for this River falleth into the Sea at the Isle of *Aradus*: not far from *Balanæa*, witness *Ptolomy*: and therefore *Pinetus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Postellus*, *Velana*; which River boundeth *Phœnicia* on the North-side: to which *Strabo* also agreeth: but this principal River of *Asser*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Christianus Chrot* out of the mouth and papers of *Peter Laicstan* (which *Laicstan* in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land) calleth the main River *Fons horto rum Libani*: and one of the streams which runneth into it from the North-side, *Naar*, and another from the South-west, *Chabul*: of the city adjoyning of the same name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is also another River described by *Adrichome*, named *Jepthael*, which I find in no other Author, and for which he citeth *Jos.* 19. but the word [a] *Ghe*, which is added there to *Jepthael*, is not taken for a River, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and *Arias Montanus* turn it. There is also found in *Asser* the River of *Belus*, remembred by *Josephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, saith * *Pliny*: out of the sands of this River are made the best Glass, which sometimes the *Zidonians* practised: and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedumim*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is known to flow from out the Lake *Cendevia*, as all *Cosmographers*, both Ancient and Modern, and the later Travellers into those parts witness. It is true that the River of *Chison* taketh water from *Chedumim*, but not in that fashion which *Montanus* hath described it: neither doth it find the Sea at *Ptolomais Acon*, according to *Montanus* but farther to the South between *Caiphas* and *Sicaminum*, witness *Zeigler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

Plin. l. 9. *Asiæ tab.* 4. *Post Ortho-sian & Eleutherum est Tripolis.*

[a] The word *Nachal* is ambiguous, either for a Valley or for a River: but this word *Ghe* is alway a valley, as in *Gehinnon* and *Gesle-manim*. *Joseph. l.* 2. *Bell Jud. c.* 3.

* *l.* 5 *c* 19 In *Jos. c.* 19. *v.* 26. it is called *Sichor*, of which name many understand another stream *Jos.* 13 3. which running by *Petra* of *Arabia*, falleth into the Lake *Sirbonis*, and divideth *Egypt* from the promised Land, whereabout they place *Rhinocolura*, for which city *Junius* taketh *Sichor* in that place of *Josua*: but howsoever whether this *Sichor*, *Jos.* 13. 3. be a River or a City, it appears that this name is found both in the North bound of the Holy Land, *Jos.* 19. 26 and in the South bound, *Jos.* 13. 3.

Besides these Rivers there are divers famous Springs and Fountains, as that of living waters adjoyning to *Tyre*: and [b] *Maserephot*, or after S. *Hierome*, *Maserephotmaim*, whose Well filled by the flood of the Sea adjoyning (they say) the Inhabitants by seething the water make salt thereof, as at *Nantwitch*.

The Mountains which bound *Asser* on the North, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Cœlosyria*: two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, extend themselves far into the Land Eastward, 400. stadia, or furlongs, according to *Strabo*: for that length he giveth to the Valley of *Cœlosyria*, which those Mountains inclose: but *Pliny* gives them 1500. furlongs in length from the West (where they begin at *Theipsophon*, or *Dei facies*, near *Tripolis* to the Mountains of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus*: where *Anti-Libanus* turneth towards the South. These ledges where they begin to part *Traconitis* and *Basan*, from the Desart *Arabia*, are called *Hermon*: which *Moses* also nameth *Sion*, the *Phœnicians*, *Syrion*; and the *Amorites*, *Sanir*; neither is this any one Mountain apart, but a continuation of Hills: which running farther Southerly, is in the Scriptures called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*: the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet

[b] See the marginal note above in the second section of this Paragraph.

Strab. l. 10 *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 20. *Deut.* 4. 48. *Strab. l.* 10. *Pto. Asiæ tab.* 4. *Sueton. Nig. pag.* 503.

Hieremy

Hieremy proveth: *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani*: noting, that this *Galaad* is the higheſt of thoſe Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knows them by the name of *Traconitæ*: and *Ptolomy* by *Hippus*. *Arius Montanus* calleth theſe Mountains bordering *Aſſer*; *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other *Coſmographers*, but he giveth no reaſon of his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, becauſe (according to *Tacitus*) the higheſt of them are covered with ſnow all the Summer: the *Hebrew* word *Libanos*, (ſaith *Weiſſenburg*) ſignifieth whiteneſs. Others call them by that name of the Frankincence which thoſe Trees yeild: becauſe λιβάνος is alſo the *Greek* word for that Gum.

Niger out of *Aphrodiſeus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus* there falleth a kind of honey dew, which is by the Sun congealed into hard Sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the *Latine* word *Saccarum*.

The Rivers which *Libanus* beſtoweth on the neighbour Regions, are, *Chryſorrhoas*, *Jordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The reſt of the Mountains of *Aſſer*, are thoſe Hills above *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitful: but thoſe are but of a low ſtature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Nebo*, or the Mountain of *Abarim* in *Reuben*, *Moſes* beheld *Libanus* threeſcore miles diſtant.

§. IV.

THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

¶. I.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis, and Abila.

THE next portion of the Land of *Canaan* bordering *Aſher*, was the upper *Galilee*: the greateſt part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the ſon of *Jacob* by *Billa*, the hand-maid of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Egypt*, were increaſed to the number of 53400. perſons, able men to bear arms, numbred at Mount *Sinai*: all which leaving their bodies in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land of their ſons, 45400. beſides Infants, Women, and Children, under twenty years of age. The Land of *Nephtalim* took beginning on the North part, from the Fountains of *Jordan*, and the Hill of *Libanus* adjoyning, as far South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the Weſt by *Aſher*, and on the East and South-East by *Jordan*. *Guil. Tyr. Bell. ſacr. l. 9. c. 15. Theod. 4. hiſt. Eccleſ. haſt. Mela. l. 3 c 9. Juſtin. Geſtel. in itinerar. Joſeph. in plur. locis, Euſeb. 8. Demonſt. Volat. l. 14. f. 243.*

On the North-ſide of *Libanus*, and adjoyning to this Territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) alſo inhabit, in which Tract, and under *Libanus*, was the city of *Heliopolis*: which the heighth of the Mountains adjoyning ſhadowed from the Sun the better part of the day. *Poſtellus* calls it *Balbec*; *Niger*, *Marbech*; and *Leonclavius*, *Beallebeca*.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great cities in *Egypt*: the firſt called *On*, by the *Hebrews*, and the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt*; otherwiſe *Bethſemes*, or after the *Latines*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*; *The City of the Sun*: into which, ſaith *Ulpian*, *Severus* the *Roman Emperour* ſent a *Colony*: the other *Geſtelius* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* alſo findeth a city in *Thracc*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is alſo in the ſame Valley adjoyning to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis* of whom the region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, over which *Herod Agrippa*, and *Bernice* the Queen commanded.

Abila alſo gave name to the region adjoyning, of which *Lyſanius* the ſon of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or Governour: whereof *Ptolomy* gave it the addition of *Lyſanii*, and called it *Abila Lyſanii*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which he notes, that one *Diogenes*, a famous *Sophiſter* was native, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Apuleius*, not *Abileus*. After that this city of *Abila* or *Aphila*, had received the Chriſtian Faith, *Priſcillinus* became the Biſhop thereof: ſlain afterward by our *Britiſh Maximus* at *Trever*. For diſtinction of this city (if it be not the ſame, as it may be thought to be the ſame) it is to be remembred, that in the Tribe of [a] *Manaſſe*, joyning upon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another city of the ſame name, ſaving that it is written with an (*E*) for an (*I*) and called *Abela*, remembred in the 20. chapter of the ſecond of *Samuel*. The ſame *Joſephus* calls *Abelmachea*, and *Hierome*, *Bethmacha*. In the place of *Samuel*, for diſtinction ſake, it is written *Abel Beth-Mahaca*, (for belike it was the Town of *Mahaca* the wife of *Macir*, the ſon of *Manaſſe*, the father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majim*. This city *Joab* beſieged, becauſe *Seba* the ſon of *Bichri*, who rebelled againſt *David*, fled thereinto for ſuccour: but a certain wiſe woman of the city perſwading the people to caſt *Seba* his head over the wall, *Joab* retired his Army. The ſame city was afterward taken by the King of *Damaſcus*, *Benadad*: and after a while by *Teglatphalaſar*.

[a] Alſo a third in *Ephraim*, called *Abel-Meehola* and a 4th in *Reuben*, called *Abel-Sittim*, alſo *Abel-Miſraim*, at the Foord of *Jordan*, and (as it ſeems) in the ſame Tribe of *Reuben*, of all which in that which follows: to which alſo we may add *Abel-Mogaum*, the name, as ſome think, of a city, otherwiſe called *Bethſhemeſh*, near the border of the *Philiſtims*, or according to others, of the great ſtone in the border. *1 Sam. 6. 18. Joſeph. ant. l. 7. cap. 10. 2 Sam. 20. 1 King. 15. 2 King. 15*

The

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signifie bewailing, or a plain ground; and therefore no marvel that many Towns (with some addition for distinction sake) were thus called: for even of bewailing, many places took name; as *Bochim*, *Judg.* 2. 4. and so doutless * *Abel-Misraim*, *Gen.* 50. 11. and yet *Junius* in his notes upon *Num.* 33. 49. thinks that *Abel-Sittim* was so called, rather by reason of the plain ground there, (to wit, in the Land of *Moab*) and so perhaps *Abel-Meholah* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*: the Town of *Elisha* the Prophet: also *Abel-Vinearum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Jephta* pursued them.

* And *Abel Magnum.* 1 Sam. 6. 18. *Judg.* 7. 24 & 1 Reg. 19. 19. *Judg.* 11. 33.

¶. II.

Of Hazor.

IN the Tribe of *Nephtalim* was that famous City of *Jabin*, in *Josua*'s time called *Asor*, (or after the *Chaldæan Paraphrast*, *Haszor*) by *Josephus*, *Asora*; by *Junius*, * *Chatzor*: which *Laicstan* names *Hesron*; the Regal City, and *Metropolis* of *Canaan*: seated in the West part of *Nephtalim*, towards *Asher*. In this city was that great Rendevous and Assembly of those four and twenty Kings against *Josua*: who being all overthrown, slain, and scattered, this their powerful city was by *Josua* taken and burnt to dust. But in process of time the same being re-built by the *Canaanites*, a second King *Iabin*, 137. years after the death of this first *Iabin*, invaded the *Israelites*: and being ordained of God to punish their Idolatry, he prevailed against them, and held them in a miserable servitude 20. years; till *Debora* the Propheteſs overthrew *Sisera*, *Iabins* Lievtenant, and his Army, near the Mountain *Tabor*. This city *Solomon* restored at such time as he also reedified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharao* of *Egypt*, with [c] *Megiddo*, *Bethoron*, and other cities; but about 260. years after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalasar*, King of the *Assyrians*. It is now, saith *Adricomius*, called *Antiopia*: it was one of the principal cities of *Decapolis*. There is another city of this name in the Territory of *Benjamin*, seated on the confines of *Ascalon*, called the new *Hazor*, saith [d] *Hierome*.

* Of two other Cities of this name in *Juda*, see c. 9. sect. 1. Of a 4th in Benjamin, see that which follows in this place: of a fifth in this Tribe of *Nephtalim*, called *Hen-Chatsor*, we read *Jos.* 19. 37. whereto we may add *Chatsor-Henan*, in the uttermost North-east of *Manasse*, over *Jordan*, *Ezek.* 47 *Num.* 34. 8. Also in *Simeon*, *Chatsor-Susima*, of which 1 *Chron.* 4. 31. which also is called *Chatsar Sula*, and *Chatsar-Gadda*, and lastly, *Chatsar-Shuleb*, another city of *Simeon*, *fol.* 19. 3. et King 9 d *Hieron. loc. Hebr. l.* 4. out of *Neh.* 11. 33. as it seems.

¶. III.

Of Cæsarea Philippi.

THere was also on the border, and within the Territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned city of *Lais*, or *Lajisch*, as *Junius* writes it, or *Leschen*; which city the children of *Dan* (being straitned in their Territory under *Juda*) invaded and mastered; and gave it the name of their own Parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Genes.* 14. at which place *Abraham* surprised *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates, and followed his victory as far as *Sobah*, formerly remembred in the division of *Syria*, otherwise called *Sophena*. And after the possession of the *Danites*, it had the joynt name of *Leschem-Dan*. *Weissenburg* writes it *Lacis*, the *Geneva*, *Laish*; Josephus, *Dana*, Benjamin, *Balina*; Breidenbach, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witness *Neubrigensis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Brochard* the Monk, and *Postellus*: who also taketh this city to be the same, which in *Matth.* 15. 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the *Greek* Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in S. *Mark*, speaking of the same story, *Dalmanutha*. At such time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free city, of the alliance and confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or else subject unto the Kings thereof; for it is written *Judg.* 18. *And there was none to help, because Lais was far from Zidon: and they had no business with other men*: for it was above thirty English miles from the *Mediterran* Sea, and from *Zidon*.

Judg 18. 27 *Jos.* 19. 47.

Judg. 18.

Chap. 8 10.

Verse 28.

Plin. l. 5. *c.* 15.

In after-times when these regions became subject to the state of *Rome*, it had the name of *Paneas*, from a Fountain adjoyning so called: and therefore *Ptolomy* calls it *Cæsarea Paniæ*. *Hegesippus* calls it *Parnium*, saith *Weissenburg*: but he had read it in a corrupt copy; for in *Hegesippus*, set out by *Badius*, it is written *Panenm* without an (*R*): and at such time as *Philip* the son of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Governour of *Traconitis*, sometime *Basan*: this city was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memory to his own name, and to flatter *Tyberius Cæsar*, he called it * *Cæsarea Philippi*: and so it became the *Metropolis*, and head city of *Traconitis*, and one of the first cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the succeeding age greatly adorned; by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: so in S. *Hieroms* time the Citizens remembred their former *Paneas*, and so re-called it, with the Territory adjoyning by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom *Christ* healed of a bloody issue, by touching the hem of his garment with a constant Faith: who afterward,

Heg. l. 1. *c.* 35.

* Of another *Cæsaria* (or *Cæsarea*) called *Cæsarea Palestinæ*: see hereafter in the former part of *Manasse*. Of *Diocæsaria*, see *Sepphoris* in *Zabulon*. *Euseb. hist. Eccles. l.* 7. *c.* 14. *Niceph. l.* 6. *c.* 25.

ward, as she was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindful of Gods goodness, and no less grateful for the same, as *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused two *Statues* to be cast in pure Copper: the one representing *Christ as near as it could be moulded*: the other made like her self, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. These she mounted upon two great Bases or *Pedestals* of the same metal, which she placed by a Fountain near her own house: both which (saith *Eusebius*) remained in their first perfection, even to his own time: which himself had seen, who lived in the reign of *Constantine* the Great. But in the year after Christ 363. that Monster *Julian Apostata*, caused that worthy Monument to be cast down and defaced: setting up the like of his own in the same place: which Image of his was with fire from Heaven broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts sundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his fifth Book and twentieth Chapter.

This City built by the *Danites*, was near the joyning together of those two Rivers, which arising from the springs of *Jor* and *Dan*, the two [a] apparent Fountains of *Jordan*, in a soil exceeding fruitful and pleasant: for, as it is written, *Judges* 18. it is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the world.* In the fields belonging to this City it was that S. *Peter* acknowledged Christ to be the Son of God: whereupon it was answered, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this City received the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seat: and it ran the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and re-taken by the *Saracens*, and *Christians*: under *Fulch* the fourth King of *Hierusalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey* of *Bullion*, the King of *Damascus* wrested it from the *Christians*; and shortly after by them again it was recovered. Lastly, now it remaineth with all that part of the World subjected to the *Turk*.

a *Josephus* in the book o the Jewish war ch. 18. saith, that *Philip* the *Tetrarch* cast chaffe into a Fountain called *Phiala*, distant 120. stadia North east from *Cæsarea*, which chaffe being carried under ground, was cast up again at *Paneum* or *Dan*, whereby it is conjectured, that the first Spring of *Jordan* is from this Fountain called *Phiala*, from whence *Jor* and *Dan* receive their waters.

¶. IV.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

AMong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Caphernaum* is not the least: so often remembred by the *Evangelists*. This City had the honour of Christs presence three years: who for that time was a Citizen thereof, in which he first preached and taught the doctrine of our salvation: according to that notable Prophecy of *Esay* 9. *The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.*

Caphernaum was seated on *Iordan*, even where it entreth into the Sea of *Galilee*, in an excellent and rich soil: of whose destruction Christ himself prophesied in these words, *And thou Caphernaum which art lifted up unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell, &c.* which shewed the pride and greatness of that City: for it was one of the principal Cities of *Decapolis*, and the *Metropolis* of *Galilee*. And although there were some marks of this Cities magnificence in Saint *Hieroms* time, as himself confesseth; it being then a reasonable Burge or Town: yet those that have since, and long since seen it, as *Brochard*, *Breidenbech*, and *Saliniac* affirm, that it then consisted but of six poor Fishermens houses.

The Region of ten principal Cities, called *Decapolitana*, or *Decapolis*, is in this description often mentioned, and in S. *Matthew*, *Mark* and *Luke* also remembred; but I find no agreement between the *Cosmographers*, what proper limits it had: and so *Pliny* himself confesseth; for *Marius Niger*, speaking from others, bounds it on the North by the Mountain *Casius* in *Casiotis*: and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which description it imbraceth *Phœnicia*, a part of *Cœlosyria*, all *Palestina*, and *Iudæa*.

Pliny also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he numbreth four of them to be situated towards *Arabia*: to wit, first these three, *Damascus*, *Opotos*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphia* (which was first called *Amana*, saith *Stephanus*, or as I gheſs, *Amona* rather, because it was the chief City of the *Ammonites*, known by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptolo. Philadelphus* gave it this later and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, sometime *Nisa*, built (as is said) by *Baccus*, in memory of his Nurse, who died therein, anciently known by the name of *Bethsan*; for the sixth he setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Cœlosyria*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Seleusia*:) but it is *Gadara* in *Basan*, which *Pliny* in this place meaneth, seated on an high hill, near the River of *Hieromaix*. This River *Ortelius* takes to be the River *Jaboc*: which bounded *Gad* and *Manasse* over *Jordan*: but he mistaketh it; for *Hieromaix* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, between *Hippos* and *Gerasa*, whereas *Jaboc* entreth the same Sea betwen *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the seventh he nameth * *Hippos*, or *Hippion*, a City so called of a *Colony* of Horsmen there garrison'd by

Matth. 4. *Mark* 7: *Luke* 8.

Niger. comment. Asiæ 4. *f.* 105. *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 18. Opotos a City standing in the Valley of *Cælosyria*, watered by *Chrysoroas*, as Damascus is. *Plin. l.* 5.

* *Pliny* hath *Hippion Dion*, for which *Volaterran* reads *Hippidion*. *Ortelius* takes them for two Cities.

by *Herod*, on the East-side of the *Galilean Sea*, described hereafter in the Tribe of *Manasse* over *Jordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is also called *Eutis*, and *Berenice*, seated in the South border of the Region over *Jordan*, called *Peræa*. For the ninth *Gelasa*, which *Josephus* takes to be *Gerasa*: and *Gerasa* is found in *Cœlosyra* by *Josephus*, *Hegesippus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Ptolomy* (whom I rather follow) in *Phœnicia*. The tenth and last, *Pliny* nameth *Canatha*, and so doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*, but *Hegesippus* rightly *Camala*, a City in the Region of *Basan* over *Jordan*, so called, because those two Hills on which it is seated, have the shape of a Camel. But the Collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region took name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Saligniac*, which make them to be these; *Cæsarea Philippi*, and *Asor*, before remembred, *Cedes*, *Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capharnaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Jotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other Authors disagree herein, and give no reason for their opinion. One place of the *Evangelist* S. *Mathew* makes it manifest, that this Region called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract between *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: *And he departed again from the coasts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came unto the Sea of Galilee, through the middest of the coasts of Decapolis*: so that it was bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the North: by the *Phœnician* Sea, between *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the West: by the Hils of *Gelbo* and *Bethsan* on the South: and by the Mountains *Tracones*, otherwise *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the East: which is from East to West the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, neer the same distance, which may be each way forty English miles.

§. V.

Of Hamath.

BUt to look back again towards *Libanus*, there is seated neer the foot thereof the City of* *Hammath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the Country adjoyning taketh name: the same which *Josephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathensis*: [a] *Jacobus Zeigler*, *Ituræa. Ituræa Regio tenet borealia tribus Nephthali, per montem Libanum usque Trachones.* The Country of *Ituræa*, saith he, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nepthali*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis Ituræa*, he mistakes the seat of this Region: and so doth *Mercator*. For indeed were *Ituræa* (which *Hegesippus* calls *Peræa*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccar*) the same with *Traconitis*, yet *Traconitis* it self is far more to the East than *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*: for *Traconitis* lieth between *Cæsarea Philippi*, and the Mountains *Trachones*: which the Hebrews call *Gilead*: and this *Hammath* or *Chammath* is seated under *Cæsarea*, towards the Sea West-ward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Cœlosyria*, beyond the Mountains *Trachones*, which [b] *Hierom* upon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*, with *Hammath* or *Hamath* the lesser in *Phœnicia*, and *Nephtalim*, which he calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hammath*, or in our Translation *Hamath*, (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. is set far from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembred in *Numb.* 34. 8. & *Num.* 13. 22. & in *Ezek.* 47. 16. In the first of which places it bordereth the Land of promise, these being the words: *From Mount Hor you shall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *untill it come to Hamath*: In the second place thus: *So they went up, and searched out the Land from the Wilderness of Sin, unto Rehob to go to Hamath*: Then in *Ezekiel*; *The West part also shall be the great Sea from the border, till a man come over against Hamath*: that is, the coast of the Sea shall be the West border from the Southermost part of the Holy Land, till you come directly over against *Hamath* Northward: from whence if a line be drawn to the Sea, it will touch the walls of *Zidon*: which is the [c] Northwest corner of the Holy Land. Now that this *Hamath*, or *Hammath*, which *Moses* also made the confine of the Holy Land, is that of *Nephthalim*, both the reference which it hath to the West Sea, and the City of [d] *Rehob* adjoyning, prove it: the

*The Septuagint write it *Ammath*, Hierome *Emath*, Josephus *Amath*: *Jos* 19. 35.

[a] *Chammath*, *cap.* 21. *ver.* 32. *Chammath-Dor*, in the first of *Chron. cap* 6 *ver.* 76. *Chammon*, 2 *Kings* 14. 8. *Chammath-Ichudæ*, as *Junius* reads it, whereas also for further distinction there is added [in Israel] to note, that it was of old belonging to *Juda*, though seated in *Israel*, that is, in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes: the other *Chamath*, being in *Syria Soba*. [a] *Zeigler in Nephtal.*

[b] So *Hierome* in his Comment on *Amos* 6. 2. where there is mention of *Hamath* the great, as it seems for distinction from the other in *Nephthalim*, though *Mat. Beroaldus*, rejecting *Hierome*, rather follows the opinion of *Zeigler* above mentioned, as indeed it cannot easily be justified that either one or other of these is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphania*, howbeit that the same City which in *Joshua* 19 35. is called *Chammath*, and placed in *Nephthalim*, was also called *Chamath* (whence the word *Hamath* and *Emath*, were framed) may be gathered, partly because the other *Hamath*, 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. for distinction is called *Chamath Tseba*, as this (as it may seem by *Jos.* 21. 32.) was *Chamath-Dor*, and *Chamath Judæ*, as we have noted, 2 *Reg.* 24. Secondly, because *Numbers* 34. 8. and also *Ezek* 47. 10. *Chamath* in the North side of the Holy Land is placed too neer the West corner, to be that *Chamath Tseba*: for in the line which should make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make *Moses* to name never a place East-ward along all the breadth of the Holy Land until we come to *Hermon* for so they expound Mount *Hor*. *Num.* 34. 7.) and beyond *Hermon* East-ward in this North side, they make him to name divers Towns, first *Chamath*, then *Tseda*, then *Ziphron*, and lastly, *Chatsar-henan*, a thing most unlikely: seeing *Israel* had little or nothing East-ward beyond *Hermon*. Therefore we must needs expound *Hor* to be one of the Hills neer *Sidon*, and so those Towns as they are named, to lie in order on the North side of *Asher*, *Nephthalim*, and *Manasses*: and in like manner those in *Ezekiel*, first, *Cheelon*, then *Chamath*, and so in order, *Berotha*, *Sibraim*, *Tsedad*, *Chauran*, *Chatsar-henan*. [c] Of which *Josh.* 19. 35. [d] Which *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, in *Jos.* 19. 28, is placed in *Asher* towards *Zidon*, in the confines of *Nephthalim*.

other *Hamath*, or *Emath* (being far removed, and beyond the fore-named Mountains, which incloſe all thoſe Lands which *Iſrael* ever had poſſeſſion of) is that *Emath*, which is alſo called *Ituræa*, witneſs [e] *Stella* and *Lanſſian*; and not that in *Nephthalim*, where [f] *Jonathas Macchabæus* attended the Army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night,

[e] Hieromes words are in the Tables of the Holy Land. [f] Joſ. ant. 13. 8.

For though *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Ituræa* (and therefore it is ſaid to be *finitima Galileæ Gentium*) yet it hath beginning over the Mountains *Traconis*, and ſo it ſtretcheth into the Plains of the Territory of *Ituræa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herod* was *Tetrach*, or *Preſident*, both of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*: both which are over *Jordan* towards the Eaſt. But *Chemath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan* towards the *Mediterran* Sea.

[*] that it doth properly belong to Arabia, the name of Jethur Iſmaels ſon, whoſe ſeed ſeated in the Arabia's, may in part give witneſs. Alſo the place of the 1 Chr. 5.19 confirms it, where Jethur is named among the Hagarens, againſt whom the Reubenites and Gadites made war, and whole country they poſſeſt in the time of Jeroboam. as their fore-fathers had done in the time of Saul after his conqueſt of the Amalekites, 1 Chron 5. 10. where the country is placed at the Eaſt of Gilead.

The Country *Ituræa* was ſo called of *Jethur*, one of the ſons of *Iſmael*; it is placed in the bounds of *Cœloſyria*, and *Arabia* [*] the Deſart.

The people *Ituræi* were valiant and warlike men, and excellent Archers: Of whom *Virgil:*

Ituræos Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Eugh the *Ituræans* bows were made.

This City *Chamath*, or *Hamath* in *Nephtalim*, ſeems to have been as ancient as the other in *Ituræa*, both built by *Amatheus* the eleventh ſon of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *David*, this, or the other had *Tohu* for King, it is not certain; for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountains, and *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*, were both neighbours to *Damaſcus*: of whoſe ſubjugation *Tohu* rejoyced, becauſe *Hadadeſer*, whom the *Damaſceni* came to help, was his enemy. This *Tohu* fearing the ſtrength and proſperity of *David*, hearing of his approach towards his Territory, bought his peace with many rich preſents, and with many ancient veſſels of gold, ſilver, and braſs.

But it ſeemeth that *David* in ſuch great ſucceſs would not have had peace with *Tohu*, if he had been King of any place in *Nephtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tſoba*: which City *Solomon* after his Fathers death made himſelf Maſter of, as a part of the lands (*a* in the larger and conditional promiſe) allotted by God to the children of *Iſrael*.

But this *Hammath* of *Nephtalim*, in the end, and after divers mutations and changes, both of name and fortune, being, as it hath been ſaid, poſſeſſed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While S. *Hierome* lived, it remained a City well peopled, known to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greeks* by *Epiphania*.

[a] Of the larger promiſe expreſt, Deut. 1.7 where Euphrates is named for one of the bounds: See chap. 7 ſect. 2. Hieron. de locis Hebr.

§. VI.

Of Reblatha & Rama, and divers other Towns.

IN the border of *Hamath* or *Emath*, towards *Jordan*, ſtandeth the City *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountain *Daphnis*: which falleth into the Lake of *Merom*. Hereunto was *Zedekias* brought priſoner, after his ſurprize in the fields of *Jericho*: & delivered to *Nebuchodonoſor*: who to be avenged of *Zedekia*'s infidelity, beyond the proportion of piety, firſt cauſed the Princes his children to be ſlain in his preſence: and to the end that this miſerable ſpectacle might be the laſt that ever he ſhould behold in this world, and ſo the moſt remembred, he commanded both his eyes preſently to be thruſt out: & binding him in Iron chains, he was led a ſlave to *Babylon*, in which ſtate he ended his life. Of which ſeldom exampled calamity, though not in expreſs words, *Jeremy* the Prophet foretold him in *Hieruſalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly ſpeaking in the perſon of God; *I will bring him to Babel, to the Land of the Chaldæans, yet ſhall he not ſee it, though he ſhall die therein.* Hieron 52. 11, &c. Ezek 12. 13.

There are, beſides theſe before remembred, many other ſtrong Cities in *Nephthalim*, as that which is called (*a*) *Cedes*; there are two other of the ſame name, one in (*b*) *Iſſachar*, another in *Juda*, of which *Joſ.* 15.23. and therefore to diſtinguiſh it, it is known by the addition of (*c*) *Nephtalim*, as *Jud.* 4. It is ſeated on a high hill, whence *Joſ* 20.7. *Kedeſh in Galilea in monte Nephtali*: *Joſephus* calls it *Cedeſis*, and in S. *Hieromes* time it was called *Cidiſſus*. *Belforeſt* greatly miſtakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the Deſart of *Pharan*.

[a] Of, Kedeſh, Joſ. 19.37. & 10. 7. & 21. 32. item Jud. 4 6. [b] 1 Chron. 6. 72. which Joſ. 19 20. is called Kiſhion. [c] Sometime Kedeſh in Galilee, 1 Chro 6 76. Joſ. 12. 22. 2 Reg. 15. 29.

After the King thereof, among other of the *Canaanites*, periſhed by the hand of *Joſua*, it was made a City of refuge, and given to the *Levites*. Herein was *Barac* born; who overthrew the Army of the ſecond *Jabin* of *Hazor*, at the Mount *Tabor*. It was ſometime poſſeſt by *Teglatphalaſſer*, when he waſted all *Nephtalim*: afterward by the Romans, and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapolitan* Region: When it had imbraced the Chriſtian faith, it was honoured with a Biſhops ſeat, but in time it fell with the reſt into the

the power of the *Saracens* and *Turks*, and by them it was demolished.

From *Cedes* some four *Italian* miles towards the South-west, standeth *Sephet*, otherwise *Zephet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapolitan* Cities: a place exceeding strong, and for many years the inexpugnable Fortress of the *Christians*, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both In-land and Maritimate, neer it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, seated Northward neer *Sephet*, this is to be noted, that there are () divers places of this name in *Palæstine*, all scituate on hils: and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama Hebræis excelsum*; *Ramath with the Hebrews is high.*) Also that from this *Rama*, *Jos.* 19.36. they read *Arama*, making the Article (which it hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of divers Towns) to be a part of the word: whence casting away the aspiration, they read *Arema*. From *Sephet* towards the West, they place * *Bethsemes*, of which *Jos.* 19.38. which defended it self against *Nephtalim*, *Jud.* 1.33. but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sephet*, towards the East, was *Bethanath*, who also kept their Citie from the *Nephtalims*.

() See in *Benjamin*, and in *Ephraim*. * Other Cities there were of this name, (which is as much as *domus Jehi*) as that in *Juda*, 2 *Kin.* 14. 15. where *Joash* King of the ten Tribes overcame *Amasia* of *Juda*, of which also understand the place, *Jos* 21.16. & 1 *Sam* 6. 14. & 2 *Chro.* 29. 18. A third, as it seems was in *Dan.* 1 *Kin* 4.9. which *Jos* 19.41. is written *Hirshemes*, which is as much as *Civitas solis*. *Jud.* 1.31. d So it appeares by comparing of the places *Jos.* 21.31. & 1 *Chr.* 6. 76. *Adrichomius* both here and elsewhere, deceived by the double name, makes two of one: although I deny not but that there was another *Kiriathajim* in *Reuben*, of which *Jos.* 13 9. e *Mark* 3 *Matth.* 10. *Acts* 1. *Matth.* 5.6.7. f *Jos.* 19 38 g 1 *Mac* 9 2. h *Barathena Ptolomeo in fine Arabiæ desertæ: Junio eadem cum Berubai una civitatum Hadadezeris*, 2 *Sam.* 8. 8. *Jos.* 18. 25.

Adjoyning to which standeth *Carthan*, (*d*) or *Kiriathajim*, a City of the *Levites*, not far from the Mountain out of which the springs of *Capharnaum* arise, called *Mons Christi*, a place by our Saviour often frequented: as also then when calling his Disciples together, he made choice of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his Apostles or Messengers: of which place, or the acts there-in done, there is often mention in the (*e*) *Evangelists*.

Adjoyning to these are *Magdalel*, a place of strength, (*f*) and *Mesaloth*, of which we read, that it was forced by *Bacchides* in the time of the (*g*) *Macchabees*: also (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berotha's* of *Nephtalim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe, (*h*) one neer *Chamath* in the North border, of which *Ezek.* 47.6. another (upon a weak conjecture out of *Joseph. ant. l.* 5. *c.* 2.) he therefore placeth in this tract neer the waters of *Merom*; because the Kings that joyned with *Jabin* against *Josua*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Jos.* 11.5. are by *Josephus* said to have encamped at the City *Berotha* in *Galilee*, not far from *Cedesa superiour*, which is also in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the upper *Galilee*, or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*. The same *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* neer *Abela* (of which *Abela*, or *Abel-Beth Mahacah*, we have spoken already) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place, 2 *Sam* 20. 14. where some read *Abel & Bethmahacah, & omnia loca Berim:* but the better reading is, *& omnes Berim*, that is, *with all the Beræi*: for *Shebah* being of *Benjamin* (in which Tribe also there is a City called *Berotha*, or *Beeroth*) drew the men of that City after him.

To the North of *Berotha* of *Nephtalim* standeth *Sebarim* under *Libanus*, remembred by *Ezek.* 47. and *Aroseth gentium*, neer the waters of *Merom*, or *Samochonitis*, the City of *Sisara*, Lieutenant of the Army of the second *Jabin*: from whence not far off, towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrehi*, a strong City: besides many others, whereof I find no particular story of importance: as *Ser* in *Jos.* c. 19. v. 35. called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the first of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Assedim* and *Ser*. Then *Adama*, which they call *Edama*: also *Hion*, which they call *Ahion*, of which in the books of *Kings*. Then the strong City of *Cinnereth*, after called *Gennezareth*, whence we read of the Land and Lake of *Gennezareth*, the same Lake which is also called the Sea of *Tiberius* In the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border: of which * 1 *Mac.* 9.2. also divers others, named *Jos.* 19. as *Vcuca*, or *Chukkok Horem* and *Azanothtabor* (which they place towards the East parts) and out of the same place of *Josua*, *Jerzon*, *Lakkum Jepnael*, *Heleb*, and (*k*) *Raccath*; which two last they place neer *Cæsarea Philippi*: To these they add out of *Josua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami:* for which two *Junius* readeth *Fossa Adamai*, making it no Town, but a Ditch cast by some of *Adameth*, as it seems; or at least the custody of which March or Limit belonging to the Town. To these out of *Num.* 34. 10. they add *Sephana*, which 1 *Sam.* 30. 21. seems to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tichon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek.* 47. 16. and the latter out of *Jos.* 19.33. it may appear by *Junius* his Translation, that neither are to be taken for Cities: for the former he readeth *Mediana*, and for the later *Quercetum*. The City of (*l*) *Nephthalim*, which they make the native place of *Tobie*, and *Naason* neer unto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* Translation, *Tob.* 7.7. but in the *Greek* Text there is no sign, neither of the one nor of the other.

Astroth. Herom Jud. 4. *Lyr. in Jud.* 4. *Jos* 19 37. 1 *Reg* 15. 20. 2 *Reg.* 15. 29.

Mar. 6 53. *Luke* 5. 1.

* This place of the *Macchab.* warrants no *Galgala*, or *Gilgal*, in *Nephtali*, but may well be understood of *Gilgal* in *Benjamin*, or in *Manasse*.

k This *Reccath* or *Racath*, *Junius* thinks that it is the same with *Karthan* (one of these being made of the other by transposition of letters) of which *Karthan* we have noted already, that it is also *Kiria thajim*. l In the place, 1 *Reg.* 4. it is, which also they bring to prove that there was a City called *Nephtalim*, as is evident by the following Verses: the Tribe of *Nephtalim* is meant, and not any City of that name.

§. V.

THE TRIBE OF ZABULON.

OF *Zabulon*, or *Zebulon*, another of the sons of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were mustered at Mount *Sinai*, 57400. able men, besides women, children, and aged unable persons: all which dying in the Desarts, there entred the *Holy Land* of their issues 65000. fit to bear arms: who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Asher* to the River *Chison* South-ward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediteran* East and West.

The Cities within this Tribe which border *Asher*, are *Sicaminum* on the Sea shore; of which *Joseph. Ant.* 13. *c.* 19. *Debbaset*, of * which *Jos.* 19. 11. *Jekonam*, or *Jockneham* (whose King was (*a*) slain by *Josua*, and the City was given to the *Levites*:) and *Gaba*, after called the City of Horsemen, of a Regiment there garrison'd by *Herod*. Then the City which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the *city of men*, exceeding ancient and magnificent, (*b*) burnt to the ground by *Cestius*, Lietvenant of the *Roman* Army. *Adricomius* makes it the birth-City of (*c*) *Elon* Judge of *Israel*, because he is called *Zabulonita*: not marking that in the same place, he is said to be buried at *Ajalon*.

To the East of this City of *Zabulon* is *Cateth*, of which *Jos.* 19. 15. on the border of *Asher*: and beyond it the lesser (*d*) *Cana* of *Galilee*, where Christ converted water into wine: the native City of *Nathaniel*, and, as it is thought of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the Mountains of *Zabulon*: and then the City of *Cethron* (in *Zeigler*, *Ghiltron*) which defended it self against *Zabulon*. Then *Bersabe*, which standeth in the partition of the upper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Josephus* against the *Romans*. Not far from hence standeth *Shimron* of *Meron*, whose King was slain by *Josua*.

Then *Damna*, or *Dimna*, a City of the *Levites*: then *Noa*, or rather *Neha*, of which *Jos.* 19. 13. Then *Dothan*, or *Dothain*, where *Joseph* found his brethren feeding their flocks: the same wherein *Elizæus*, besieged by the *Syrians*, struck them all blind.

Beyond it, towards the East, they imagine (*e*) *Amthar*, or *Amathar*: then *Remmon* of the *Levites*. The last of the Cities on the North border of *Zabulon* is *Bethsaida*, one of the ten Cities of *Decapolis*, scituate on the *Galilæan* Sea, and watered by the springs of *Capharnaum*, the native City of the Apostles, *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*. Herein Christ did many miracles, but these people being no less incredulous than the *Capharnaims*, and others, received the same Curse of threatned miseries, as, *Wo be unto thee Bethsaida, &c.*

Alongst the West border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethsaida*, was the strong Castle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Mary Magdalen*, not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high seated City of *Jotapata*, fortified by *Josephus* in the *Roman* war: but in the end, after a long siege, surprised by *Vespatian*, who slaughtered many thousand of the Citizens, and held 1200. prisoners, whereof *Josephus* the Historian was one.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that * Sea, and the Lake of *Genezzareth*, within *Zabulon*, was that of *Tiberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilæan* Sea also changed name, and was called the Sea of the City *Tiberias*, so named in the honour of *Tiberius Cæsar*; it was one of the ten Cities, and the *Metropolis* of the Region *Decapolitan*, and the greatest and last of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our Saviour called *Matthew* from the Toll or Custom-house, to be an Apostle; and neer unto it raised the daughter of *Jairus* from death: it was built (as *Josephus* reports) by *Herod* the *Tetrach*, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the raign of *Tiberius Cæsar*, in the most fruitful part of *Galilee*; but in a ground full of *Sepulchres*: *Quam juxta nostras leges* (saith he) *ad septem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet*; *Whereas by our law he should be seven daies held as unclean, who inhabited in such a place*: by which words, and by the whole place of *Josephus* it appears, that this *Tiberias* is not (as some have thought) the same as the old *Cinnereth*, which was seated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nephtalim*.

Neer unto this *Tiberias*, at *Emaus*, there were hot baths, where *Vespatian* the Emperour encamped against *Tiberias*. More into the Land toward the South-west, is *Bethulia*, seated on a very high hill, and of great strength, famous by the story of *Holofernes* and *Judith*, such as it is. Neer which standeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adjoyning unto it *Capharath*, fortified by *Josephus* against the *Romans*: and *Japha*, an exceeding strong place, afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in fury slew 15000 of the Citizens; and carried away above two thousand prisoners.

On the South side are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Levites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Josephus* in his own life, then *Jasie*, according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Jos.* 19. 12.) for he thinks that it is not that *Japha* of which we spake but now out of *Josephus*. *Jideala*, of which *Jos.* 19. 15. *Hierome* calls it *Jadela*: under it West-

* *Jos.* 12. 22.

a *Jos.* 2. *bel.* 19.

b *Jos.* 2. *bel.* 22.

c *Judg.* 12. 11.

d The greater *Cana* is in the Tribe of *Asher*. *Jos* 22 2. *Nathaniel* is said to be of *Cana* in *Galilee*. Of *Simon* it may be doubted: for *Angelus Caninius* reads *Mat.* 10. 4. *Simon Cannites*, which word (*Luke* 6.) he thinketh to be expounded by *Zelotes*.

e The *Hebrew Hammethoar*, (for which the Vulgar hath *Amthar*, *Jos.* 19 13. *Vatablus* expounds, *quæ gyrat*: *Junius* joyns it with the word going before it, & reads *Rimmonemo Metheorum*, *Mat* 8. 11. *Mark* 1. 6. *Luke* 4. 10

* The names of the chief Cities seated about this sea, or lake, thorow which *Jordan* runneth, were *Capernaum*, *Tyberias*, *Bethsaida*, *Gadara*, *Taricheæ*, and they add *Cinereth*, which in fore-times gave name to the Lake and Country. *Matth* 9. *Luke* 5. *Jose. Ant.* 18. 3. *Joseph.* 10. 15. *Adrich.* in *Zab.*

Jos. in vit. sua. *Josep.* 2. *Bel.* 25.

Jos 21 35. otherwise *Kisloth Thabor*, as *Junius* thinks upon *Jos.* 19 12. whence 1 *Chro* 6. 77. it is called *Thabor*.

Westward, *Legio*, (afterward a Bishops seat) and the City *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembred *Judith* 7.3. otherwise *Chelma*. Between *Legio* and *Nazeret* is the City *Saffa*, or *Saffra*, the birth-city of *Zebedæus*, *Alphæus*, *James* and *John*: Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Josephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brochard*: which afterward, saith *Hegesippus*, and *Hierome*, was called *Diocæsarea*, the city of *Joachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Mary*; it was called by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, and by him, as *Josephus* speaks, made the head and defence of *Galilee*: in another place he saith, *Urbium Galilææarum maximæ Sephoris & Tiberias.* This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Vespasian* ere he wan it. *Herod Antipas*, when he made it the Regal seat of the nether *Galilee*, and surrounded it with a strong wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much to say as Imperial, saith *Josephus*; and it is now but a Castle called *Zafhet*.

Johan de Monteville, c.4. & 20.

Joseph. ant. 18.3 & in vita sua.

To the South-west of this *Sephoris*, or *Diocæsarea*, was that blessed place of *Nazareth*, the city of *Mary* the Mother of *Christ*; in which he himself was conceived: it standeth between Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran Sea*. In this city he abode chiefly four and twenty years, and was therefore called a *Nazarite*, as the *Christians* afterward were for many years. It was erected into an *Archbishoprick* in the following age. Near unto it are the cities *Buria* (afterward well defended against the *Turks*) and *Nahalal*, of which *Ios.* 19.15. and *Iudg.* 1.30. where it is called *Nahalol*: and *Ios.* 21.35. where it is a city of the *Levites*; near the Sea, adjoyning to the River of *Chison* is *Sarid*, noted in *Iosua* for the uttermost of *Zabulon*.

In this Territory of *Zabulon* there are divers small Mountains: but *Tabor* is the most renowned, by the apparition of *Moses* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of *Christ* in the presence of *Peter*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*: unto whom *Moses* and *Elias* appeared; in memory whereof, on the top of the Mountain, the Empress *Helen* built a sumptuous Chappel.

In the chief River of *Zabulon* is *Chison*, which rising out of *Tabor*, runneth with one stream Eastward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with another stream Westward into the great Sea. This River of *Chison* where it riseth, and so far as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedumim*, or *Cadumim*: and for mine own opinion, I take it to be the same which *Ptolomy* calleth *Chorseus*: though others distinguish them, and set *Chorseus* by *Cæsaria Palestinæ*. There is a second Torrent or Brook that riseth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a river rising out of the Fountains of *Caphernaum*, which falleth also into the same Sea, and near *Magdalum*; which Torrent they call *Dotham*, from the name of the city, from which it passeth Eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so joyning with *Jordanis parvus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Jephthael*, which *Josua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*: it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

See Laistant Map in Ortelius Ios. 19.14.

§. VI.

THE TRIBE OF ISSACHAR.

THE next adjoyning Territory to *Zabulon*, to the South and Southwest, was *Issachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increased in *Egypt*, as appeared by their musters at mount *Sinai*, 54400. able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the rest in the Deserts, there entred the *Holy Land* 64300.

The first city of this Tribe near the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, distant from *Tiberias* eight English miles, or somewhat more; a city wherein the *Jews* (by the practice of a certain mutinous upstart, *John* the son of *Levi*) took arms against *Josephus* the Historian, then Governour of both *Galilees*. This city was first taken by *Cassius*, and 3000. *Jews* carried thence captive; and afterward with great difficulty by *Vespasian*, who entred it by the Sea side, having first beaten the *Jews* in a Sea-fight upon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*: he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages; saving that his fury being quenched with the Rivers of blood running through every street, he reserved the remainder for slaves and bond-men.

Tarichea in Sutton.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Cession*, or *Cishion* of the *Levites*, and then *Issachar*, remembred in the first of *Kings*, *c.*4.*v.*17. then *Abes*, or *Ebets*, *Ios.* 19.20. and *Remeth*, of which *Ios.* 19.21. otherwise *Ramoth*, 1 *Chron.* 6.37. or *Iarmuth*, *Ios.* 21.19. this also was a city of the *Levites*, from whose Territory the Mountains of *Gilboe* take beginning: and range themselves to the *Mediterran* sea, and towards the West as far as the City of *Iezrael*, between which and *Ramoth*, are the cities of *Bethpheses*, or *Bethpasses*, according to *Zeigler*; and *Enadda*, or *Hen-chadda*, near which *Saul* slew himself: under those, *Aphec*, or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Issachar*: between which and *Suna*, he saith, that the *Philistims* incamped against *Israel*, and afterward against *Saul*: a Land thirsty of blood, for

Ios 21.28. Kishion, which 1 Chr. 6 72. is called Kedesh. Iosua 19. 1 Sam. 4 1. 1 Sam. 3.19. 1 Kings 20. 26. In the later two places Junius makes Aphec in Asher, according to Ios. 19. 30. in the first he placeth it in Juda, out of Ios. 15 53.

for herein also, saith he, the *Syrians* with two and thirty *Reguli* assisting *Benhadad*, incountered *Achab*, and were overthrown and slaughtered: to whom the King of *Israel* made a most memorable answer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victory: which
1 Kings 20. was, *Tell* Benhadad, *Let not him that girdeth his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off*: meaning, that glory followed after victory, but ought not to precede it. In the year following in the fields, as they say, adjoyning to this city, was the same vain-glorious *Syrian* utterly broken and discomfited by *Achab*: and 100000. footmen of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, slain: before which overthrow the servants and counsellors of *Benhadad* (in derision of the God of *Israel*) told him, *That the Gods of Israel were Gods of the Mountains: and therefore if they fought with them in the*
1 Kings 20. 23. *Plains, they should overcome them.*

Under *Aphec* towards the Sea, they set the
Judith 1. 8 & 7. 3. city of *Esdrelon*, in the Plains of *Galilee*; called also the great field of *Esdrelon*, and *Maggeddo*: in the border whereof are the ruines of *Aphec* to be seen, saith *Brochard*, and
1 Chron. 6. 73. *Breidenbach*. After these are the cities of
Jos. 21. 9. *Casaloth*, of v hich 1 *Mac.* 9.2. *Anem*, or *Hen-Gannim*, of the *Levites*, and *Sesima*, or *Shabatsima*, the West border of *Issachar*, of which *Ios.* 19.22. From hence ranging the Sea coast, there is found the Castle of *Pilgrims*: a strong Castle, invironed with the Sea, sometime the storehouse and Magazine of the *Christians*, and built by the Earl of Saint *Giles*, or *Tolouse*.

From the Castle of *Pilgrims*, the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermost shore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not far from the River *Chison*, where *Elijah* assembled all the Prophets and Priests of *Baal*, and prayed King *Achab*, and the people assembled, to make trial whether the God of *Israel*, or the Idol of *Baal* were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Priests of *Baal* prayed, and cut their own flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in derision told them, that their God *was either in pursuit of his enemies, not at leisure, or perchance asleep, &c.* but at the prayer of *Elijah* the fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many vessels of water thereon: by which miracle the people incensed, slew all those Idolaters on the banks of *Chison* adjoyning.

At the foot of this Mountain to the North, standeth *Caiphas*, built, as they say, by *Caiphas* the high Priest. It is also known by the name of *Persina*, and *Porphyria*, sometime a *Suffragane* Bishops seat. Returning again from the Sea-coast towards *Tiberias*, by the banks of *Chison*, there are found the city of *Hapharaim*, or *Aphraim*, and the Castles of *Mezra* and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the River *Chison*: a beautiful city while it stood, in the Gates whereof *Christ* raised from death the *Luke 7.* widows onely son.

Then *Seon* or *Shion*, named *Ios.* 19. between the two Hills of *Hermon*, in *Issachar*: beyond it standeth *Endor*, famous by reason of the Inchantress that undertook to raise up the body of *Samuel* at the instigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it stands *Anaharath* and *Rabbith*, named *Ios.* 19. *v.* 19,20. Then *Dabarath*, as it is named, *Ios.* 21. 28. or *Dobratha*, as it is named, 1 *Chron.* 6.71. This city (which stretcheth it self over *Chison*) was a city of refuge belonging to the *Levites*.

Next to *Dabarath* is *Arbela* situate, near the Caves of those two Theeves which so greatly molested *Galilee* in *Herods* time. It joyneth on one side to the Mountain of *Issachar*, or *Hermon*, and on the other to the Valley of *Jesrael*: which Valley continueth it self from *Bethsan*, or *Scythopolis*, the East border of *Issachar*, even to the *Mediterran* Sea: two parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountains of *Gilboe* on the South, and by *Hermon* and the River *Chison* on the North. In these * Plains *Gideon* overthrew the *Midianites*, and herein, they think, *Saul* fought against the *Philistims*, *Achab* against the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* against the *Saracens*.

* Called *Campus Magnus*. 1 Mac. 12. 49. and *Harbatho* for *Harabath*. 1 Mac. 5. 23. & 9. 2. *Judg.* 6. 1 Sam. 31. 1 King. 20.

§. VII.

THE HALF OF THE TRIBE OF *MANASSE*.

¶. I.

Of the bounds of this half Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Thersa, and others.

THE next Tribe which joyneth it self to *Issachar* towards the South, is the half of *Manasse*, on the West side of *Jordan*. *Manasses* was the first begotten of *Joseph*, the eleventh son of *Jacob*. His mother was an *Egyptian*, the daughter of *Putiphar*, Priest and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manasses*, with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbred amongst the sons of *Jacob*, and made up the number of the twelve *Patriarchs*.

Of *Manasse* there were increased in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 32200. able men: all which being consumed in the Desarts, there entred of their issues,

52700.

52700. bearing arms. The Territory which fell on this one half of *Manasse*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the East, and *Dora* upon the *Mediterran* Sea on the West, *Jesrael* on the North, and *Machmata* is the South border.

The first and principal City which stood in this Territory was *Bethsan*, sometime *Nysa*, saith *Pliny*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of the same name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterward when the *Scythians* invaded *Asia* the less, and pierc't into the South, to the uttermost of *Cœlosyria*, they built this City a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the City of *Scythians*, given by the *Greeks*.

Plin. l. 5. c. 18.

These barbarous Northern people constrained the *Jews* to fight against their own Nation and kinred, by whose hands when they had obtained victory, they themselves set on the *Jews* which served them, and slew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the utmost towards the South of *Cœlosyria*: and *Strabo* joyns it to *Galilee*. It is seated between *Jordan* and the Hills of Gilboe, *in aulone ad montes acrabitenæ*, saith *Zeigler*. But I find it in the East part of the Valley of *Jesrael* near *Jordan*: after that *Jordan* strengtheneth it self again into a River, leaving the Sea, or Lake *Genezareth*. Notwithstanding *Montanus* describes it far to the West, and towards the *Mediterran* Sea, near *Endor*, contrary to *Stella*, *Laicstan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the best Authors. This City was the greatest of all those of *Decapolis*: but the children of *Manasse* could not expel the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it *Sane*, an enemy, or *Beth-san*, the house of an enemy.

Judg. 1. Jos. 17. de Bell. Jud.

Over the walls of this *Beth-san* the *Philistims* hung the body of *Saul*, and his sons slain at *Gilboe*. It had, while the Christian religion flourished in those parts, an Archbishop, who had nine other Bishops of his Dioceses, numbred by *Tyrius*, in his 14. Book and 12. Chapter: but the same was afterward translated to *Nazareth*. The later travellers in those parts affirm, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that City, goodly pillers, and other pieces of excellent Marble, which witness the stately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poor and desolate Village.

Hierom. in Epist. ad Evagr. & in Loc. Heb.

From *Beth-san* keeping the way by *Jordan*, they find an ancient City called *Salem*, which City the ancient Rabbines, saith *Hierome*, do not find to be the same with *Hierusalem*: there being in the time of *Hierome* and since, a town of that name, near *Scythopolis* before remembred, which if the place of Scripture, *Gen.* 13. 18. do not confirm, where the Vulgar readeth *transivitque in Salem urbem Sichemorum* (for which others read *venit incolumis ad Civitatem Sechemum*, making the word *Shalem* not to be a proper name, but an adjective) yet the place *John* 3. 13. where it is said, that *John* was baptizing in *Ænon* near *Salem*, may somewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this *Salem* of which S. *John* speaketh, is but contracted of *Shahalim*, of which in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, 1 *Sam.* 9. 4. This word *Junius* maketh to be the plural of *Shuhal*: of which we read, 1 *Sam* 13. 17. for as for that which is added out of *Canticles* 6. 12. of *Shulammitis*, as if it had been as much as a Woman of this *Salem* near *Ænon*, it hath no probability.

Not far from thence where they place *Salem*, they find *Bezech* the City of *Adonibezec*, *Josephus* calls it *Bala*: here it was that *Saul* assembled the strength of *Israel* and *Juda*, to the number of 330000. when he meant to relieve *Jabesh Gilead*, against *Naash* the *Ammonite*: who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to suffer their right eyes to be thrust out. Near *Bezech* is the City of *Bethbera*, or rather *Beth-bara*, of which *Judg.* 7. 24. in the story of *Gideon*: and then *Ephra*, or *Hophra*, wherein *Gideon* inhabited: in the border whereof stood an Altar consecrated to *Baal*, which he pulled down and defaced; and near it that stone, on which *Abimelech* the Bastard slew his 70. brothers; a Heathenish cruelty, practised by the *Turk* to this day: and not far hence, between the Village of *Asophon* and *Jordan*, *Ptolomeus Lathurus* overthrew *Alexander* King of the *Jews*, and slaughtered, as *Josephus* numbereth them, 3000. but according to *Timagenes* 50000. after which victory, as *Ptolomy* past by the Villages of the *Jews*, he slew all their women, and caused the young children to be sod in great Caldrons, that the rest of the *Iews* might thereby think that the *Egyptians* were grown to be men-eaters, and strike them with the greater terror.

This City *Bezek*, by the place *Judg.* 1. 3. seemeth to have been in *Juda*. *Joseph. ant.* 6. c. 5. 1 *Sam.* c. 11

Jos. l. 13. c. 21. ant.

Towards the West and on the border of *Isachar*, they place the Cities of * *Aner* of the *Levites*, and *Abel-Mehola*, which *Junius*, *Judg.* 7. 22. placeth in *Ephraim*: it was the habitation of *Helisæus* the Prophet, numbred among those places, 1 *Reg.* 4. 12. which were given in charge to *Baana* by *Solomon*, to whose charge also *Tahanac* belonged, a place of great strength, which at the first resisted *Josua*, though their King was afterward hanged, and their City given to the *Levites*.

* This *Aner Junius* upon 1 *Chr.* 6 70 makes to be the same with *Tahanac*, of which *Jos.* 21. 25. *Hierome* names it from *Aner* the Conderate of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 14. 13. *Jos.* 12. 17

In the body of this Territory of *Manasse*, but somewhat nearer *Jordan* than to the *Mediterran*

diterran Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, *Thersa*, whose King was one of those that *Josua* slew: which the Kings of *Israel* used for their Regal seat, till such time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Jeroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her sons health: who knowing her, though she were disguised, told her of her sons death. 1 King. 14

The second was *Thebes* near *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Egypt* and *Greece*, of great fame: in the assault of the Tower of this Town, whereinto the Citizens retired, the Bastard *Abimelec* was wounded by a weighty stone, thrown by a woman over the wall, who despairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to slay him outright, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a woman. But others set this City in *Ephraim* near *Sichem*, or *Neapelis*. Judg. 9. 3, 14.

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the Territory adjoyning is called *Acrabatena*, (one of the ten *Toparchies*, or governments in *Judæa*) for which *Hierome*, 1 *Mac.* 5. reads *Arabathena*: but in the Greek it is *Acrabatine*: *Isidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This City had one of the largest Territories of all *Palæstine* belonging to the Governour thereof. *Josephus* remembreth it often, as in his second book of the Jews wars, *c.* 11. 25, 28. and elsewhere. Hier. Mar. in c. 5.

The difference between a *Tetrarchy* and a *Toparchy*, was, that the first was taken for a Province, and the other for a City with some lesser Territory adjoyning; and a *Tetrarch* is the same with *Præses* in Latine, and *President* in English, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdom; and thereof so called. *Pliny* nameth seventeen *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: the Holy Land had four, and so hath the Kingdom of *Ireland* to this day, *Lemster*, *Ulster*, *Connath*, and *Munster*. Plin. l. 5. Euseb. in Chron.

To the South-west of *Acrabata* they place the Cities of *Balaam*, or *Bilham*, and *Gethremmon* of the Levites: but *Junius* out of *Jos.* 21. 25. and 1 *Chron.* 6. 70. gathers that these two are but one; and that *Jibleham*, *Jos.* 16. 11. is another name of the same City.

Then is *Jezael* a Regal City, set at the foot of the Mountains of *Gilboe*, towards the South-west: herein Jezabel, by a false accusation, caused *Naboth* to be stoned, to the end she might possess his Vineyard adjoyning to the City, which *Naboth* refused to sell, because it was his inheritance from his father.

Joram also was cast unburied into the same field: for which his mother *Jezabel* murthered *Naboth*. 2 King. 9.

Toward the Sea from *Jezael* is the City which they call *Gaber*: in whose ascent as *Ahaziah* King of *Juda* fled from *Jehu*, when he had slain *Joram*, he was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound he died at *Maggeddo* adjoyning. The Scripture calls this City of *Gaber*, *Gur*. 2 King. 9. 27.

Then *Adadremmon*, near unto which the good King *Josias* was slain by *Necho* King of *Egypt*, in a war unadvisedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Assyria* against the King thereof, by the commandment of God; whom *Josias* thought to resist in his passage. It was afterward called *Maximianoplis*.

A neighbour City to *Adadremmon* was *Maggeddo*, often remembred in the Scriptures; whose King was slain among the rest by *Josua*: yet they defended their City for a long time against *Manasse*. The River which passeth by the Town, may perhaps be the same which *Ptolomy* calleth *Chorseus*: and not that of which we have spoken in *Zabulon*. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that have described the Holy Land, delineate no such River. *Moore* only sets it down in his *Geography* of the twelve Tribes: but the River which passeth by *Maggeddo*, he understandeth to be but a branch, falling thereinto. *Laicstan* and *Schrot* make a great confluence of waters in this place, agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Judges*: *Then fought the Kings of Canaan in Tanaac by the waters of Maggeddo*. But these Authors, and with them *Stella*, give it no other name than the Torrent so called. Judg. 5. Jos. 12. 17.

But seeing that ancient *Cosmographers* stretch out the bounds of *Phœnicia* even to *Sebaste*, or *Samaria*; and *Strabo* far beyond it on the Sea-coast: And *Josephus* calls *Cæsaria Palæstinæ*, a City of *Phœnicia*: yea, *Laurentius Corvinus* extendeth *Phœnicia* as far as *Geza*: seeing also *Ptolomy* sets down *Chorseus* for the partition of *Phœnicia* and *Judæa*, this river running East and West parallel with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent called *Maggeddo*, after the name of the City which it watereth, is the same which *Ptolomy* in his fourth Table of *Asia*, calleth *Chorseus*. The later travellers of the Holy Land call *Maggeddo Subimbre* at this day. Strab. l. 16. Joseph. l. 15 c. 13. Niger.

||. II.

Of Cesaria Palæstinæ, and some other Towns.

FRom *Maggeddo* toward the West, and near the *Mediterran Sea*, was that glorious City of *Cæsaria Palæstinæ*: first, the Tower of *Straton*: the same which *Pliny* calls *Apollonia*: though *Ptolomy* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, and toward *Egypt*, between this City and *Joppe*, to which *Vespasian* gave the name of *Flavia*

Flavia Colonia. It was by *Herod* re-built, who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the world. For beſides the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of cut and poliſh't marbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might look over the Seas far away, with the high and ſtately Towers and Gates: he forced a Harborow of great capacity, being in former times but an open Bay: and the wind blowing from the Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the ſtrength of their Cables and Anchors. This work he performed with ſuch charge and labour, as the like of that hath not been found in any Kingdom, nor in any age: which, becauſe the Materials were fetcht from far, and the weight of the ſtones was ſuch, as it exceedeth belief, I have added *Joſephus* own words of this work, which are theſe: *Hanc locorum* Joſeph. lib. c. 13. *in commoditatem correcturus, cerculum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magnæ claſſi recipiendæ ſufficere: & in viginti ulnarum profundum, prægrandia ſaxa demiſit: quorum pleraque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine novempedali: fuerunt quædam etiam majora, minora alia; To mend this inconvenience of place* (ſaith Joſephus) *he compaſt in a Bay wherein a great Fleet might well ride: and let down great ſtones twenty fadome deep: whereof ſome were fifty foot long, eighteen foot broad, and nine foot thick: and ſome bigger, ſome leſſer.* To this he added an arm or cawſie of two hundred foot long, to break the waves: the reſt he ſtrengthened with a ſtone wall, with divers ſtately Towers thereon builded: of which the moſt magnificent he called *Druſus*, after the name of *Druſus* the ſon in law of *Cæſar*: in whoſe honour he intituled the City it ſelf, *Cæſaria* of *Palæſtine*: all which he performed in twelve years time. It was the firſt of the Eaſtern Cities that received a Biſhop: afterward erected into an Archbiſhoprick, Lib. 4. c. 12. bel. ſacr. commanding twenty others under it, ſaith *Tyrius.*

S. *Hierome* nameth *Theophilus*, *Euſebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorus*, and *Galaſius*, to have been Biſhops thereof. In this City was *Cornelius* the Centurion baptiſed by Saint *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the Apoſtle. S. *Paul* was herein two years priſoner, under the *Preſident Felix*, unto the time and government of *Porcius Feſtus*: by whom making his appeal, he was ſent to *Cæſar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was paſſing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to be called a god by his flatterers, he was ſtricken with an Angel unto death, ſaith *Joſephus.*

To the North of *Ceſaria* ſtandeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as ſome read, *Joſ.* 1. 2. ſo called (ſaith *Adrichomius*) becauſe it joyneth to the Sea, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*. But *Junius*, for *in Naphoth Dor*, reads *in tractibus Dor*: and ſo the Vulgar, *in regionibus Dor*, although 1 *Reg.* 4. 11. for the like ſpeech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Nephath Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Joſua* call it *Nephith-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Joſ.* 12. 23. *Judg.* 1. 27.) may ſeem to be *Dor*. It was a ſtrong and powerful City, and the fourth in account of thoſe twelve Principalities, or *Sitarchies*, which *Solomon* erected. *Junius* upon *Macc.* 15. 11. placeth this between the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the river *Cherſeus*: for ſo ſome name the river *Chorſeus*, of which we have ſpoken already.

Into this City, for the ſtrength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, where he was by the ſame *Antiochus* beſieged with 12000. foot-men, and 8000. horſe: the ſame perfidious villain that received 200. talents for the ranſom of *Jonathan Macchabæus* (whom he had taken by treachery) and then ſlew him: and after him ſlew his own Maſter, uſurping for a while the Kingdom of *Syria*. It had alſo a Biſhops ſeat of the Dioceſs of *Ceſaria*. *Mac.* 1. 13. 15.

From *Ceſaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Capharnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for beſides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Evangeliſts*, they find in theſe parts near the Weſt Sea, another of the ſame name. Of *Gabe*, *Hierome in locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgal*, or *Gilgal*, was in *Benjamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they ſay, it was whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*. *Gul. Tyr. de bell. ſacr. l.* 10. *c* 6.

Then *Antipatris*, ſo called of *Herod*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Macchabees*, it was called *Capharſalama*: in the fields whereof *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew a part of the Army of *Nicanor*, Lievtenant to *Demetrius*: an Army drawn into *Judæa* by a traiterous Jew, called *Alcimus*: who contended for the Prieſt-hood, firſt under *Bacchides*, and then under *Nicanor*. To this was Saint *Paul* carried priſoner from *Hieruſalem*, conducted by 470. ſouldiers, to defend him from the fury of the Jews. In after-times the Army of *Godfrey* of *Bullion* attempted it in vain: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in thoſe dayes with a Biſhops ſeat, but it is now a poor Village, called *Aſſur*, ſaith *Brochard*. Near unto this City the Prophet *Jonas* was three dayes preſerved in the body of a Whale. Mac. 17. 31

Into the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæſaria*,

ria, ſtandeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territory taketh name: which *Ceſtius* the *Roman* waſted with fire and ſword, becauſe the Jews which dwelt at *Caſaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Books of *Moſes*. Neer unto it is the Mountain of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab*: wherein he hid an hundred Prophets, and fed them: after which he himſelf is ſaid to have obtained from God the Spirit of Prophecy alſo.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdom of Phœnicia.

§. I.

The bounds and chief Cities, and Founders, and Name of this Kingdom: and of the invention of Letters aſcribed to them.

BEcauſe theſe five Tribes, of *Aſſer*, *Nephtalim*, *Zabulon*, *Iſſachar*, and the half of *Manaſſe*, poſſeſt the better part of that ancient Kingdom of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of ſo much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*; I have therefore gathered a brief of thoſe Kings which have governed therein: at leaſt ſo many of them as time (which devoureth all things) hath left to poſterity: and that the reſt periſhed, it is not ſtrange: ſeeing ſo many Volumes of excellent learning in ſo long a race and revolution, and in ſo many changes of Eſtates, and Conqueſt of Heathen Princes have been torn, caſt away, or otherwiſe conſumed.

The limits of this Kingdom, as touching the South parts, are very uncertain: but all *Coſmographers* do in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Caſiotis*, ends: moſt of them bounding it by *Orthoſia*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Ptolomy* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the River *Eleutherus* that falls into the Sea at the Iſland of *Aradus*, ſomewhat to the North of *Orthoſia*, and ſtretching from thence alongſt the coaſt of the *Mediterran Sea*, as far as the River of *Chorſeus*; which ſeems to be that which the Jews call the Torrent, or River of *Maggeddo*. *Pliny* extends it further, and comprehends *Joppe* within it: *Corvinus* and *Budæus*, Joppe and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia apud priſcos appellata* (ſaith *Budæus*) *quæ nunc Paleſtina Syriæ dicitur*; *It was called Phœnicia of old* (ſaith he) *which now is called Palæſtina of Syria*.

Ptol. 4 tab. Aſiæ.

Plin l. 5. c. 19.

Strabo comprehends in this Country of *Phœnicia* all the Sea-ſide of *Judæa*, and *Paleſtina*, even unto *Peluſium*, the firſt Port of *Egypt*. On the contrary, *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Cœloſyria*, which he boundeth not. But for my ſelf, I take a middle courſe, and like beſt of *Ptolomies* deſcription, who was ſeldom deceived in his own art. It had in it theſe famous Maritimate Cities (beſides all thoſe of the Iſlands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthoſia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæſaria Paleſtinæ*: and by reaſon of the many Ports and goodly Sea-towns, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Eaſtern world: and they were abſolute Kings of the *Mediterran Sea*.

Strab. l. 16. Bude. de Aſſ. l. 4.

The ancient Regal Seat of thoſe Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the firſt ſon of *Canaan*: and the people then ſubject to that people were called *Zidonians*; the ſame ſtate continuing even unto *Joſua*'s time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* alſo confirmeth in his ſecond Book of *Vandals wars*. But in proceſs of time the City of *Tyre* adjoyning, became the more magnificent: yet, according to the Prophet, it was but a daughter of *Zidon*, and by them firſt built, and peopled. *Eſay 23*

But after the death of *Moſes*, and while *Joſua* yet governed *Iſrael*, *Agenor* an *Egyptian* of *Thebes*, or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his ſons *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (ſay *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and poſſeſt the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (ſo called after the name of his ſecond ſon) the uſe of Letters: which alſo *Cadmus* in his purſuit after his ſiſter *Europa*, taught the *Grecians*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when

when he ſurpriſed *Tyre*, had ſtoln her thence: of which the Poets deviſed the fable of *Jupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that ſtealth was alſo ſuppoſed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the firſt King of *Phœnicia*; and finds *Cadmus* his Succeſſor, whom he calleth his grand-child: and it ſeemeth that *Belus* was the father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: becauſe the ſucceſſours of *Dido* held that name alwaies in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Aſdrubal*, *Hannibal*: whoſe memory *Virgil* alſo toucheth in theſe Verſes.

Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
Implevitq; mero pateram: quam Belus *& omnes*
A Belo *ſoliti.*

The Queen anon commands the weighty bowl
(Weighty with precious ſtones and maſſie gold)
To flow with wine. This *Belus* us'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were father or grandfather to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it ſeems to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Anceſtor to theſe *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*, the ſon of *Neptune* by *Lybia* the daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the ſon of *Thelegonus*, according to *Euſebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops* time, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, *Moſes* left *Egypt*: *Agenors* ſucceſſour living at once with *Joſua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the ſame time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither do I deny, but that he gave that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his ſon. But inſtead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nebuchodonoſor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true, that *Agenor* was of the ſame Nation, and brought up in *Egypt*: where he learnt the uſe of Letters (*Egypt* flouriſhed in all kind of learning in *Moſes* time) or were he by Nation an *Egyptian*, yet it is very likely that either he came to ſave his own Territory; or otherwiſe to defend the coaſt of *Canaan* from the *Iſraelites*: who were by *Moſes* led out of *Egypt*, to the great loſs and diſhonour of that Nation: and by *Joſhua* conducted over *Jordan*, to conquer and poſſeſs the *Canaanites* Land. For though the *Egyptians*, by reaſon of the loſs which they received by the hand of God in the *Red Sea*, and by the ten plagues caſt on them before that, and by the ſlaughter of ſo many of the male children at the ſame time, could not hinder the *Hebrews* from invading *Canaan* by land: which alſo they knew had ſo many powerful Nations to defend it: the *Deſarts* inter-jacent, and the ſtrong *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Amorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* having ſuch Veſſels or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in uſe, did not in all probability neglect to garriſon the Sea-coaſt, or aſſiſt *Agenor* with ſuch forces as they had to ſpare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the *Philiſtims*, which held the ſhores of *Canaan* next adjoyning unto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the courſe of the ſtory, thoſe Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was ſaid to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended againſt *Joſua*, and againſt the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Joſua* called the ſtrong City *Accho*, afterward *Ptolomais*, *Achzib*, and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in thoſe daies. *Chap.* 19. 19.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty, eſpecially by Sea, it appears, firſt by their defence againſt *Iſrael*: ſecondly, by this, that *David* and *Solomon* could not maſter them, but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it ſelf 13. years againſt a King of Kings, *Nebuchadonoſor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, ſeemed unreſiſtable) ſpent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*, than in the conqueſt of all the Cities in *Aſia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Beroſus* out of *Joſephus*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the ſon of *Japhet*. And for the Region it ſelf, though *Caliſthenes* derive it, *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the Greeks from the word *Phonos*, of ſlaughter, becauſe the *Phœnicians* ſlew all that came on their coaſts; yet for my ſelf, I take it that *Phœnix* the ſon of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his ſon in *Greece*, were the Inventors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the diſpute unneceſſary.

The *Ethiopians* affirm, that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the firſt light of all thoſe Arts, Sciences, and civil Policies, which they afterwards profeſt, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himſelf was inſtructed by the *Lybians*: to wit, from the South and ſuperiour *Egyptians*: from whom thoſe which inhabited neerer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they ſay, borrowed their Divinity

and Philosophy: and from them the *Greeks*, then barbarous, received Civility. Again, the *Phœnicians* challenge this invention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the *Egyptians* at all; neither do they allow that *Agenor* and his sons were *Africans*; whence *Lucan*,

Lucan. l. 3. Phœnices *primi* (*famæ si creditur*) *ausi*
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

Phœnicians first (if fame may credit have)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that *Cadmus* was the son of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*; when he in a kind of reproach was called a Stranger, and not a *Phœnician*.

Athen. l. Dipnos. *Si patria est* Phœnix, *quid tum? nam* Cadmus
& ipse
Phœnix; *cui debet* Græcia *docta libros.*

If a *Phœnician* born I am, what then?
Cadmus was so: to whom *Greece* owes
The Books of learned men.

Joseph. contra Appionem. Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Josephus* the Historian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The *Thracians* again subscribe to none of these reports: but affirm constantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flourished among them: when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*: and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the French do not blush to maintain, that the ancient *Gaules* taught the *Greeks* the use of Letters, and other Sciences. And do not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druides* are as ancient as those *Gaules*, and that they sent their sons hither to be by them instructed in all kind of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this invention on *Moses*, the same hath no probability at all; for he lived at such time as Learning and Arts flourished most, both in *Egypt* and *Assyria*, and he himself was brought up in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is, that Letters were invented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the general Flood: either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom else God knows; from whom all wisdom and understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for even in *Mexico*, when it was first discovered, there was found written Books after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently used by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations: and so had those *Americans* a kind of Heraldry; and their Princes differing in Arms and Scutchions, like unto those used by the Kings and Nobility of other Nations, *Jura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c.* *Natural laws are common, and general.* *Jurisc.*

§. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

BUt whatsoever remaineth of the Story and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the books of *Zeno*, *Sachoniatho*, *Mnaseas*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Josephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor lived at once with *Josua*, to whom succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and so far towards the North as *Aradus*, took the name of *Phœnicia*: what King succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appear; but at such time as the *Grecians* besieged *Troy*, *Phasis* governed *Phœnicia*.

In *Hieremies* time, and while *Jehojakim* ruled in *Juda*, the *Tyrians* had a King apart: for *Hieremy* speaketh of the Kings of *Zidon*, *Cap. 27.* of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, *&c.* as of several Kings.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Army wherewith he invaded *Greece*, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia* about *Tyre* and *Zidon*: who commanded, as some Writers affirm, *Xerxes* Fleet, or rather, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which himself brought to his aid: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Persian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were subjected by *Nabuchodonosor*; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* prophesied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramnestus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his 14. Book.

Strato, his successor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependency upon *Darius*, and that his Predecessors had served the East Empire against the *Grecians*. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memory, came between *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130. years and somewhat more, between *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more unworthy

of

of reſtitution, becauſe (ſaith *Curtius*) he rather ſubmitted himſelf by the inſtigation of his ſubjects (who foreſaw their utter ruine by reſiſtance) than that he had any diſpoſition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*. Lib 4.

Of this *Strato*, *Athenæus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a man of ill living, and moſt voluptuous; alſo that he appointed certain games and prizes for women-dancers, and ſingers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and aſſembled: that having beheld the moſt beautiful and lively among them, he might recover them for his own uſe and delights. Of the ſtrange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of theſe coaſts, S. *Hierome* and others make mention: who having heard that the *Perſians* were neer him with an Army too weighty for his ſtrength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, becauſe of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhearing to the *Egyptians*, he determining to kill himſelf, but fainting in the execution, his wife being preſent, wreſted the Sword out of his hand, and ſlew him: which done, ſhe alſo therewith pierced her own body, and died. *Athen l. 13. c. 13.* *Hieron. l. 1. cont. Jovin.*

After *Alexander* was poſſeſt of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence, he gave the Kingdom to *Hephæſtion* to diſpoſe of: who having received great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whoſe houſe he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to eſtabliſh him therein: but this Citizen, no leſs vertuous than rich, deſired *Hephæſtion* that this honour might be conferred on ſome one of the blood and race of their ancient Kings: and preſented unto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolominus*, *Juſtine*, *Abdolomius*, and *Plutarch*, *Alynomus*: who at the very hour that he was called to this regal Eſtate, was with his own hands working in his Garden, ſetting herbs and roots, for his relief and ſuſtenance: though otherwiſe a wiſe man, and exceeding juſt.

Theſe were the ancient Kings of *Zidon*: whoſe eſtate being afterwards changed into Popular or *Ariſtocratical*: and by times and turns ſubjected to the Emperours of the Eaſt, there remaineth no further memory of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

The Kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appear: *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian, as is ſaid, had many things wherewith he garniſhed his Antiquities from the *Tyrian Chronicles*: and out of *Joſephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a deſcent of ſome twenty Kings of the *Tyrians*; but theſe Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Alexander Epheſius*, do in no ſort agree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the firſt King of the *Tyrians*, that *Joſephus* and *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the ſame perchance that the ſon of *Sirach* mentioneth in his forty and ſixth Chapter, ſpeaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*. *Cap. 46.*

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* ſucceeded, if he be not one and the ſame with *Abibalus*. *David* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus*) conſtrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom alſo *David* complaineth, *Pſal. 83.* *Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.*

Hiram ſucceeded *Suron*, whom *Joſephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* ſometime *Hieronimus*, ſometimes *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiram*. He entred into a league with *David*, and ſent him Cedars, with Maſons and Carpenters, to perform his buildings in *Hieruſalem*, after he had beaten thence the *Jebuſites*. The ſame was he that ſo greatly aſſiſted *Solomon*: whom he not only furniſhed with Cedars, and other Materials towards the raiſing of the Temple, and with great ſums of money, but alſo he joyned with him in his enterprize of the Eaſt *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furniſhed *Solomon* with Marriners and Pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the moſt excellent Navigators: and lent him 120 talents of gold. Of this *Hiram* there is not onely mention in divers places of Scripture, but in *Joſephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. Chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his third book, in *Tatianus* his Oration againſt the *Greeks*: and in *Zonaras*, Tome the firſt. This Prince ſeemeth to be very mighty and magnificent, he deſpiſed the 20. Towns which *Solomon* offered him: he defended himſelf againſt that victorious King *David*: and gave his daughter in marriage to *Solomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whoſe ſake he was contented to worſhip *Aſtaroth*, the Idol of the *Phœnicians*. *Hiram* lived 53. years. *1 Sam. 5. &c.* *2 Sam. 5* *2 Kin. 1. 9. 10.* *1 Chro. 14.* *2 Chr. 2. 8, 9.*

Baleaſtartus, whom *Theoph. Antiochenus* calleth *Bazorus*, ſucceeded *Hiram* King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7 years, according to *Joſephus*. *1 Kin. 11.* *Theo. h 17. years.*

Abdaſtartus the eldeſt ſon of *Baleaſtartus*, governed 9. yeares, and lived but 20. years, according to *Joſephus*: but after *Theophilus* he reigned 12. years, and lived 54. who being ſlain by the four ſons of his own Nurſe, the eldeſt of them held the Kingdom 12. years.

Aſtartus brother to *Abdaſtartus*, recovered the Kingdom from this Uſurper, and reigned 12. years.

Aſtarimus, or *Atharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third *Joſeph. 54.* *Theoph. 58*

third brother, followed *Astartus*, and ruled 9. years, and lived in all 54.

Theoph. *Phelles* the fourth son of *Balcastartus*, and brother to the three former Kings, slew *Astarimus*, and reigned 8. moneths, and lived 50. years.

Ithobalus (or *Juthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) son to the third brother *Astarimus*, who was the chief Priest of the *Goddess Astarta*, which was a dignity next unto the King, revenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his Joseph 31 Theoph. 12. Uncle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. years; the same which in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose daughter Jezebel *Achab* married.

Badezor, or *Bazor*, the son of *Ithobalus*, or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Jezebel*, succeeded his 1 Kings 16. 31 Father, and reigned 6: years, and lived in Joseph 6. years all 45.

Theoph. 26. *Mettimus* succeeded *Badezor*, and reigned Joseph. 9. but 9. years (saith *Josephus*) he had two sons, Theoph. 9 *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two daughters, *Elisa* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettimus* his Father 40. years, and lived 56. In the seventh year of whose reign, *Elisa* sailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143. years and 8. moneths after the Temple of *Solomon*: which by our accompt was 289. years after *Troy* was taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Æneas* and *Dido* must be far out of square. For *Pygmalion*, covetous of *Sicheus* his riches, who had married his sister *Elisa*, slew him traiterously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we believe Justin. l. 11 Virgil. l. 1. *Justine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Elisa* fearing to be dispoiled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his mothers tears, and by threats from the *Oracle* arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Family of the *Barcæ* in *Africa*, of which race descended many famous Captains, and the great *Hannibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her man-like acts: others from *Jedidia*, a surname of *Solomon*.

Eluleus succeeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned 36. years: the same that overthrew the Fleet of *Salmanasser*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which he continued his siege before it on the Land side five years, but in vain.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* governed the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himself to be as wise as *Daniel*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince died, or was slain in that long siege of *Nabuchodonosor*: who surrounded and attempted *Tyre* 13. years together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. years a tributary, perchance, to *Nabuchodonosor*: for after his death, it was governed by divers Judges, succeeding each other: First by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Priest, *Mittonus*, and *Gerastus*, who held it among them some 7. years, and odd moneths: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one year: after him *Merbalus* sent from *Babylon*, 4. years: after him *Irom*, sent thence also, 20. years. In the 17. of whose reign *Cyrus* began to govern *Persia*.

§. III.

Of Bozius *his conceit, that the Edumæans inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phœnicia the knowledge of the true God.*

OF the great mutations of this Kingdom and State of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a discourse of divers other Nations, there is one *Bozius* that hath written a Tract at large, intituled, *De ruinis Gentium*. And although the great and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea, in all things under heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance, who onely is unchangeable, and the same for ever; yet whereas the said *Bozius*, inforcing here-hence, that the prosperity and ruine of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their embracing or forsaking the true Religion; to prove this his assertion, supposeth the *Tyrians* to have been *Edumæans*, descended from *Esau*, *Jacobs* brother: first, it can hardly be believed, that *Tyre*, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in any sort truly devout and religious. But to this Boz. de ruin. Gent. l. 5. c. 7. end (besides the proof which the Scriptures give of *Hirams* good affection when *Solomon* built the Temple) he brings many conjectural arguments; whereof the strongest is their pedigree and descent; it being likely in his opinion, that the posterity of *Esau* received from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Isaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, he endeavours to shew, partly by weak reasons, painfully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others, witness, that the *Tyrians* came from the *Red Sea*, in which there were three Islands, called

Tyrus,

Tyrus, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Conſidering therefore that all the coaſt of the *Red Sea*, was (in his opinion) under the *Edumæans*: as *Elah* and *Eſiongabar*; or under the *Amalekites*, who deſcended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Eſau*, whoſe chief City was *Madian*, ſo called of *Madian* the ſon of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whoſe poſterity did people it: the conſequence appears good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Iſrael*. Hereunto he adds, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worſhip of *Aſtartis*, the Idol of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecydes* being *Phœnicians*, themſelves differed much in their Philoſophy from the Idolatrous cuſtoms of the *Greeks*. That in *Teman*, a Town of the *Edumæans*, was an Univerſity, wherein, as may appear by *Eliphas* the *Temanite*, who diſputed with *Job*, Religion was ſincerely taught.

Such is the diſcourſe of *Bozius*, who labouring to prove one *Paradox* by another, deſerves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edumæans* at all. In what Religion *Eſau* brought up his children, it is no where found written; but that himſelf was a profane man, and diſavowed by God, the Scriptures in plain terms expreſs. That his Poſterity were Idolaters, is directly proved in the 25. Chapter of the ſecond Book of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetual enemies to the houſe of *Iſrael*, ſave only when *David* and ſome of his race, Kings of *Juda*, held them in ſubjection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of *Davids* unfriendly behaviour amongſt them, when firſt they were ſubdued? ſurely, it was not any argument of Kinred or Alliance between *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held ſuch good correſpondence with *David*; even then when *Joab* ſlew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Iſrael*, that the *Edomites* were ſo ill intreated. It ſeemeth that the piety and ancient wiſdom of *Eliphaz* the *Themanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumæans* puniſhed, for being ſuch as *David* in his own dayes found them. Although indeed the City of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reaſon with *Job*, is not that in *Edumæa*, but another of the ſame name, lying Eaſt from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adjoyning to *Hus*, the country of *Job*: and to *Sueh* the City of *Bildad* the *Suhite*; as both ſuch *Chorographers* who beſt knew thoſe parts, do plainly ſhew, and the holy Text maketh manifeſt. For *Job* is ſaid to have exceeded in riches, and *Solomon* in wiſdom; all the people of the Eaſt; not the Inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Paleſtina*. True it is, that *Eliphaz* the ſon of *Eſau* had a ſon called *Teman*: but that fathers were wont in thoſe dayes to take name of their ſons, I no where find. And *Iſmael* alſo had a ſon called *Thema*: of whom it is not unlike, that *Theman* in the Eaſt had the name: for as much as in the 7. Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the Eaſt are called *Iſmaelites*. And he that well conſiders how great and ſtrong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durſt give battel to the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly believe that ſuch a people were deſcended from one of *Eſau* his grand-children. For how powerful and numberleſs muſt the forces of all *Edom* have been: if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had been ſo great? ſurely Mount Seir and all the Regions adjoyning could not have held them. But we no where find that *Edom* had to do with *Amalec*, or aſſiſted the *Amalekites*, when *Saul* went to root them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it ſelf, if diſtinct from the *Iſmaelites*. The like may be ſaid of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being ſon to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtleſs was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seigniory* of the *Red Sea* coaſt, which *Bozius* imagines the *Edumæans* to have held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held ſome places, as *Elan* and *Eſiongabar* on the *Red Sea* ſhore, yet in *Moſes* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moſes* himſelf ſaith, that *Iſrael* did compaſs all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* ſtood, *Moſes* muſt needs have known it: becauſe he had ſojourned long in that Country: and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But conjectural Arguments, how probable ſoever, are needleſs in ſo manifeſt a caſe. For in the 83. *Pſalm*, *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as diſtinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians* being one people, as all good Authors ſhew, and *Bozius* himſelf confeſſeth, were *Canaanites*, as appears, *Gen.* 10. 15. and 19. appointed by God to have been deſtroyed, and their Lands given to the children of *Aſher*, *Joſ.* 29. becauſe they were Idolaters, and of the curſed ſeed of *Canaan*,

not

not Cousins to *Israel*, nor professors of the same Religion. For though *Hiram* said, *Blessed be God that hath sent King David a wise son*: we cannot infer that he was of *Davids* Religion. The *Turk* hath said as much of *Christian* Princes, his confederates. Certain it is, that the *Sydonians* then worshipped *Astaroth*; and drew *Solomon* also to the same Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Solomon* in building the Temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of *Solomon* great provision of Corn and Oyl, and the offer of twenty Towns and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly consider things, it will appear that *Hiram* in all points dealt Merchant-like with *Solomon*. He allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was; and yet is over pestered, being otherwise apt to yeild silks: as the *Andarine* Silks which come from thence, and other good Commodities. For Corn and Oyl, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well spare to *Solomon*. Also Gold for Land: wherein *Solomon* was the wiser; who having got the Gold first, gave to *Hiram* the worst Villages that he had: with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleased. But it was a necessary policy which inforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Israel*. For *David* had subdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to *Euphrates*: thorow which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carry and re-carry their Wares on Camels, to their Fleets on the *Red Sea*, and back again to *Tyrus*: so that *Solomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to pass, could have cut off their Trade.

But the *Israelites* were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the *Tyrians* in their adventures. Yet *Solomon*, as Lord of the Sea-towns which his Father had taken from the *Philistims*, might have greatly distressed the *Tyrians*, and perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvel) that *Solomon* rather meant, as a man of peace, to imploy his Fathers Treasure in magnificent Works, than in pursuing the conquest of all *Syria*. Therefore he willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workmen, to increase his delight in goodly Buildings, Imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong arguments of piety in the *Tyrians*: so those other proofs which *Bozius* frames negatively upon particular examples are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I think, no man knows. It seems to me, that having more cunning than the *Greeks*, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchased divine honours; which his Daughters, Nephews, and others of his house obtained; but his own many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single examples: Every salvage Nation hath some wisdom excelleth the Vulgar, even of civil people. Neither did the moral wisdom of these men express any true knowledge of the true God. Onely they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not known to have taught Idolatry, therefore the *Tyrians* were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Utica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all Colonies of the *Tyrians* (of which, I think, the Ilands before mentioned in the *Red Sea* to have been, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, even from their first beginnings: therefore the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from *Solomons* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozius*, who would have us think them to have been formerly a strange kind of devout *Edomites*. In which fancie he is so peremptory, that he stileth men of contrary opinion, *Impios politicos*, as if it were impiety to think, that God (who even among the Heathen, which have not known his Name, doth favour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded moral honesty, with temporal happiness. Doubtless, this doctrine of *Bozius* would better have agreed with *Julian* the *Apostata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Assyrians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and all those Nations of the *Gentiles*, did then prosper most, when they drew nearest unto the true Religion: what may be said of the foul Idolatry which grew in *Rome* as fast as *Rome* it self grew: and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost upon every new victory? How few great battels did the *Romans* win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new god, or some new honour to one of their old gods? yea, what one Nation, save onely that of the *Jews*, was subdued by them, whose Gods they did not afterward entertain in their City? Onely the true God, which was the God of the *Jews*, they rejected, upbraiding the *Jews* with him, as if he were unworthy of the *Roman* Majesty: shall we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion which Heathen Writers used against the Christians in the *Primitive Church*: That such Idolatry had caused the City of

Rome

Rome to flouriſh, and that the decay of thoſe abominations did alſo bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought ſo, if proſperity were a ſign or effect of true Religion. Such is the blind zeal of *Bozius*, who writing againſt thoſe whom he falſly terms impious, gives ſtrength to ſuch as are impious indeed. But ſuch indiſcretion is uſually found among men of his humour; who having once either fooliſhly embraced the dreams of others, or vainly faſhioned in their own brains any ſtrange *Chimera*'s of Divinity, condemn all ſuch in the pride of their zeal, as Atheiſts and Infidels, that are not tranſported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pity it is, that ſuch mad dogs are oftentimes incouraged by thoſe, who having the command of many tongues, when they themſelves cannot touch a man in open and generous oppoſition, will wound him ſecretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, *and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whoſe head was* Ephraim.

§. I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

Pſal. 59. 78 108. Par. 25.

HAving now paſt over *Phœnicia*, we come to the next Territory adjoyning, which is that of *Ephraim*: ſometimes taken *per excellentiam*, for the whole Kingdom of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the ſecond ſon of *Joſeph*, whoſe iſſues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Deſarts*, (*Joſua* excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children grown to be able men, 32500. who ſate down on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan*; between *Manaſſe* and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Jordan*, and the *Mediterran* Sea, did by the Eaſt and Weſt.

The firſt and chief City which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, built by *Amris* or *Homri* King thereof, and ſeated on the top of the Mountain *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the Sea-coaſt. It was afterward called *Sebaſte*, or *Auguſta*, in honour of *Auguſt. Cæſar*. This City is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the firſt building; for as *Brochard* obſerveth, the ruines which yet remain, and which *Brochard* found greater than thoſe of *Hieruſalem*, tell thoſe that behold them, what it was when it ſtood upright: for to this day there are found great ſtore of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewen and carved ſtone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the ſons of *Hircanus* the high Prieſt: reſtored and built by the firſt *Herod* the ſon of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cæſar* called it *Sebaſte*. Herein were the Prophets *Heliſæus* and *Abdias* buried: and ſo was *John Baptiſt*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with Grecian Monks.

Near *Samaria* towards the South, is the hill of *Bethel*, and a Town of that name: on the top of which mountain *Jeroboam* erected one of his golden calves, to be worſhipped: with which he ſeduced the *Iſraelites*.

In ſight of this Mountain of *Bethel*, was that ancient City of *Sichem*; after the reſtauration called *Neapolis*, now *Peloſa*, and *Napolaſa*: It was deſtroyed by *Simeon* and *Levi*, in revenge of the raviſhment of their ſiſter *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* evened with the ſoil. *Jeroboam* raiſed it up again: and the *Damaſcens* a third time caſt it down. Sichar. Joh. 4. 5. Maborthan. Joſeph. 11. Ant. 1.

Under *Sichem* toward the Sea ſtandeth *Pharaton* or *Pirhathon*, on the Mountain *Amalec*, the City of *Abdon* Judge of *Iſrael*. And under it *Bethoron* of the *Levites*, built as it is ſaid by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Near to this City *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew *Seron* and *Lyſias*, Lievtenants to *Antiochus*. This City had *Solomon* formerly repaired and fortified. Judg. 12. 15 2 King. 13 9

Betweeen *Bethoron* and the Sea, ſtandeth *Samir*, of which *Joſ.* 10. and *Saron*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*: it is alſo mentioned *Acts* 9. 35. and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh Joſ. 12. 18.

keth name, which beginning at *Cæsarea Palestinæ*, extendeth it self alongst the coast as far as *Joppe*, saith *Adrichome*: though indeed the name *Sarona* is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitful plain Region: for not onely this Valley is so called, to wit, between *Cæsarea* and *Joppæ*, but that also between the Mountain *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for so S. *Hierome* upon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Esay*, interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries upon *Abdia*, read *Saron* for *Assaron*: understanding thereby a Plaine neer *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Diospolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Judæa*, the fift in dignity (or the third after *Pliny*) where S. *Peter* (*non sua, sed Christi virtute*) cured *Æneas*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Antilibanus* to Joppe, *Sarona*. This *Joppe* was burnt to the ground by the *Romans*, those Ravens and spoilers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, usurpers of other Princes Kingdoms; who with no other respect led than to amplifie their own glory, troubled the whole world: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most and savage barbarous Nations.

Acts 6. Luke 13. Niger. com. 4. Asiæ, fol. 503. 14.

In *Diaspolis* (saith *Wil.* of *Tyre*) was S. *George* beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and memory *Justinian* the Emperor caused a fair Church to be built over his Tombe; these be *Tyrius* his words: *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, & Joppe, per latè patentem planitiem Flutheriam pertranseuntes, Liddam quæ est Diospolis, ubi & egregii Martyris* Georgii *usque hodie Sepulchrum ostenditur, pervenerunt, ejus Ecclesiam quum ad honorem ejusdem Martyris, pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum*, Augustus Justinianus *multo studio & devotione prompta ædificari præceperat, &c. They having left* (saith he) *on the right hand, the Sea Towns*, Antipatris *and* Joppe, *passing over the great open Plain of* Elutheria, *came to* Lidda, *which is* Diospolis: *where the sumptuous Tomb of the famous Martyr* S. George *is at this day shewed; whose Church when the godly and orthodox Prince of the Roman, High and mighty* Justinian, *had commanded to be built, with great earnestness and present devotion, &c.* Thus far *Tyrius*: by whose testimony we may conjecture that this S. *George* was not that *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*; but rather some better *Christian*: for this of *Alexandria* was slain there in an uprore of the people, and his ashes cast into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better *Christian* than he is commonly thought: for his words of the Temple of *Genius*, *How long shall this Sepulchre stand?* occasioned the uprore of the people against him: as fearing least he would give attempt to overthrow that beautiful Temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports; who though he say that this *Georgius* was also deadly hated of the *Christians*, who else might have rescued him: yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, lest if their Reliques had been gathered up, Churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather think that it was not *Georgius*, whose name lives in the right honourable order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius* abovecited witnesseth to have been buried at *Lidda* or *Diospolis*. The same also is confirmed by *Vitriac.* S. *Hierome* affirms that it was sometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Christians* inhabited the *Holy Land*, it had a Bishop *Suffragan*.

Of this St George see more above in this 2. Book, ch. 7 sect. 3. n. 4.

Lib. 2. c. 11

Sulg. hist. 664.

Neer to *Lidda* or *Diaspolis* standeth *Ramatha* of the *Levites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the native City of *Joseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. There are many places which bear this name of *Rama*; one they set in the Tribe of *Juda* neer *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephtalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they say, adjoyneth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is this *Rama*, in the hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived, and wherein he is buried.

See in the Tribe of Benjamin, cap. 12. sect. 1.

1 Sam. 25. 1.

From hence to the North alongst the coast are *Helon*, or *Ajalon* of the *Levites*, of which *1 Chron. 6.* *Apollonia*, of which *Josephus* in his Antiquities, and in the wars of the *Jews*. Also *Balsalisa* for which *Junius*, 2 *Reg.* 4. 42. reads *planities Shalisiæ*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Junius* upon 1. *Sam.* 6. where we read of the Land of *Shalisha*, findeth it in *Benjamin*.

Ant 13. 21. de bell. Jud. 1. 6.

On the other side of the Mountains of *Ephraim* standeth *Gosna*, one of the *Toparchies*, or Cities of government, the second in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Then *Thamnath-sarah*, or according to the *Hebrew*, *Thimnath-Serach*: one also of the ten *Toparchies*, or *Præsidencies* of *Judæa*, which they call *Thamnitica*, a goodly City, and strong, seated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*; on the North of the Hill called *Gaas*; which City and Territory *Israel* gave unto their Leader *Josua*; who also amplified it with buildings, neer which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in S. *Hieroms* time, and over it the *Sun* engraven, in memory of that

Judg 2. 9. It is called Thimnah Chores. Jos. 9 50.

Hieron. in locis Hebr

that greatest of wonders which God wrought in *Josua's* time.

In the places adjoyning standeth *Adarsa*, or *Adasa*; where *Judas Machabæus* with three thousand Jews overthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lievtenant of *Syria*; neer to *Gaser*, or *Gezer*, which *Josua* took, and hung their King; a City of the *Levites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*; the people all slain, and the City razed; *Solomon* rebuilt it.

Mac. 1. 7. 40.

To the East of this place is the Frontier City of *Jesleti*, of which *Jos.* 16. 3. otherwise *Peleth*, whence *David* had part of his Prætorian Souldiers, under the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous Mountain and City of *Silo*, whereon the Ark of God was kept so many years, till the *Philistims* got it.

To this they joyn the City of *Muchmas*, or *Michmas*: in which *Jonathan Machabæus* inhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Hierusalem*: and is now called *Byra*.

See in Benjamin. 1 Mac. 9 alt. 1 Kings 4. and see Rama in Benjamin.

Then the Village of *Naioth* where *Saul* prophesied; and neer it *Ephron*, one of those Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Jeroboam*; after the great overthrow given him. Then *Kimhtsaim*, of the Levites, of which *Jos.* 21. 22. which *Junius* thinks to be the same with *Jokmeham*, of which 1 *Chro.* 6. 28. As for *Absaloms Baalasor*, which they find hereabout, *Junius* reads it, in the Plain of *Chatzor*; and findes it in the Tribe of *Juda*; as *Jos.* 15. we read of two *Chatzors* in that Tribe; one neer *Kedesh*, *ver.* 23. and the other the same as *Chetzron*, *ver* 25.

In this Tribe also they find the City of *Mello*; whose Citizens, they say, joyned with the *Sichemites* in making the Bastard *Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Solomon* raised a Tribute upon the people. But it seems that *Mello*, or *Millo* is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadel: and so *Junius*, for *domus Millo*, reads *incolæ munitionis*, and for *Solomo ædificavit Millo*, he reads *ædificabat munitionem*, and so the *Septuagint* read it τὴν ἀκραν in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Solomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Hierusalem*.

Jud 9. 6. 20. 1 Reg. 11. 27. *Vatablus* expounds Millo in this place locum publicum necessarium civibus Jerosolymitanis atque Israelites.

The other Cities of mark in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuach*, whose King was slain by *Josua*; and *Janoach*, or *Janoah*, spoiled by *Teglatphalassar*: *Pekah* then governing *Israel*, with divers others, but of no great fame. The Mountains of *Ephraim* sometime signifie the greatest part of the Land of the sons of *Joseph*, on the West of *Jordan*: several parts whereof are the Hill of *Samrom*, or *Samaria*, 1 *Reg.* 16. 24. * the Hill of *Gahas*, *Judg.* 2. 9. the Hill of *Tsalmon*, or *Salmon*, *Judg.* 9. 48. the Hills of the Region of *Tsuph*, or *Tsophim*, *Judg.* 9. 5. where *Rama-Tsophim* stood, which was the City of *Samuel*.

2 King. 15 29. *Jos.* 17. 15, 16.

The great plenty of fruitful Vines upon the sides of the Mountains, was the occasion that *Jacob* in the spirit of prophecy, *Gen.* 49. 22. compared *Josephs* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manasse*, to the branches of a fruitful Vine planted by the Well side, and spreading her (*a*) Daughter branches along the Wall: which Allegory also *Ezek.* 22. in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head was *Ephraim*) prosecutes: as also in his Lamentation for *Juda*, he followeth the other Allegory of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49. 9. comparing *Juda* to a Lion. Upon the top of one of the highest of these Hills of *Ephraim*, which overlooketh all the Plains on both sides of *Jordan*, they find the Castle called *Dok*: which they make to be the same with *Dagon*, of which *Josep.* 1. *bell. Jud.* 2. in which Castle, as it is 1 *Mac.* 16. *Ptolomy* most traiterously at a banquet, slew *Simon Macchabæus* his father-in-law.

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaas*, remembred in the second of *Samuel*, *c.* 23. *v.* 30. where though *Junius* read, *Hiddai ex una vallium Gahasi*: yet the Vulgar and *Vatablus* read *Giddai*, of the river of *Gaas*. Also in this Tribe they place the river of *Carith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought: where he was (*b*) fed with the Ravens: and after that the River was dried up, he travelled (by the Spirit of God guided) towards *Sidon*: where he was relieved by the poor widdow of *Zarepta*, whose dead son he revived and increased her pittance of Meal and Oil: whereby she sustained her life.

* Also the hill of *Phineas*, where *Eleazar* the high Priest the son of *Aaron* was buried, *Jos* 24. 33. And the two tops of Hills, *Gerizzim*, where the blessings and *Hebal*, where the cursings were to be read to the people: of which *Deut* 11. 27. & *Jos.* 8

a It seemeth that *Jacob* in this prophesie the rather useth the word *Daughters* for *branches*, thereby the more plainly to signifie *Colonies* which in the *Hebrew* phrase are called *Daughters* of the *Metropolis*: as in *Josua*, and elsewhere often.

b 1 *Reg.* 17. 6. & *chap.* 17.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes, from Jeroboam *to* Achab.

OF the first Kings of *Israel* I omit in this place to speak, and reserve it to the Catalogue of the Kings of *Juda*: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the division from *Juda* and *Benjamin*, now it followeth to speak. The first of these Kings *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, an *Ephrathite*, of *Zereda*, who being a man of strength and courage, was by *Solomon* made overseer of the buildings of the Munition in *Hierusalem*, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasse*: and so many

of them as wrought in those works. During which time, as he went to *Hierusalem*, he encountered the Prophet *Ahijah*: who made him know that he was by God destined to be King of *Israel*, and to command ten of the twelve tribes. After this, fearing that those things might come to *Solomons* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shishak*, whom *Eusebius* calleth *Osochores*, whose Daughter he married: the Predecessor of which *Shishak* (if not the same) did likewise entertain *Adad* the *Edumæan*, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the fury of *David*, and his Captain *Joab*; which *Adad* the King of *Egypt* married to his Wives sister *Taphnes*; using both him and *Jeroboam* as instruments to shake the Kingdom of *Judæa*, that himself might the easilier spoil it, as he did: for in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, *Shishak* sack't the City of *Hierusalem*, and carried thence all the treasure of *David* and *Solomon*, and all the spoils which *David* took from *Adadezor* of *Soba*, with the presents of *Tohu*, King of *Hamath*, which were of an inestimable value. 1 King. 14.

This *Jeroboam* after the death of *Solomon* became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to govern the *Israelites*, and from a mean man exalted to that State: yet preferring the policies of the world before the service and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes under his rule should repair to *Hierusalem* to do their usual Sacrifices, they might be drawn from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calves, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, saith S. *Ambrose*, or rather of *Aarons* Calf in *Horeb*:) further he made election of his Priests out of the basest and unlearned people. This King made his chief Seat and Palace at *Sichem*: He despised the warning of the *Judæan* Prophet, whom *Josephus* calleth *Aidon*, and *Glycas Joel*: his hand thereafter withered, and was again restored: but continuing in his Idolatry, and hardened, upon occasion that the Prophet returning, was slain by a Lion; *Ahijah* makes him know that God purposed to root out his posterity. *Ambrose* upon the first chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*.

He was afterward overthrown by *Abia* King of *Juda*, and died after he had governed two and twenty years; whom *Nadab* his son succeeded: who in the second year of his reign, together with all the race of *Jeroboam*, was slain, and rooted out by *Baasha*, who reigned in his stead: so *Nadab* lived King but two years. 1 King. 11 13, &c.

Baasha the son of *Ahijah*, the third King after the partition, made war with *Asa* King of *Juda*: he seated himself in *Thersa*: and fortified *Rama* against *Juda*, to restrain their excursions. Hereupon *Asa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* against him, who invaded *Nepthalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the mean while *Asa* carried away the materials, with which *Baasha* intended to fortifie *Rama*: but being an Idolater, he was threatned by *Jehu* the Prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to *Jeroboam*: which afterward came to pass: He ruled four and twenty years, and died. 1 King. 15 & 16.

To *Baasha* succeeded *Ela* his son, who at a feast at his Palace of *Thersa*, was in his cups slain by *Zambris*, after he had reigned two years: and in him the prophesie of *Jehu* was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a King seven daies; but *Ambris* in revenge of the Kings murder, set upon *Zambris*, or *Zimri*, and inclosed him in *Thersa*, and inforc't him to burn himself. 1 King. 16

Ambris or *Homri* succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regal seat from *Thersa* to *Samaria*: which he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambris* was also an Idolater no less impious than the rest: and therefore subjected to *Tabremmon* King of *Syria*, the father of *Benhadad*, according to *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*: but how this should stand, I do not well conceive; seeing *Benhadad* the son of *Tabremmon* was invited by *Asa* King of *Juda*, to assail *Baasha* King of *Israel*, the father of *Ela*, who forewent *Ambris*. This *Ambris* reigned twelve years, six in *Thersa*, and six in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*. 1 King. 16 1 King. 15.

§. III.

Of Achab *and his Successors, with the captivity of the ten Tribes.*

Achab, or *Ahab* succeeded *Omri*, who not onely upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians*: but he married *Jezabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Jeroboam* followed the Religion of his *Egyptian* Wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*: and erected an Altar and a Grove to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He suffered *Jezabel* to kill the Prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the land of *Israel*. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* prevailed in the trial of the sacrifice, and killed the false Prophets; and afterward flieth for fear of *Jezabel*.

Benhadad not long after besieged *Samaria*: & taken by *Achab*, was by him set at liberty: for which, the Prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michæas*)

*Micha*as) reproveth him: afterward he caused *Naboth* by a false accusation to be stoned. Then joyning with *Josaphat* in the war for the recovery of *Ramoth*, he was slain, as *Micheas* had foretold him.

He had three sons named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Joram*, and *Joas*: besides seventy other sons by sundry wives and concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: he bruised himself by a fall: and sent for counsel to *Beelzebub* the god of *Acharon*. *Eliah* the Prophet meeteth the Messenger on the way: and misliking that *Ochozias* sought help from that dead Idol, asked the Messenger, if there were not a God in *Israel*? *Ochozias* sendeth two Captains, and with each 50. souldiers, to bring *Eliah* unto him, both which with their Attendants were consumed with fire. The third Captain besought mercy at *Eliah*'s hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the King, avowing it to the King that he must then die; which came to pass in the second year of his reign.

Joram, the brother of *Ochozias* by *Jezabel*, succeeded: He allured *Josaphat* King of *Juda*, and the King of *Edom* to assist him against the *Moabites*, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000. sheep. The three Kings wanted water for themselves and their horses in the Deserts. The Prophet *Elisha* causeth the ditches to flow. The *Moabites* are overthrown: their King flieth to *Kirharaseth*, and being besieged, according to some Expositors, burnt his son on the walls as a sacrifice, whereat the three Kings, moved with compassion, returned and left *Moab*, wasting and spoiling that Region. Others, as it seems with better reason, understand the Text to speak of the son of the King of *Edom*, whom they suppose in this irruption to have been taken prisoner by the *Moabites*, and that the King of *Moab* shewed him over the walls, threatning, unless the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his gods. Whereupon the King of *Edom* besought those of *Juda* and *Israel* to break off the siege for the safety of his son: which when the other Kings refused to yield unto, and that *Moab*, according to his former threatning, had burnt the King of *Edoms* son upon the Rampire, that all the Assailants might discern it, the King of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle inraged, forsook the party of the other Kings, for want of whose assistance the siege was broken up.

After this the King of *Aram* sent to *Joram*, to heal *Naaman* the Captain of his Army of the Leprosie. The answer of *Joram* was, *Am I God to kill, and to give life, that he doth send to heal a man of his Leprosie*: adding, that the *Aramite* sought but matter of quarrel against him. *Elisha* hearing thereof, willed the King to send *Naaman* to him; promising that he should know that there was a Prophet in *Israel*: and so *Naaman* was healed by washing himself seven times in *Jordan*. *Elisha* refused the gifts of *Naaman*; but his servant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the sellers of spiritual gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians*, of *Simon Magus*. 2 King 1.5

Afterward *Benhadad* King of *Aram*, or *Damascus*, having heard that this Prophet did discover to the King of *Israel* whatsoever the *Aramite* consulted in his secretest counsel, sent a troop of horse to take *Elisha*: all whom *Elisha* struck blind, and brought them captives into *Samaria*: *Joram* then asked leave of the Prophet to slay them, *Elisha* forbade him to harm them: but caused them to be fed, and sent back to their own Prince in safety.

The King of *Aram*, notwithstanding these benefits, did again attempt *Samaria*, and brought the Citizens to extream famine. *Joram* imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet *Elisha*. *Elisha* by prayer caused a noise of Chariots and Armour to sound in the air, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege. An act of great admiration, as the same is written in the second of *Kings*. After this, when *Azael* obtained the Kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his Master, *Joram* entring upon his frontier, took *Ramoth-Gilead*: in which war he received divers wounds, and returned to *Jezreel* to be cured. But whilest he lay there, *Jehu* (who commanding the Army of *Joram* in *Gilead*, was anointed King by one of the children of the Prophets sent by *Elisha*) surprised and slew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole posterity of *Ahab*. 2 Kings 7.

Jehu, who reigned after *Jehoram*, destroyed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but also their religion; for which he received a promise from God, That his seed should occupy the Throne unto the fourth generation. Yet he upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, for which he was plagued with grievous war, wherein he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of *Jordan*: in which war he was slain, saith *Cedrenus*; whereof the Scriptures are silent. *Jehu* reigned 28. years. Pag 86.

Joachaz, or *Jehoachaz* the son of *Jehu* succeeded his father, whom *Azael* and his son 2 King. 13.3

Benhadad

Benhadad often invaded, and in the end subjected, leaving him onely 50. horse, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot: and, as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Joachaz* reigned 17. years.

After *Joachaz*, *Joas* his son governed *Israel*, who when he repaired to *Elisha* the Prophet as he lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories over the *Aramites*: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bow, and *Elisha* covered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window Westward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. He again willed him to beat the ground with his arrows, who smote it thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that he should have smitten five or six times, and then he should have had so many victories over the *Aramites* as he gave strokes. And so it succeeded with *Joas*, who overthrew the *Aramites* in three battels, and recovered the Cities and Territory from *Benhadad* the son of *Azael*, which his father
2 King. 14 *Joachaz* had lost. He also overthrew *Amazia* King of *Juda*, who provoked him to make the war, whereupon he entred *Hierusalem*, and sacked it with the Temple. This *Joas* reigned sixteen years, and died; in whose time also the Prophet *Elisha* exchanged this life for a better.

Jeroboam the third from *Jehu*, followed *Joas* his father, an Idolater, as his predecessors; but he recovered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath* which is near *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty years.

Zacharias the fifth and last of the house of *Jehu*, slain by *Shallum* his vassal, who reigned in his stead, governed six moneths. *Shallum* held the Kingdom but one moneth, being slaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

Menahem, who took revenge of *Shallum*,
2 King. 15. 16. used great cruelty to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with child. This *Menahem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of silver, which he exacted by a Tribute of fifty shekels from every man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menahem* governed twenty years.

Pekahiah, or *Phaceia*, or after *Zonaras*, *Phaceſia* succeeded, and after he had ruled
2 King. 15. 23. two years, he was slain by *Phaca*, or *Pekah* the Commander of his Army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekah*'s time, *Phulaſſer*, or *Tiglat-Phylaſſer* invaded the Kingdom of *Israel*, and won *Jion*, *Abel-Bethmaacah*, *Janoach*, *Kedesh*, *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them captives into *Assyria*: he was drawn in by *Achaz* King of *Judæa*, against *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being wasted by *Pekah* of *Israel*, and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the Church-riches, and therewith ingaged the *Assyrian*, who first suppressed that Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damascus*, and then of *Israel*: and this inviting of the great *Assyrian*, was the utter ruine of both States, of *Israel*, and of *Judæa*. *Pekah* reigned 20. years.

Then *Hoshea*, or *Osea*, who slew *Pekah*, became the vassal of *Salmanasser*; but hoping to shake off the *Assyrian* yoak, he sought aid from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* King of *Egypt*: which being known to the *Assyrian*, he cast him into prison, besieged *Samaria*, and mastered it: carried the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Nineve* in *Assyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Eastern Regions, and there dispersed them: and re-planted *Samaria* with divers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthæ* (inhabiting about *Cutha*, a River in *Persia*, or rather in *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding upon *Syria*, and with those of *Sepharvajim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Mesopotamia* upon *Euphrates*, of whose conquest *Senacherib* vaunteth) also with those of *Ava*, which were of the ancient *Avins*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philistims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling near unto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtorims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Desart*, called *Havæi*, willing to return to their ancient seats. To these he added those of *Chamath*, or *Ituræa*, the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, and sometime the Vassals of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, which so often afflicted them. And thus did this *Assyrian* advise himself better than the *Romans* did. For after *Titus* and *Vespasian* had wasted the Cities of *Judæa* and *Hierusalem*, they carried the people away captive: but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their own thin Garrisons, which soon decayed; and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, happened in the year of the world, 3292. the sixth year of *Ezekiah* King of *Juda*: and the ninth of *Hosea* the last King of *Israel*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1.	*Jeroboam*	Reigned	22 Years.	10.	*Jehu*	Reigned	28 Years.
2.	*Nadab*		2 Years.	11.	*Joachaz*		17 Years.
3.	*Baasha*		24 Years.	12.	*Joas*		16 Years.
4.	*Ela*		20 Years.	13.	*Jeroboam*		41 Years.
5.	*Zambris*		7 Dayes.	14.	*Zacharias*		6 Moneths.
6.	*Omri*		11 Years.	15.	*Shallum*		1 Moneth.
7.	*Achab*		22 Years.	16.	*Menahem*		10 Years.
8.	*Ochozias*		2 Years.	17.	*Pakahia*		2 Years.
9.	*Joram*		12 Years.	18.	*Phaca*		20 Years.
				19.	*Hoſea*		9 Years, about whoſe time Writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad, *and the other half of* Manaſſe.

§. I.

Of Dan, *whereof Joppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Towns.*

NOw following the coaſt of the *Mediterran Sea*, that portion of Land aſſigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, joyneth to *Ephraim*, whereof I ſpake laſt: of which Family there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 62700. fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the reſt in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land of their ſons 66400. bearing arms. The firſt famous City in this Tribe on the Sea-coaſt was *Joppe*, or *Japho*, as in the 19. of *Joſua*: one of the moſt ancient of the world, and the moſt famous of others on that coaſt, becauſe it was the Port of *Hieruſalem*. From hence *Jonas* imbarked himſelf when he fled from the ſervice of God towards *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this City received many changes: and while *Judas Macchabæus* governed the Jews, the *Syrians* that were garriſon'd in *Joppe*, having their Fleet in the Port, invited 200. principal Citizens aboard them, and caſt them all into the Sea: which *Judas* revenged by firing their Fleet, and putting the companies which ſought to eſcape to the ſword.

Vat. 46.

Mac. 2. 12.

It was twice taken by the *Romans*, and by *Ceſtius* the Lievtenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the year of Chriſt, 1250. *Lodowick* the French King gave it new Wals and Towers: It is now the *Turks*, and called *Jaffa*. There are certain Rocks in that Port, whereunto it is reported, that *Andromeda* was faſtned with chains: and from thence delivered from the Sea-monſter by *Perſeus*. This fable (for ſo I take it) is confirmed by *Joſephus*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*. *Marcus Scaurus* during his office of Ædileſhip, ſhewed the bones of this Monſter to the people of *Rome*. S. *Hierome* upon *Jonas* ſpeaks of it indifferently.

Lib. 3. 1 15 de bel. Jud. Solin. c 47. Plin. l 5. cap. 9.

The next unto *Joppe* was *Jamnia*, where *Judas Macchabæus* burnt the reſt of the *Syrian* Fleet: the fire and flame whereof was ſeen at *Hieruſalem*, 240. furlongs off. It had ſometime a Biſhops ſeat, ſaith *Will.* of *Tyre*; but there is no ſign of it at this time, that ſuch a place there was.

2 Mac. 12. de bel ſacr.

After *Jamnia* is the City of *Geth*, or *Gath*, ſometime *Anthedon*, ſaith *Volateran*. And ſo *Montanus* ſeems to underſtand it. For he ſets it next to *Egypt*, of all the *Philiſtim* Cities, and in the place of *Anthedon*. But *Volateran* gives neither reaſon nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolomy* ſets *Anthedon* far to the South of *Joppe*: and *Geth* was the firſt and not the laſt (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the *Philiſtims*: and about ſixteen miles from *Joppe*: where S. *Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the ſame name. It was ſometime the habitation and Seminary of the *Anakims*, ſtrong and Giant-like men, whom *Joſua* could not expel, nor the *Danites* after him, nor any of the *Iſraelites*, till *Davids* time: who ſlew *Goliath*, as his Captains did divers others not much inferiour in ſtrength and ſtature unto *Goliath*.

F. 144.

Hierom. in Michæam.

Roboam

Roboam the son of *Solomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the son of *Amazia* destroyed it again. It was also laid waste by *Azael* King of *Syria*. *Fulke* the fourth King of *Hierusalem*, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruines. Whether this *Geth* was the same that *Will.* of *Tyre* in the Holy war calls *Ibilin*, I much doubt: the errour growing by taking *Geth* for *Anthedon*.

Lib 21. c. 18.

Not far from *Geth* or *Gath* standeth *Bethsemes*, or the house of the Sun. In the fields adjoyning to this City (as is thought) was the Ark of God brought by a yoak of two Kine, turned loose by the *Philistims*: and the *Bethsemites* presuming to look therein, there were slain of the Elders seventy, and of the people fifty thousand, by the ordinance of God. After which slaughter, and the great lamentation of the people, it was called the great * *Abel*, saith S. *Hierome*. *Benedictus Theologus* findes three other Cities of this name; one in (a) *Nephtalim*: another in *Juda*: and another in *Issachar*. *Hierome* findes a fifth in *Benjamin*.

1 Sam 6. 18.

* Or rather not the City it self, but the great stone in the field upon which stone the Philistims set the Ark, the change being eas'e from *Eben*, or *Aben*, which signifieth a stone, to *Abel* which signifieth mourning.

Keeping the Sea-coast, the strong City of *Accaron* offereth it self, sometime one of the five *Satrapies*, or Governments of the *Philistims*. S. *Hierome* makes it the same with *Cæsariæ Palæstinæ*. *Pliny* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of those that defended it self against the *Danites* and *Idumæans*. It worshipped *Beel-zebub*, the god of Hornets or Flies. To which Idol it was that *Ahaziah* King of *Israel* sent to enquire of his health: whose messengers *Eliah* meeting by the way, caused them to return with a sorrowful answer to their Master. This City is remembred in many places of Scripture.

a See in Neph. c 7. sect 4. § 6. 2 King. 1.

Christianus Schrot placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Accaron* or *Ekron*. This *Azotus* or *Asdod*, was also an habitation of the *Anakims*, whom *Josua* (b) failed to destroy, though he once possest their City. Herein stood a sumptuous Temple, dedicated to the (c) Idol *Dagon*: the same Idol whith fell twice to the ground of it self, after the *Ark* of God was by the *Philistims* carried into their Temple: and in the second fall, it was utterly broken and defaced. Neer it was that famous (d) *Judas Macchabæus* slain by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* the Lievtenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Jonathas*: and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idol therein consumed with fire: neer which also he overthrew *Apollonius*.

Gabinius the Roman rebuilt it. It had a Bishops seat while Christianity flourished in those parts. But in S. *Hieroms* time it was yet a fair Village. And this was the last of the Sea-Towns within the Tribe of *Dan*.

b Josua 13. 3. c 1 Sam. 5. 4. d 1 Mace 9 1 Mace. 10. Joseph. 19 41. Jud. 13 25. & cap. 18. 2.

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from *Azotus*; and beyond the Fountain of *Æthiopia*, wherein *Philip* the Apostle baptized the Eunuch, are *Tsorah*, or *Sarxa*, and *Esthaol*, and between them *Castra Danis* neer *Hebron*: though this place where *Sampson* was born, may seem by the words, *Judg.* 18. 12. to be in the Tribe of *Judah*, as the other also were bordering Towns between *Dan* and *Juda*.

After these within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they find *Gedor*, or as it is 1 *Mac.* 15. *Cedron*, which *Cendebæus* the Lievtenant of *Antiochus* fortified against the *Jews*, and neer which himself was by the *Macchabees* overthrown. 1 Mac 15. 16.

Then *Modin* the Native City of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whose Sepulchre the seven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heighth, as they served for a mark to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeers after their first setting up, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witness.

There are besides these the City of *Cariathiarim*, that is, the City of the woods: seated in the border of *Juda*, *Benjamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the Ark of God remained twenty yeers in the house of *Aminadab*: till such time as *David* carried it thence to *Hierusalem*. Of this place (as they say) was *Zacharias* the son of *Barachias*, or *Jehoiada*, who was slain between the Temple and the Altar: also *Urias*, whom *Joachim* King of *Hierusalem* slaughtered, as we find in *Jeremy*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe, rather, as I take it, upon presumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caspin* taken with great slaughter by *Judas Macchabæus*: and *Lechis*, whose King was slain by *Josua*, in which also *Amaziah* was slain: The same which *Senacherib* took, *Ezekias* reigning in *Juda*.

Alias Cariath-baal & Baal, or Baalpharasim. 1 Sam. 7. 1. & 2 Sam. 6. 2. 2 Chron. 14. 22. Mat. 23. 33. Jer. 16. 20. 2 Mat. 12. 13. Jos. 12. 11. 2 Reg. 14. 19.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, see in *Josua* c. 19. from the *ver.* 41. where also it is added, that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they invaded *Leshem*, and inhabited it: which City, after amplified by *Philip*, the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Cæsarea Philippi*, as before, and made the *Metropolis* of *Ituræa*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coasts this *Philip* was *Tetrach*: but of this City see more in *Nephtalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountains of fame.

It hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Norther-most riseth out of the Mountains of *Juda*: and passing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the name of

Hieron. in Quæst. Hebraic. Breid. Jud. lib. 4.

of *Sorek*, or *Sored*, whose banks are plentiful of Vines which have no seeds or stones: the wine they yield is red, of excellent colour, taste, and savour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, so called from the River, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampson* loved.

§. II.
THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

THE Tribe of *Simeon* takes up the rest of the Sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*: who being the second son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were increased of that Family while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 59300. able men, all which ending their lives in the *Desarts*, there entred the Land of Promise of their issues 22200. bearing arms, who were * in part mixed with *Juda*, and in part severed, inhabiting a small Territory on the Sea-coast, belonging to *Edumæa*, of which the first City adjoyning to *Dan*, was *Ascalon*.

* And therefore no marvel that divers places named *Jos.* 15. in the large portion of *Juda*, be reckoned in this Tribe: see *Jos.* 19. v. 1. and 9. where thus much is expressly noted *Pola. Geog. lib. 5. cap. 24.*

The *Reguli*, or petty Kings thereof, were called *Ascalonitæ*: of which *Volatteran* out of *Xanthus*, in the History of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Ascalus* were the sons of *Hymenæus*: and that *Ascalus* being imployed by *Aciamus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Army in *Syria*, falling in love with a young Woman of that Country, built this City, and called it after his own name: The same hath *Nicolaus* in his History, saith *Volatteran*.

Diodorus Siculus in his third Book remembreth a Lake neer *Ascaion*, wherein there hath been a Temple dedicated to *Derceto*, the Goddess of the *Syrians*; having the face of a Woman, and the body of a Fish: who, as I have said before in the story of *Ninus*, was the mother of *Semiramis*, feigned to be cast into this Lake, and fed and relieved by Doves. And therefore was the Dove worshipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

Alba Palæstino sancta Columba Syro.

The white Dove is for holy held in *Syria Palestine*.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Cities of the *Philistims*. It bred many learned men (saith *Volatteran*, as *Antiachus*, *Sosus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the Historian, and *Artemidorus*, who wrote the story of *Bithynia*.

Vol. ut supra.

In *Ascalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Herod* born, that seeking after our Saviour, caused all the Male-children of two years old and under to be slain. In the Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that, when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard* King of *England*, while he made war in the *Holy Land*, gave it a new Wall and many buildings. *Ejus murus cum* Saladinus *diruisset*, Richardus *Anglorum Rex instauravit*, saith *Adrichomæus*.

Adrich. in Tribu Simeon.

In *Davids* time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the *Philistims*: for he nameth *Gath* and *Ascalon* onely, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*: not speaking of the other three. *Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it not in the streets of Ascalon*: It is now called *Scalone*. *Gabinius* restored it as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

2 Sam 1.

Next to *Ascalon* stood *Gaza*, or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrews* call *Hazza*, the *Syrians*, *Azan*, of *Azonus* (as they say) the son of *Hercules*. Other profane writers affirm, that it was built by *Jupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* gives the building thereof to *Cambyses* the *Persian*; because belike he re-built it, and *Gaza* in the *Persian* tongue is as much to say, as Treasure. This *Gaza* was the first of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philistims*, and the South bound of the land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this City was far more ancient than *Cambyses*, as it is proved by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time as *Alexander Macedon* invaded the Empire of *Persia*, it received a Garrison for *Darius*: in despight whereof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long siege demolished, and was called *Gaza* of the *Desart*.

Vol. I. 12.

Steph. de Urb. Jud. 16. 16.

1 Kings 6. & alib. *Joseph. 13. ant. 19.*

Alexander Janeus King of the *Jews* surprised it, and slew five hundred Senators in the Temple of *Apollo*, which fled thither for Sanctuary: but this *Gaza* was not set up in the same place again, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had overturned, but somewhat neerer the Sea side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Town of great account in the time of the *Machabees*, and gave many wounds to the *Jews*, till it was forst by *Simon*: of which he made so great account, as that he purposed to reside therein himself, and in his absence left *John* his Son and Successour to be Governour. In *Brochard* his time it was still a goodly City, and known by the name of *Gazara*.

Mac 1. 13. Broch. Itin. 7.

At the very out-let of the River of *Besor*, standeth *Majoma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the priviledge of a City was given by the great *Constantine*, and the place called *Constance*, after the name of the Emperours Son. But *Julian* the *Apostata* soon after favouring the *Gazeans*, made it subject unto them, and commanded it to be called *Gaza maritima*.

Hist. trip. l. 6. c. 4. Niceph. 10. hist. cap. 8.

*Jos.*13. *ver.* 19, 22.

On the other side of *Besor* standeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Janneus*, restored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the favorite of *Augustus*.

*Jos.*13. *ver.* 3, 4, &c.

Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* overthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whose Torrent is known in the Scriptures by the name of * *the Torrent of Egypt*, till the *Septuagint* converted it *Rinocura*: to difference it, *Es.*27. 12. giving the name of the City to the Torrent that watereth it. *Pliny* calls it *Rhinocolura*: and *Josephus Rhinocorura*: (a) *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was divided by lot, between the three Sons of *Noah*.

* *Hieronimus* calls it *Wallis Egypti*, the name of the stream seems to be *Sichor*. See in *Asser*, c. 7. *sect.* 3. §. 8. in the margent.

(a) *Epiph. tom.* 2. *in vesal Manich & in Ancorato.* *Gen.* 10 19

Within the Land, and upon the River of *Besor* they place *Gerar*: which the Scripture placeth between *Kadesh* and *Shur*, *Gen.*20.1. That it was neer to the Wilderness of *Beersheba*, it appears *Gen.* 20.31. and therefore no marvel that as elsewhere *Beer-sheba*, so sometime *Gerar*, be made the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a distinct Kingdom from the *Philistim Satrapies*: the Kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*; S. *Hierome* saith that afterwards it was called *Regio salutaris*, *the healthy Country*: so that it was no marvel that *Abraham* and *Isaac* lived much in those parts. Of King *Asa's* conquest of the Cities about *Gerar*, see 2 *Chron.*14.14.

1 *Sam.*30.

More within the Land was *Siceleg*, or *Tsiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *David* in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philistims* had left his carriages there, but *David* followed them over the River of *Besor*, and put them to the slaughter, and recovered the prey.

*Josep.*10, 11, 12.

Next *Dabir* sometime *Cariath-Sepher*, a City of Letters, the University, as they say, or *Academy* of old *Palæstine*. In Saint *Hierom's* time, it seems, it had the name of *Daema*: *Jos.*15.49. it is called *Urbs Sannæ*: from the name, as it seems, of some of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Urbs Arbahi*. For even hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othoniel*, incouraged by *Caleb's* promise of his Daughter in marriage: but that *Josua* and the Hoast of *Israel* were at the surprise, it appears *Jos.*10. 39. This City *Jos.*21.15. is named among those which out of *Simeon* and *Juda* were given to the *Levites*. And hence it seems they attribute it to this Tribe.

*Jos.*11.21.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simeon*, but of less fame, as *Hasin*, of which *Jos.*19.7. which also *Jos.*21.16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Levites*, given out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simeon*, (for which *Junius* thinks *Hasham* is named 1 *Chron.*6.59. though * in the place of *Josua* these two are distinguished) also *Tholad*, so named 1 *Chro.*4.29 for which *Jos.*19.4. we have *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Susa*, so named, *Jos.*19.5. for which *Jos.*15. we have *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in signification: for *Gadda* is *Turma*, and *Susa Equitatus*.

* And also 1 *Chron* 4. 31.

In the same places of *Josua* and of the *Chronicles*, *Chorma* is named, which they think to be the same with that of which *Num.*14.45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* pursued the *Israelites*: But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the Mountains of *Edumæa*. For *Israel* fled not that way: but back again to the Camp, which lay to the South of *Edumæa*, in the *Desart*. *Deut.*1.

The same places also name *Beersheba* in this Tribe: so called of the Oath between *Abraham* and *Abimelec*: neer unto which *Hagar* wandered with her son *Ismael*. It was also called the City of *Isaac*, because he dwelt long there. *Gen.*21.31 While the *Christians* held the *Holy Land*, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the *Arabian* Desart, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simeon* which are named in the places of *Josua*, and of the *Chronicles* above noted, because they help us nothing in story, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekia* King of *Juda*, certain of this Tribe being strengthened in his own Territories, passed to * *Gedor*, as it is 1 *Chron.* 4. 39. (the same place which *Jos.*15.36. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the issue of *Cham*: where they seated themselves: as also five hundred others of this Tribe, destroyed the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountains of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

* As it seems in the Land of *Juda*. See in the first *Paragraph* of this Chapter in the Cities of *Dan*.

The Mountains within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampson* the chiefest: unto which he carried the Gate-post of *Gaza*. *Jud* 16.3 The Rivers are, *Besor*, and the *Torrent* of *Egypt*, called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Asser*.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF JUDA.

OF *Juda*, the fourth son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600. all which (*Caleb* excepted) perished in the *Desarts*. And of their sons there entred the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing arms. Agreeable to the greatness of this number was the greatest Territory given, called afterward *Judæa*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simeon* included. And many Cities named in those

thoſe Tribes, did firſt, as they ſay, belong unto the Children of *Juda*: who had a kind of Soveraignty over them: as *Succoth*, *Cartathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Bethſemes*, *Tſiglag*, *Beerſheba*, and others. The multitude of people within this ſmall Province (if it be meted by that ground given to this Tribe only) were incredible, if the witneſſe of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *David* numbred the people, they were found five hundred thouſand fighting men.

The Cities of *Juda* were many. But I will remember the chiefeſt of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which ſtandeth in the entrance of *Judæa* from *Idumæa*: whoſe King firſt ſurprized the *Iſraelites* as they paſſed by the border of *Canaan* towards *Moab*, and took from them ſome ſpoyls, and many priſoners: who being afterward overthrown by the *Iſraelites*, the ſons of *Keni*, the Kinſmen of *Moſes*, obtained a poſſeſſion in that Territory: who before the coming of the *Iſraelites*, dwelt between *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Num 21.3. *Joſ* 11.14. *Jud.* 1.16.

Following this Frontier towards *Idumæa* and the South, *Aſcenſus Scorpionis*, or *Acrabbim* is placed: the next to *Arad*: ſo called becauſe of Scorpions, which are ſaid to be in that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Hierome* thinks that the name of the *Toparchie*, called *Acrabathena*, was denominated: of which we have ſpoken in *Manaſſes*. On the South ſide alſo of *Judæa* they place the Cities of *Jagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Aſhna*, *Jethnam*, and *Aſſor*, or *Chatſor*, moſt of them Frontier Towns.

Num. 34.4. *Deut.* 8.15.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places ſo called: one beſides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the *Deſart* and Forreſt adjoyning took name: where *David* hid himſelf from *Saul*. After theſe are the Cities of *Eſron*, *Adar*, *Karkah*, and *Aſcemona*, or *Hatſmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumæa* towards the North, we find the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Aſor*, or *Chatſor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sochoes*: of all which ſee *Joſ.* 15. alſo *Carioth*, by *Joſ.* 15.25. called *Kerioth*: whence *Judas* the Traitor was called *Iſ-carioth*, as it were a man of *Carioth*. Then *Hetham*, the abode of *Sampſon*, which *Rehoboam* re-edified. Beyond theſe, towards the North border, and towards *Elutheropolis*, is the City of *Jethar*, or *Jathir*, belonging to the Levites. In Saint *Hierom*'s time it was called *Jethira*: and inhabited altogether with *Chriſtians*: neer unto this City was that remarkable battel fought between *Aſa* King of *Juda*, and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithſtanding beaten and put to flight: *Aſa* following the victory as far as *Gerar*, which at the ſame time he recovered.

Jud. 15.8. *1 Chro.* 11.6 *Jun.* out of the *1 Chro.* 4.31 notes that this *Hetham*, though it were within the bounds of *Juda*, belonged to *Simeon*. *Joſ.* 15.48. *Hieron. in loc. Hebr.*

Not far from *Jether* ſtandeth *Jarmuth*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*, and the City overturned. Next unto it is *Mareſa* the Native City of the Prophet *Michæa*: between it and *Odolla*, *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew *Gorgias*, and ſent thence ten thouſand *Dragmas* of ſilver to be offered for ſacrifice.

2 Macc 12. 35.

Odolla, or *Hadullam* it ſelf, was an ancient and magnificent City, taken by *Joſua*, and the King thereof ſlain. *Jonathan Macchabæus* beautified it greatly. Then *Ceila*, or *Keila*, afterward *Echela*, where *David* ſometime hid himſelf: and which afterward he delivered from the aſſaults of the *Philiſtims*: neer which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whoſe monument remained, and was ſeen by S. *Hierome*.

Gen 38. 1. *Joſ.* 12, 15. *1 Sam* 23.1

Neer it is *Hebron*, ſometime called *the City of Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariatharbe*: the reaſon of this name they give, as if it ſignified the City of four: becauſe the four Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but ſuppoſed: and it is plain by the places, *Joſ.* 14. 14. and 15. 13. and 20. 11. that *Arbah* here doth not ſignifie four, but that it was the name of the Father of the Giants, called *Anakim*, whoſe ſon as it ſeems *Anak* was: and *Achiman*, *Sheſhai*, and *Talmai*, (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Joſ.* 15.) were the ſons of *Anak*, *Num.* 13.23. The name of *Anak* ſignifieth *Torquem*, a chain worn for ornament; and it ſeems that this *Anak*, inriched by the ſpoils which himſelf and his father got, wore a chain of gold, and ſo got this name: and leaving the cuſtome to his poſterity, left alſo the name: ſo that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amiſs be expounded by *Torquati*.

The City *Hebron* was one of the ancienteſt Cities of *Canaan*, built ſeven yeers before *Tſoan*, or *Tanis*, in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chief City of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given, to wit, the Villages adjoyning, and the reſt to the Levites. It had a Biſhop in the *Chriſtian* times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the mother of *Conſtantine*.

Not far hence they find *Eleutheropolis*, or the free City, remembred often by Saint *Hierome*. Then *Eglon*, whoſe King *Dabir* aſſociated with the other four Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Hieruſalem*, *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, and *Lachis*, beſieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Joſua* utterly overthrown. From hence the next City of fame was *Emaus*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of Go-

verument or *Præsidencies* of *Judæa*. In sight of this City, *Judas Maccabæus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gave a third overthrow to *Gorgias*, Lievtenant to *Antiochus*.

Jos 10 11. *Macc* 1 3 *Euseb in Chron Broth. 2. tit. 6.*

In the yeer 1301. it was overturned by an earthquake, saith *Eusebius*. In the Christian times it had a Bishops seat of the Diocess of *Cæsarea* of *Palestine*.

From *Emaus* toward the West Sea, there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader*, or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which, and of *Gederoth*, * *Jos.* 15. 36. and 41. Then *Azecha*, to which *Josua* followed the slaughter of the five Kings before named, a City of great strength in the Valley of (a) *Terebinth*, or *Turpentine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth, 1 *Sam.* 17. 2. whence (as it seems) they seat it neer unto *Soco*, and unto *Lebna* of the Levites. It revolted from the subjection of the *Jews* while *Joram* the son of *Josaphat* ruled in *Hierusalem*: And next unto this standeth *Maceda*, which *Josua* utterly dis-peopled.

* Also 1 *Chro* 4. 39. as is above remembred in the Title of *Simeon*.

(a) *Junius*, for in *Valle Terebinthi*, hath *in Valle quercus*. *Vatablus* keeps the *Hebrew*, reading *in Valle Elah.*

On the other side of *Emaus* towards the East standeth *Bethsur*, otherwise *Bethsora*, and *Bethsor*: one of the strongest and most sought for places in all *Juda*. It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethsur* (*the house on the Rock*, or *of strength.*) It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Judas Maccabæus*. *Lysias* forc't it: and *Antiochus Eupator* by famine, *Jonathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the *Syrian* Kings.

Jos 15. *ant.* 9. *Macc.* 1. 6.

Bethleem is the next unto it within six miles of *Hierusalem*, otherwise *Lebem*: sometime *Ephrata*; which name, they say, it had of *Calebs* wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts, *Gen.* 38. 16. Of this City was *Abessan*, or *Ibsan* Judge of *Israel* after *Jephtah*, famous for the thirty sons and thirty daughters begotten by him. *Elimelec* was also a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Juda* in the time of the Judges, with whom *Ruth* the daughter-in-law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and married *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Isai*, of whom *David*. It had also the honour to be the native City of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*; and therefore shall the memory thereof never end.

Gen. 53 48

Ruth 1.

Hieron. in com. super. Mat. c. 2. Matth. 2. 1.

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a City of the same name: and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethleem Juda*.

Amos 1. 1. 1 *Macc.* 6 32. *Jos. ant.* 12. c. 14 1 *Macc.* 6. 36.

From *Bethleem* some four or five mile standeth *Thecua*, the City of *Amos* the Prophet: and to this place adjoyning is the City of *Bethzacaria*, in the way between *Bethsura* and *Hierusalem*: on whose Hils adjoyning, the glorious guilt shields of *Antiochus* shined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the *Jews*. The City of *Hezek* was also neer unto *Bethleem*, which *Adoni-Bezec* commanded; who had during his reign tortur'd 70. Kings, by cutting off the joynts of their Fingers and Toes: and made them gather bread under his Table: but at length the same end befell himself by the sons of *Juda*, after they had taken him prisoner.

* See in *Manasse* 2. 7. *sect.* 7.

Jud. 1 6.

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may pass by, until we come to the magnificent Castle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble steps, exceeding beautiful and strong. And towards the *Dead Sea*, and adjoyning to the *Desart* of *Jeruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *Clivaus floridus*, where, in the time of *Jehosaphat*, the *Jews* stood and lookt on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, massacring one another, when they had purposed to joyn against *Juda*: neer which place is the Valley of blessing, where the *Jews* the fourth day after, solemnly came and blessed God for so strange a deliverance.

Jos. 14. *ant.* 22.

2 *Chro* 20. 16 & 26.

Now the Cities of *Juda* which border the *Dead Sea*, are these; *Aduran* beautified by *Roboam*: and *Tsohar*, which the *Vulgar* calleth * *Segor*: so called, because *Lot* in his prayer for it, urged that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tsohar*, which signifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen.* 14. 2. In the *Romans* time it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) *Pannier*: in *Hierom*'s time, *Balexona*. Then *Engaddi*, or *Hen-gaddi*, first *Asasonthamar*: neer unto which are the Gardens of *Balsamum*, the best that the world had called *Opobalsamum*: the most part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* sent for out of *Judæa*, and *Herod*, who either feared or loved *Anthony* her Husband, caused them to be rooted up, and presented unto her: which she re-planted neer *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This City was first taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable Cities of *Judæa*; and one of the Presidencies thereof.

2 *Chro* 11. * Some call it *Bal. Soliſa* and *Vitula cæsternarum*. See in *Gal.* c. 10. *sect.* 5. *post principium in Harober.* *Gen.* 19 20 *Hieron. in Ose. Hebr. Chaisasonthamar.* 2 *Chro* 26. 2.

Gen. 14 7.

The rest of the Cities are many in the Inland, and among them *Jesrael*: not that which was the City of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the same name, the City of *Achinoan*, the wife of *David*, the mother of that *Ammon* whom *Absalom* slew: also, as some think, the City of *Amasa*, *Absaloms* Lievtenant, and the Commander of his Army. But this seemeth to be an errour grounded upon the neerness of the words *Israel* and *Jesrael*: and because the 2 *Sam.* 17. 25.

1 *Reg.* 21.

2 *Sam.* 17. 25.

25. *Amasa*'s father is called an *Israelite*, who in the first of the *Chron.* 2. 17. is called an *Ismaelite:* indeed the *Hebrew* Orthography sheweth that *Amasa*'s father is not said to be of the City *Jesrael*, but an *Israelite* in Religion, though otherwise an *Ismaelite*.

In this Tribe there were many high Hils and Mountains: as those of *Engaddi* upon the *Dead Sea:* and the Mountains of *Juda*, which begin to rise by *Emaus*, and end neer *Taphna*, and these part *Juda* from *Dan* and *Simeon*. Of others which stand single, there is that of *Hebron*, at the foot whereof was that Oak of *Mamre*, where the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*; which Saint *Hierome* calleth a Fir-tree, and saith, That it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mountain called *Collis Achillæ*, on the South of *Ziph:* on the top whereof the great *Herod*, inclosing the old Castle, erected by *Jonathan Macchabæus*, and called *Massada*, garnished it with twenty seven high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and Furniture for an hundred thousand men; being, as it seemeth a place unaccessable, and of incomparable strength.

Hieron. in loc. Heb. & quæst hebr. Jos. 14. Ant. c. 20.

In the Valley afterward called the *Dead Sea*, or the Lake *Asphaltitis*, this Country had four Cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorra*, destroyed with fire from Heaven for their unnatural sins.

§. IV.
THE TRIBE OF REUBEN, and his Borderers.

¶. I.
The seats and bounds of Midian, Moab, *and* Ammon, *part whereof the* Reubenites *wan from* Sehon *King of* Hesbon.

ON the other side of the *Dead Sea*, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacobs* sons inhabited: of whose children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the rest in the Desarts, there remained to possess the Land promised 43700. bearing arms. But before we speak of these, or the rest that inhabited the East side of *Jordan*, something of their borderers: to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose Land in our Writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first we are to remember, that out of *Abraham*'s kindred came mighty Families: as by *Isaac* and *Jacob* the Nation called *Israel*, and afterward *Jews:* by *Esau*, or *Edom*, the *Idumæans:* by *Ismael*, the eldest Son of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites:* and by *Ketura*, his last wife, the *Midianites*. And again, by *Lot*, *Abraham*'s brothers son, those two valiant Nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites:* all which being but strangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly possest by the *Canaanites*; and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliance of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adjoyning.

Esau and his sons held *Idumæa*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South, *Ismael* took from the South-east part of the *Dead Sea*; stretching his possession over all *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the *Desart*, as far as the River of *Tygris*, from *Sur* to *Havilah*.

Moab took the rest of the coast of the *Dead Sea*, leaving a part to *Midian*, and passing over *Arnon*, inhabited the Plains between *Jordan* and the Hils of *Abarim*, or *Arnon*, as far North as *Essebon*, or *Chesbon*.

Ammon sate down on the North-east side of *Arnon*, and possest the Tract from *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*, both within the Mountains of *Gilhead*, and without them as far forth as *Aroer*, though in *Moses* time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the *Amorites* had thrust him over the River of *Jaboc*, as they had done *Moab* over *Arnon*. As these Nations compassed sundry parts of *Canaan*, so the border between the River of *Jaboc* and *Damascus*, was held by the *Amorites* themselves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territory on the East side of *Jordan*, and on the East side of the *Dead Sea*, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manasse*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first possest by the *Emims*, a Nation of Giants weakned and broken by *Chedorlaomer*, after repulsed by the *Moabites*, as before remembred. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territory and ancient possession of the *Zamzummims*, or *Zutæi*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlaomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest: and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Jos. 13. *Num.* 21. 24. *Gen.* 14.

Now where it is written, that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the same is to be understood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Ancestor beaten the *Moabites* out of the plain Countries, between *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driven them from *Hesbon* over *Arnon*; and this hapned not long before *Moses* arrival upon that border, when *Vaheb* governed the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab* when *Moses* past *Arnon*, was not the son of *Vaheb*, but his name was *Balac*, the son of *Zippor*. And it

may

may be that those Kings were elective, as the *Edumæans* anciently were.

Now, all that part of *Moab*, between *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as far North as *Esebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arrived there out of *Egypt*, it was in the possession of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amoreus*: and therefore did *Jephtah* the Judge of *Israel* justly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claim of the *Ammonites*: because (as he alledged) *Moses* found them in the possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab*, or *Ammon*: who (saith *Jephtah*) had 300. years time to recover them, and did not: whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now. *Judg.* 11.

And lest any should marvel why the *Ammonites* in *Jephtahs* time should make claim to these Countries: whereas *Moses* in the place *Num.* 21. *v.* 26. rather accounts them to have been the ancient possession of the *Moabites*, than of the *Ammonites*: it is to be noted, that *Deut.* 3. 11. when it is said that the Iron bed of *Og* was to be seen at *Rabbath*, the chief City of the *Ammonites*, it is also signified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* possessed, was by him or his Ancestors got from the *Ammonites*, as much of *Sehons* was from the *Moabites*.

Jos 13. 25. *Junius* notes that the one half of the land of *Hammon*, which in this place of *Josua* is said to have been given to the *Gadites*, was taken first from the *Ammonites* by *Sehon*: but the place, *Deut.* 2. 11. proves that as well *Og*, as *Sehon* had gotten lands out of the hands of the *Ammonites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were seated so confusedly together, that it was hard to distinguish them; so also were the sons of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Madian*, *Amalec*, and *Ismael*. Yet the reason seemeth plain enough why *Ammon* commanded in chief, in *Jephtah's* time; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all those borderers acquired the Soveraignty: and again, that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely, within the Mountains of *Galaad*, or *Gilehad*, and as far South as *Aroer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then sought how to recover it again. Yet at such time as *Moses* overthrew *Sehon* at *Jahaz*, the *Ammonites* had lost to the *Amorites* all that part of their possession which lay about *Aroer*, and between it and *Jaboc*: *Sehon* and *Og*, two Kings of the *Amorites*, having displanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the Mountains. For it is written in *Numb.* 21. 24. that *Israel* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* unto *Jaboc*, *even unto the children of Ammon*: so as at this time the River of *Jabec* was the South bound of *Ammon* within the Mountains, when as anciently they had also possessions over *Jaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* possest, as in the thirteenth Chapter of *Josua*, verse twenty five, it appears.

§. II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THE chief Cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, *Kedemoth*, for which the Vulgar, without any shew of warrant, readeth *Jethson*. The Vulgar or *Hierome* followed the *Septuagint*, those two Verses, 36. and 37. in *Jos.* 22. being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedson* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedson* by writing slipt into *Jethson*. *Jos* 21. 37.

This City which they gave to the Levites, imparts her name to the Desart adjoyning: from whence *Moses* sent his Embassage to *Sehon*. In the same place of *Josua*, where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the Vulgar for *Betser & villa ejus*, reads *Bosor in solitudine Misor*, without any ground from the Hebrew: whence *Adrichomius* makes a Town called *Misor*, in the border between *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth*, near the *Dead Sea* (for the Country between being Mountainous, hath few Cities) they place two Towns of note, *Lasa* or *Leshash*, of which *Genesis* 10. *ver.* 19. The Greeks call it *Callirhoe*: near which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet water; all which soon after their rising, being joyned in one stream, do make a very wholsome Bath, especially for all contraction of sinews: to which *Herod* the elder, when he was desperate of all other help, repaired, but in vain. Others say, that these Springs arise out of the Hills of *Machærus*, in this Tribe. The like fountains are found in the *Pyrenyes*, and in *Peru*, called *the Baths of the Inga's*, or *Kings*. The other Town is *Machærus*, the next between *Lasa* and *Jordan:* of all that part of the world the strongest In-land City and Castle, standing upon a Mountain every way unaccessible. It was first fortified by *Alexander Jannæus*, who made it a frontier against the *Arabians*: but it was demolished by *Gabinius* in the war with *Aristobulus*, saith *Josephus*. It was thither (saith *Josephus*) that *Herod* sent *John Baptist*, and wherein he was slain: his Army soon after being utterly overthrown by *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, and himself after this murther never prospering. Not far from *Machærus* was *Bosor*, or *Bozra*, a town of refuge, and belonging to the Levites, and near it *Livias* upon *Jordan*, which *Herod* built in honour of *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius Cæsar*. *Deut.* 2. 36. It was a marginal note out *Deut.* 3. where the *Sept.* kept the word *Misor*, signifying a plain, which after crept into the Text. *Jos.* 17. *ant.* c. 9. & *Hieron. in quæst. Heb. in Gen. Acosta l.* 3. *Jos. ant.* 13. *cap.* 24 & 14. *ant c* 10 & *alibi. Joseph. bel. Jud l.* 7. *c.* Deut 4 43. *Jos.* 20. 8. *Euseb. in Chron. Hier in let. heb.*

To the North of *Livias* is *Setim*, or *Sittim*: where the children of *Israel* imbraced the daughters of *Midian*, or *Moab*: and where *Num.* 25. 1.

Phineas

Phineas pierced the body of *Zimri* and *Coſbi* with his ſpear, bringing due vengeance upon them when they were in the midſt of their ſin; and from hence *Joſua* ſent the diſcoverers to view *Jericho*, ſtaying here until he went over *Jordan*. As for the Torrent *Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreams of, reading *Joel* 3. 18. *irrigabit torrentem Setim*: The Vulgar hath *torrentem ſpinarum*: and *Junius*, *vallem Cedrorum*: expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*: but for the Church, in which the juſt being placed, grow as the cedars, *Pſal.* 92. 13.

Joſ. 13.

The plain Country hereabout, by *Moſes* called, *The plains of Moab*, where he expounded the book of *Deuteronomy* to the people a little before his death, is in the beginning of the ſame book preciſely bounded by *Moſes*. On the South it had the great Deſart of *Paran*, where they had long wandred. On the Eaſt it had *Chatſeroth*, and *Dizahab* (of which two, the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolomy* in *Paleſtina*: the later was a Tract belonging to the *Nabathæi* in *Arabia Petræa*, where was * *Mezahab*, of which, *Gen.* 36.39.) by the Geographers called *Medava*, and *Medaba*. On the Weſt it had *Jordan*, and on the North it had *Laban* (in *Junius* edition, by the fault of the Print, *Lamban*, *Deut.* 1.1.) the ſame which the Geographers call *Libias*: and ſome confound it with *Livias*, of which even now we ſpake.

Deut 34 1.

* The ſame as it ſeems which *Num.* 21 30 is called *Medeba*, whence we read of the plains of *Medeba*, *Joſ.* 13. 9. 16. of which alſo we read in the wars of David againſt *Hanun* the *Ammonite*, 1 *Chron.* 19 7. Alſo 1 *Mac.* 9.36 *Iſa.* 16. 2. See before *lib* 5. *ſect.* 7.

Alſo on the ſame North ſide towards the confines of *Cœloſyria*, it had *Theophel*: whereabout ſometime *Pella* of *Cœloſyria* ſtood: which was in the Region of *Decapolis*; and, as *Stephanus* ſaith, was ſometime called *Butis*. It is alſo noted in *Moſes* to be over againſt or near unto *Suph*, for which the Vulgar hath the *Red Sea*, as alſo *Num.* 2.14. it tranſlateth the word *Suphah* in like manner: whereas in this place of *Deuteronomy* there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to ſignifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is ſo to be taken, uſeth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to diſtinguiſh it from the Region of *Suph*, or *Suphah*: which doubtleſs was about theſe plains of *Moab* towards the *Dead Sea*: where the Country being full of reeds, was therefore thus called: as alſo the *Red Sea* was called *Mare Suph*, for like reaſon.

John 1.28. *Judg.* 7.24 *Joſeph. ant.* 4.7.

The place in theſe large plains of *Moab* where *Moſes* made thoſe divine exhortations, ſome ſay was *Bethabara*, where *John* baptized, which in the ſtory of *Gideon* is called *Beth-bara*. *Joſephus* ſayes it was where after the City *Abila* ſtood, near *Jordan*, in a place ſet with Palm-trees: which ſure was the ſame as *Abel-ſittim* in the plains of *Moab*, *Num.* 33.49. (that ſome call *Abel-ſathaim*, and *Bel-ſathim*) which is reckoned by *Moſes* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42. and laſt place of the *Iſraelites* incamping in the time of *Moſes*: This place is alſo called *Sittim*: which word if we ſhould interpret, we ſhould rather bring it from Cedars than from Thorns, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the wood of which the Ark of the Tabernacle was made.

Num. 25. 1. *Exo.* 25. 10

Toward the Eaſt of theſe plains of *Moab*, they place the Cities *Nebo*, *Baal-Meon*, *Sibma*, and *Heſbon* the chief City of *Sehon*, and *Elhalel*, and *Kiriathaima* the ſeat of the Giants *Emim*. Of the two firſt of theſe *Moſes* ſeems to give a note that the names were to be changed, becauſe they tainted of the *Moabites* * Idolatry. For *Nebo* (in ſtead of which, *Junius*, *Eſa.* 46.1. reads *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their Idol-Oracle, and *Baal-meon*, is *the habitation of Baal*. Of the ſame Idol was the Hill *Nebo* in theſe parts denominated: from whoſe top, which the common Tranſlators call *Phaſgah*, *Moſes* before his death ſaw all the land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which ſtory *Junius* doth not take *Phaſgah*, or *Piſgah* for any proper name: but for an appellative, ſignifying a Hill: and ſo alſo *Vatablus* in ſome places, as *Num.* 21. 20. where he noteth, that ſome call *Piſgah* that top which looketh to *Jericho*, and *Hair* as it looketh to *Moab*, which opinion may be ſomewhat ſtrengthened by the name of a City of *Reuben*, mentioned *Joſ.* 13.20. called *Aſhdoth-Piſga*, which is as much as *decurſus Piſgæ*: to wit, where the waters did run down from *Piſga*. In the ſame place of *Joſua* there is alſo named *Beth-Peor*, as belonging to *Reuben*: ſo called from the Hill *Peor*: from whence alſo *Baal* the Idol was called *Baal-Peor*; which, they ſay, was the ſame as *Priapus*: the chief place of whoſe worſhip ſeems to have been *Bamoth-Baal*, of which alſo *Joſ.* 13. in the Cities of *Reuben*: for which, *Num.* 22.41. they read, *the high places of Baal* (for ſo the word ſignifieth) to which place *Balaak* firſt brought *Balaam* to curſe the *Iſraelites*.

Num 31 37 *Gen.* 14. 5. *Num.* 32.

* *Exod.* 23. 13. *Nomen deorum alienorum ne recordaminì ne audiatur in ore tuo.* *Pſal.* 16 4. *Non aſſumpturus ſum nomina eorum in labiis meis*: *Hoſ.* 2. 17. *Amovebo nomina Baalimorum ab ore ejus*: what name they uſed for *Nebo* it doth not appear: but *Baal-meon* it ſeems they named ſometime *Bajith* as *Eſa* 15. 2 and ſometime *Beth-meon*, *Eſay* 48. 23.

||. III.

Of divers places bordering Reuben, *belonging to* Midian, Moab, *or* Edom.

THere were beſides theſe, divers places of note over *Arnon*, which adjoyned to *Reuben*: amongſt which they place *Gallim*, the City of *Phalti*: to whom *Saul* gave his daughter *Michol* from *David*: but *Junius* thinks this Town to be in *Benjamin*: gathering ſo much out of *Eſa.* 10. 29. where it

1 *Sam.* 25. *ult.*

is

is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*. With better reason perhaps out of *Num.* 21. 19. we may say that *Mathana* and *Nahaliel* were in those confines of *Reuben*: through which places the *Israelites* past after they had left the Well, called *Beer*: Then *Deblathaim*, which the Prophet *Hieremy* threatneth with the rest of the Cities of *Moab*. *Hierem.* 48

Madian also is found in these parts, the chief City of the *Madianites* in *Moab*: but not that *Midian*, or *Madian* by the *Red Sea*, wherein *Jethro* inhabited. For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations; of which these of *Moab* became Idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thousand *Israelites*, sent by *Moses* out of the Plains of *Moab*: at such time as *Israel* began to accompany their Daughters: their five Kings with *Balaam* the Soothsayer, were then slain, and their Regal City with the rest destroyed. The other *Madianites*, over whom *Jethro* was Prince or Priest, forgat not the God of *Abraham* their Ancestor; but relieved and assisted the *Israelites* in their painful travels through the Desarts: and were in all that passage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adjoyning to *Edom*, and sometime reckoned as the chief City of *Edom*, there is that *Petra*, which in the Scriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *rupes*, or *petra*. It was also called *Joctheel*, as appears by the place, 2 *Kings* 14. It was built (saith *Josephus*) by *Recem*, one of those five Kings of the *Madianites*: slain as before is said: after whom it was called *Recem*. Now, they say, it is called *Crac*, and *Mozera*. The Soldans of *Egypt*, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*: of which it is the first and strongest City: the same perhaps which *Pliny* and *Strabo* call *Nabathea*, whence also the Province adjoyning took name: which name seems to have been taken at first from *Nabajoth*, the son of *Abraham* by *Kethura*. For *Nabathea* is no where understood for all *Arabia Petræa* (at least where it is not mis-understood) but it is that Province which neighboureth *Judæa*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Ismael*, whose people *Ptolomy* calleth *Pharanites*, in stead of *Ismaelites*, and all those Territories of the *Cusites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Ismaelites*, *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hus*, *Sin*, and of *Og* King of *Basan*, were parts of *Arabia Petræa*: though it be also true, that some part of *Arabia* the Desart belonged to the *Amalekites*, and *Ismaelites*: all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of *Chronicles* the fifth, calls *Hagarens*, of *Hagar*.

Esay 16 1. 1 *Kings* 14 7.

Lib. 4 *ant.* 7.

1 *Chron.* 5. 19 & 20.

This City *Petra*, *Scaurus* besieged with the *Roman* Army, and finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content, by the perswasion of *Antipater*, to take a composition of money, and to quit it. Yet *Amasias* King of *Juda* (after he had slaughtered ten thousand of the *Arabians* in the valley called *Salinarum*) wan also this City. S. *Hierome* findes *Ruth* the *Moabite* to be natural of this City. In the mean time, when the *Christians* held the Kingdom of *Hierusalem*, it had a Latine Bishop, having before been under the *Greek Church*. It is seated not far from *Hor*, where *Aaron* died, and on the other side towards the North is the River of *Zared*, or *Zered*, by which *Moses* encamped in the 38. station. *Adrichomius* describeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and between *Zared* and *Arnon*: and so he doth the Valley of *Save*: but the waters of *Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it seems *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refresh the plains of *Moab*: and the confluence of those waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Save* also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, and under *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuit of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Save*, or *Saveh*, which is the Kings *Dale*, where *Absolom* set up his Monument, as it seems, not far from *Hierusalem*. And at the same time *Melchisedec* King of *Salem* also encountred him. But *Abraham* coming from the North, and *Melchisedec* inhabiting, either neer *Bethsan*, otherwise *Scythopolis*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Hierusalem* (both places lying to the West of *Jordan*) could not encounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Save*, which was also called *the Kings Dale*, could not be in these parts.

Wil. Tyr. 20, *bel. sacr.* *Num.* 21. *Deut.* 2. 13

Num. 32. 3. *Jos.* 13. 17 *Esay* 15. 6.

||. IV.

Of the Dead Sea.

NOw because the Sea of *Sodom*, or the *Dead Sea*, called also the Lake of *Asphaltitis*, and the Salt sea (in distinction from the Sea of *Tiberias*, which was fresh water) also the sea of the Wilderness, or rather the sea * of the Plains, is often remembred in the Scriptures, and in this story also, therefore I think it not impertinent to speak somewhat thereof. For it is like unto the *Caspian* sea, which hath no out-let, or disburthening. The length of this Lake *Josephus* makes 180. furlongs (which make 22. miles and a half of ours) and about 150. in bredth, which make 18. of our miles, and somewhat more. *Pliny* makes

* So *Junius* reads for the *Hebrew*, *Haraboth* every where, and so also the edition of *Patablus*, *Deut.* 3. 17 though *Deut.* 4. 44. it hath *mare solitudinis*, as also 2 *Reg.* 14. 25. the reason of this name seems to be because it joyns to the plains of *Moab*, which are called *Haraboth Moab*, *Deut.* 34. 1. as also we have *Cesuloth* in *Harabah*, that is, in the plains, to wit, of *Zebulon*, 1 *Mac.* 9. 2. whence *Adrichomius* imagines a city in *Zabulon*, called *Araba*.

makes it a great deal less: but those that have of late years seen this sea, did account it (saith a *Weissenburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirty of ours) in length: and two and a half of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea, *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus est in immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer: neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut suitas aquis volucres patitur, incertum unde superjecta ut solido feruntur, periti, imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur, &c. That it is very great, and (as it were) a sea of a corrupt taste: of smell infectious, and pestilent to the borderers: it is neither moved nor raised by the winde, nor indureth fish to live in it, or fowl to swim in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the unskilfull of swiming, as well as the skilfull, are born up by the water.* At one time of the year casteth it up *bitumen*: the art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is used in the trimming of ships, and the like businesses.

(a) *Peter. in Sanct.*

And then of the Land, he speaketh in this sort: *The fields not far from this Lake, which were sometime fruitfull, and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with lightning; of which the ruines remain, the ground looking with a sad face, as having lost her fruitfulness; for whatsoever doth either grow, or is set thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripeness, having nothing within them, but moulder into ashes:* Thus far *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that those Pomegranates, and other Apples or Oranges, which do still grow on the banks of this cursed Lake, do look fair, and are of good colour on the outside, but being cut, have nothing but dust within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake casteth up, it was by the *Greeks* called *Asphaltitis*. *Vespasian* desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and caused certain Captives to be cast into it, who were not onely unskilfull in swiming, but had their hands also bound behind them, yet notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not sink.

||. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, *much of whose Countrey within Arnon* Reuben *possest.*

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whose Countrey (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* possest (though not taken from *Moab*, but from *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are known. *Junius* in the 21. of *Num. v.* 14. nameth *Laheb*, which seems to be the Ancestor or Predecessor of *Balac*, the son of *Zippor*: which *Balac* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. For fearing to contend with *Moses* by arms, by the examples of *Sehon*, and *Og*, he hoped by the help of *Balaams* cursings or inchantments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though *Balaam* at the first, moved by the spirit of God blest *Israel*, contrary to the hope and desire of *Moab*: yet being desirous in some sort to satisfie him, and to do him service, he advised *Moab* to send *Madianitish* women among the *Israelites*: hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the Idolatry of the *Heathen*, but in the end, he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evil counsell, and was slain among the rest of the Princes of *Midian*.

Num 22. 23, 24. *Jos* 24.

After these times the Kings of the *Moabites* are not named: saving that we find in the first of *Chronicles* the fourth, that *Ahim*, and the men of *Chozeba*, and *Joash*, and *Sareph*, all being of the issue of *Juda*, sometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the same Verse, *These also are antient things*: to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these mens governments are no where extant or remaining, or as others, *hæc prius fuere*, these Families of *Juda* were once thus famous: but now their posterity choose rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

Ver. 22.

Then we find *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who with the help of *Ammon* and *Amalec* mastered *Israel*, and commanded them 18 years: which *Eglon*, *Ehud* slew in his own house, and afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name the King of *Moab* had unto whom *David* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appear: or whether it were the same against whom *Saul* made war, it is not manifest, for neither are named. But in respect that this *Moabite* was an enemy to *Saul*, he received *David*, and relieved him; knowing that *Saul* sought his life.

Judges 3. *1 Sam* 22. *1 Sam.* 14.

After this, *David* himself entred the Region of *Moab*, but not likely in the same Kings time: for he slaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was said of *David*, *Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my shooe*: meaning, that he would reduce them to such an abjection, and appoint them for base services: and that he would tread down the *Idumæans*.

2 Sam 8. *1 Chron.* 18. *Psal* 60 10.

The next King after *Davids* time of the *Moabites*, whose name liveth, was *Mesha*, who falling from *Juda*, (perhaps in remembrance of the severity of *David*) fastened himself

2 Kings 3. to the Kings of *Israel* and paid tribute to *Ahab*, 100000. Lambs, and 100000. Rams with the wooll: who revolting again from *Israel* after the death of *Ahab*, was invaded by *Jehoram*, with whom joyned the Kings of *Juda* and *Idumæa*: and being by these three Kings prest and broken, he fled to *Kir-hareseth*, as is elsewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the *Moabites* without the Kings name; when that Nation, assisted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumæans*, invaded *Jehoshaphat*: and by reason of some private quarrels among themselves, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* set upon the *Idumæans*, and slaughtered them: and then one against another, 2 Chron. 20. so as *Jehoshaphat* had a notorious victory over them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet, there was a King of *Moab* which is not named, which was after *Mesha* of *Moab* many descents: for *Mesha* lived with *Jehoram*, and Hieron. 7. this *Moabite* in *Zedekia*'s time, fourteen Kings of *Juda* coming between, who wasted three hundred and odd years.

§. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

THe Territory adjoyning to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*: whereof all that part which joyned to the Mountains, was sometime in the possession of the *Ammonites*, as far to the South as *Aroer*. Of the children of Gen. 30. *Gad*, the seventh son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the Num. 1. 31. hand-maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Egypt*, Jos. 13. and died in the *Desarts*, 45550. and of their sons there entred the Land promised, 45000. bearng Arms: for the half Tribe of *Manasse*, the River of *Jaboc* divided them: from *Reuben*, the Cities of *Hesbon*, *Elhele*, and *Aphec*.

Esay 15. Deut. 2. The chief City of *Gad* was *Aroer*, which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or *Rabbath Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Junius* attending diligently to those words of *Moses*, Deut. 2.36. *Ab Haroheto, quæ est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & civitate ipsa quæ est in flumine: Where the City in the River is distinguished from the City upon the bank of the River*, as also in like manner, (*Jos.* c. 12. *v.* 2. and *c.* 13. 9.) thinketh that *Haroher*, which doubtless belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Numb.* 32.34. it is said that they built it) was indeed seated neer *Har* of the *Moabites*, but divers from it. For that *Har* was never possest by *Moses*, it is plain *Deuteronomy* 2. 9. where God forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith he hath given *Har* for an inheritance to the sons of *Lot*. Now that this City, which in divers places is said to be within, and in the middle of the River of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Haroher*, which is said in the same places to be on the bank of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*, the same *Junius* proveth out of *Numbers*, *ch.* 21. *v.* 15. where *Arnon* is said to be divided into divers streams, where or among which *Har* is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Jos.* 13. *ver.* 25. where *Haroher* is said to be seated before *Rabbah*: which *Rabbah*, as it seems, cannot be the *Rabbah* of the *Ammonites* (for they seat not *Haroher* neer it, nor in sight of it) and therefore by *Rabbah* here, we must understand *Rabbah* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar*, or *Har*: and so we must needs distinguish it from *Haroher*. And as for **Har*, (which also gave the name to the coast adjoyning) it seems it continued in the possession of the *Moabites*, after they had once expelled the Giant-like people called *Emims*, first weakned by *Chedorlaomer* and his Associates: but *Haroher* by the enterchange of times suffered many ancient changes, as being won from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Israelites*, and from them, as it seems in the story of *Jephta*, by the *Ammonites*: and from the *Ammonites* again by the *Israelites* under the conduct of *Jephta*.

* Deut. 2. 9. Out of which place the words Num. 21. 28. are to be expounded not that the City of *Har*, but the coast adjoyning was walled by Sehon. Gen. 14. 5.

S. *Hieroms* time the greatest part of this City perished by an earth-quake, as also *Zoar*, in which *Lot* saved himself in the destruction of *Sodom*, seated not far hence; which, they say was therefore called *Vitula consternans*, because as a wanton tumbling heifer, she was thrice overthrown with earth-quakes: for which cause also *Hierome* seems to think that this *Zoar* was called *Salissa*, or *Bal-Salissa*, as if *Baal* had been a remainder of the old name *Balah*, or *Belah*, (of which *Gen.* 14. 2. and *Salissa*, which hath a signification of the *ternary number*, had alluded to the three earth-quakes.

Judg. 11. 35. Hier. in epitaph. Paul. & in quæst. Hebr. See Junius his annotations upon 1 Sam 9. 2. where he makes Shalisa a plain country in Benjamin, and the same with Baalisha, 2 Reg. 4. 42. where he expounds Bal, or Baal to be as much as planities.

Brochard takes *Haroher* to be *Petra*, but erroneously, as before it is noted; seeing that *Petra* was in the South border of *Moab* adjoyning to *Edom*, whereas *Haroher* is in the North-East border. Between *Haroher* and *Jordan* they seat *Dibon*, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, because they are said to have built it, *Num.* 32.34. though *Jos.* 13. *v.* 17. it is said that *Moses* gave it to the *Reubenites*. Of this City among the rest of *Moab*, both *Esay* and *Hieremy* prophesied, that it should perish, and the Lakes about it run with the blood of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village neer *Arnon* in S. *Hierom's* time.

Keeping the banks of *Arnon*, one of the next Cities of fame to *Aroer*, was *Bethnimrah*, of which *Esay* prophesied, *That the wa-* Esay 15.

ters

Num 32. *ters thereof ſhould be dried up: and all the vale of Moab withered.* Not far from *Bethnimrah* in this Tribe, *Adrichomius* placeth *Jogbeha* and *Nobach*, or *Nobe:* of both which we read in the ſtory of *Gideon:* and that *Jogbeha* was in *Gad*, built by the *Gadites*, it appears, *Numbers* 32. 35. and therefore *Nobach* alſo muſt needs be in theſe parts; but whether in *Gad* or *Manaſſe* it is not certain: only that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moſes* witneſſeth. *Nobach* alſo (ſaith he) *went and took Kenath with her Towns, and called it Nobach of his own name*, where becauſe the Verſes precedent ſpeak of the *Manaſſites*, and becauſe it is not likely that *Moſes* would have ſevered this ſeat of the *Gadites* from the reſt, of which he ſpake before, *ver.* 34.35, 36. therefore it may ſeem that this * *Nobach* was in that part of *Manaſſe* which was in the Eaſt of *Jordan*, though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad.* For whereas he ſuppoſeth it to be the ſame with *Nob*, which *Saul* deſtroyed, of this we ſhall ſpeak (*a*) in the Tribe of *Benjamin.* And as for that *Karkor*, where *Zebah* and *Zalmunnah* reſted themſelves in their flight from *Gideon*, to which place *Gideon* marched through this *Nobach* and *Jogbeha*, though ſome place it in *Gad*, and make it the ſame with *Kir-chares*, of which *Eſay* 15. and 2 *Reg.* 3. 25. yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the ſame with *Kir-chares*, it is certain, that it was ſtill a principal City held by the *Moabites*, and not in the Tribe of *Gad.*

Num 21. 30. It is called Nophah, and placed in the border of the Kingdom of Sehon towards Baſan, and therefore it is not altogether unprobable that it was in Gad.

(a) Chap. 12 ſect. 1.

Judg. 8. 10 Num. 32. 34, 35.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hataroth*: of which name the Scripture witneſſeth that two Cities were builded by the *Gadites*; the former ſimply called *Hataroth*, the later *Hatroth-Sophan*: for which later the vulgar makes two Cities, *Roth* and *Shophan*: the name *Hataroth*, is as much as *Coronæ.*

In the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*, together with *Bethnimra* of which we have ſpoken, *Joſ.* 13.27. nameth *Beth-haram* and *Succoth*: the former, *Numb.* 32.36. (where it is called *Beth-haram*) together with *Bethnimra*, is ſaid to have been built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather, becauſe in *Joſua* it is called *Beth-haram*) ſome take to be *Betaramptha*, of which (*b*) *Joſephus* after by *Herod* called *Julias.* But whether this *Betaramptha* were corrupted from *Beth-haram*, or from *Beth-Aramatha* (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in (*c*) *Joſephus*) or from *Beth-Remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an Idol of thoſe Countries, we read, *Acts* 7.43. and to which *Junius* refers the name of the City *Rephan*, 1 *Mac.* 37.) of this queſtion it were hard to reſolve. But touching *Julias* (according to *Joſephus*, ſometime *Bataramptha*) the ſame *Joſephus* placeth in the Region of *Peræa*, beyond *Jordan*, which *Regio Peræa*, as the Greek word ſignifieth, is no more than *Regio ulterior, the Country beyond the River*; and therefore they which labour to ſet down the bounds of this *Peræa*, take more pains than needs. Fourteen Villages this *Julias* had belonging unto it, according to *Joſephus.* He makes it to have been built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Julias*, in honour of the adoption of *Livia Auguſtus* his wife, into the *Julian* Family: by which adoption ſhe was called *Julia.* Another *Julias*, he ſaith was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which, he ſaith, is the ſame as *Bethſaida.*

(b) *Joſ* 1. ant. 18. c. 3.

(c) L. 7. ant. c. 7. ubi Græcus codex legit Aquam Sa Latinus Rabbus, Metropolis Hammonitarum.

Ant. 20. 11

Upon the Sea of *Galilee*, near to *Julias* in *Peræa*, (that is, in the Region over *Jordan*) they find *Vetezobra*, as it is called in *Joſephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hiſſopi.* Of a noble woman of this City, which for ſafeguard in the time of War with the *Romans*, came with many others into *Hieruſalem*, and was there beſieged. *Joſephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable Hiſtory; how for hunger ſhe eat her own child, with other tragicall accidents hereupon enſuing.

Joſ ant. 18. 3. & *Bel. Jud.* 2. 8.

Joſeph de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 8.

Of *Succoth* (which we ſaid *Joſ.* 13. is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*) it is plain by the ſtory of *Gideon* that it is near unto *Jordan*: where it is ſaid, that as he was paſt *Jordan* with his three hundred, weary in the purſuit of *Zebah* and *Zalmunnah*, he requeſted relief of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gideons* return were by him tortured, as it ſeems under a threſhing-Car or *Tribulum*, between which and their fleſh he put Thorns to teare their fleſh as they were preſt and trod under the *Tribulum* and after which ſort alſo *David* uſed ſome of the *Ammonites*, though not with Thorns, but with Iron teeth of the *Tribulum.* As for the name of *Succoth*, which ſignifieth ſuch Tabernacles as were made in haſte, either for Men or Cattel, *Moſes*, *Gen.* 33. 17. witneſſeth that the original of the name was from ſuch harbours, which *Jacob* in his return from *Meſopotamia* built in that place: as alſo the place beyond the *Red Sea*, where the children of *Iſrael*, as they came from *Rameſes* in *Egypt*, had their firſt Station, was upon like reaſon called *Succoth*: becauſe there they ſet up their firſt Tabernacles or Tents: which they uſed after for forty years in the Wilderneſs. In remembrance whereof the Feaſt of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles, was inſtituted.

Judg 8. 5.

2 *Sam* 12. 31.

Exod. 12. 37

Lev. 23. 43.

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Upon the Sea of *Galilee*, near to *Julias* in *Peræa*, (that is, in the Region over *Jordan*) they find *Vetezobra*, as it is called in *Joſephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hiſſopi*. Of a noble woman of this City, which for ſafeguard in the time of War with the *Romans*, came with many others into *Hieruſalem*, and was there beſieged. *Joſephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable Hiſtory; how for hunger ſhe eat her own child, with other tragicall accidents hereupon enſuing.

Joſeph de Bell. Judg. l. 7. c. 8.

Of *Succoth* (which we ſaid *Joſ.* 13. is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*) it is plain by the ſtory of *Gideon* that it is near unto *Jordan*: where it is ſaid, that as he was paſt *Jordan* with his three hundred, weary in the purſuit of *Zebah* and *Zalmunnah*, he requeſted relief of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gideons* return were by him tortured, as it ſeems under a threſhing-Car or *Tribulum*, between which and their fleſh he put Thorns to teare their fleſh as they were preſt and trod under the *Tribulum* and after which ſort alſo *David* uſed ſome of the *Ammonites*, though not with Thorns, but with Iron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which ſignifieth ſuch Tabernacles as were made in haſte, either for Men or Cattel, *Moſes*, *Gen.* 33. 17. witneſſeth that the original of the name was from ſuch harbours, which *Jacob* in his return from *Meſopotamia* built in that place: as alſo the place beyond the *Red Sea*, where the children of *Iſrael*, as they came from *Rameſes* in *Egypt*, had their firſt Station, was upon like reaſon called *Succoth*: becauſe there they ſet up their firſt Tabernacles or Tents: which they uſed after for forty years in the Wilderneſs. In remembrance whereof the Feaſt of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles, was inſtituted.

Judg 8. 5.

2 Sam 12. 31.

Exod. 12. 37

Lev. 23. 43.

Other four Cities of *Gad* are named, *Josua* 21. 38. *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, *Machanaim*, *Chesbon*, and *Jahzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* given to the Levites, of which *Jahzer*, as *Chesbon*, or *Hesbon* was a chief City of *Sehon*, whence *Num.* 32. 1. his Country is called the Land of *Jahzer*. It was taken by *Moses*, having first sent spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilead*. In latter times (as it may be gathered by the Prophecy of *Esay* touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Esay*, also *Hieremy* in a like prophecy alludes. It was at length regained (but as it seems from the *Ammonites*) by *Judas Macchabæus*: as it is 1 *Mac.* 5. 8. where *Junius* out of *Josephus*, reads, *Jahzer*, though the *Greek* hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer*, or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Jos.* 16. 3. and 8. and *Jud.* 1. 29.) was far from these Countries of *Sehon*, seated in the West border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, until *Solomons* time, for whom the King of *Egypt* wan it from the *Canaanite*, and gave it him as a Dowry with his Daughter.

Of *Chesbon* it may be marvelled that in the place of *Josua*, and 1 *Chron.* 6. 81. it should be said to have been given to the *Levites* by the *Gadites*, seeing *Jos.* 13. 17. it is reckoned for a principal City of the *Reubenites*: *Adrichomius*, and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding *Casbon*, 1 *Mac.* 5. 36. among the Cities of *Gilead*, taken by *Judas Macchabæus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Casbon* had been the *Chesbon* of *Gad*, and that of *Reuben* distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, That it being a bordering City, between *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gave their part to the *Levites*, for so also it seems that in like reason *Dibon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another given to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaim*, which word signifieth a double Army, we read *Gen.* 32. 2. that it was therefore so called, because the Angels of God in that place met *Jacob* in manner of another Hoast or company, to joyn with his for his defence: as also *Luke* 2. 13. we read of a multitude of the Hoast of Heaven, which appeared to the Shepherds, at the time of our Saviours birth: and so unto the godly King *Oswald* of *Northumberland*, when he was soon after to joyn battel with the *Pagan Penda* of middle-*England*, *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the field where the Battel was fought, in the North parts of *England*, is called *Heaven-field*. In this City of *Machanaim*, *David* abode during the rebellion of *Absalom*: and the same, for the strength thereof, *Abner* chose for the seat of *Ishbosheth*, during the war between *David* and the house of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Town, which was *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, we read often in the Scripture, for the recovering of which, King *Achab* lost his life. *Junius* thinks that *Ramatha Mitspa*, of which *Jos.* 13. 26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* sware one to the other, as it was called *Gilead*, which is as much as a witnessing heap, because of the heap of stones which *Laban* and his sons left for a monument; so also that it was called *Mitspah*, which signifieth over-looking (because there they called God to over-see, and be witness to their Covenant) it is plain by the place, *Gen.* 31. 49. That in these parts there was not onely a Town, but likewise a Region called *Mitspa*, it appears *Jos.* 11. 3. where we read of the *Chivites* under *Hermon*, in the Country of *Mitspa*, *the Town of *Mitspa*, as it seems both by this place, and in the eighth verse following, being not in the Hill Country, but in the Valley. But seeing that *Jephta* the Judge of *Israel*, who after he came home from *Tob* (whither his brethren had driven him) dwelt in the Town of *Mitspa*, who doubtless was of the Tribe of *Manasse*, and thence at first expelled by his brethren, it may seem that they do not well, which place this Town of *Mitspa* rather in *Gad* than in *Manasse*. By *Judas Macchabæus* this Town of *Mitspa* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasse*) was utterly spoiled and burnt, and the Males of it slain: for it was then possest of the *Ammonites*.

* Of other towns of this name, see in the Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Jud. 11. 36

1 *Mac.* 5. 35

Between *Succoth* (of which we have spoken) and the River *Jaboc*, was that *Peniel*, or *Penuel*, which name signifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; *A place where the face of God was seen*: so called for memory of the Angels appearing to *Jacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churlishness of which City, in refusing to relieve *Gideon*, was the cause that in his return he overthrew their Tower, and slew the chief Aldermen thereof. To these places of the *Gadites*, they add *Rogelim*, the City of that great and faithful subject *Barzillai*, as it seems, not far from *Nahanaima*, where he sustained King *David*, during *Absaloms* rebellion. To these they add the Town of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi*, being in *Hebrew* no more than *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made the name of a place. *Arnon* also no where appears to be the name of a Town, but still of a River. *Alimis Adrichomius* frames of ἐν Αλίμοις, 1 *Mac.* 5. 26. so that the name should rather be *Alema*, but *Junius* out of *Josephus* reads *Mallæ*, for this in *Alimis*: and

Gen. 32. 36

Jud. 8. 17.

2 *Sam.* 19. 33.

Deut. 3. 14
Jos. 12. 5.

and understanding *Mallæ* to be put for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munitio* (as we have shewed touching the *Millo* of the *Sechemites*) he takes this *Mallæ* to be *Mitspa Moabitarum*, of which 1 *Sam.* 22.3. As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* finds in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mahacath*, which *Moses* notes to be as far as the furthest of *Manasses*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also *Dathema*, of which 1 *Mac.* 5. 10. (which *Junius* takes to be (*b*) *Rithma*, of which *Num.* 33. 18. a place of strength in the Territory of the *Ammonites*) and in like manner *Minnith*, and *Abel vincarum*, though by some they be attributed to the *Gadites*, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we read in *Jephta's* pursuit of the *Ammonites*: seated, as it seems by that place of the Book of *Judges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other of them in the East border, both far removed from the *Gadites*. But the chief City of the *Ammonites* was nearer, and not far from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures sometimes *Rabbath*, as *Deut.* 3. 11. but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to be that * *Philadelphia* which *Ptolomy* finds in *Cœlosyria*. *Hierome* and *Calistus*, in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but, as it seems, never possest by the *Israelites*, after the overthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites*: whereupon at length it became the Regal seat of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the possession of the *Zamzummims*: which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickedness infamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his Ancestors: who having been first beaten by the *Assyrians*, and their assistants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had been) were afterward the easier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* by the *Idumæans*. Yet did the races of *Emoreus*, of whom these Giants were descended, contend with the Conquerors for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Hesbon* had dispossest *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Basan* the *Ammonites*, and between them recovered the best part of all the Valley, between the Mountains and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba*, or *Philadelphia*: And in the possession of the one or of the other of these two *Moses* and *Israel*, found all those Cities and Countries which were given to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*. So that though it were 450. years since that these *Zamzummims*, or *Raphaims*, were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but having these two Kings of one kinred, and both valiant and undertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both *Amorites*, they recovered again much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sons of *Lot* over the Mountains, and into the Desarts. And as the Kings or Captains of *Persia* and *Assyria* (remembred in the 14. of *Genesis*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*; so by that great conquest which *Moses* had over those two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take opportunity to look back again into those Plains; and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manassites*, forsook the worship of the living God, and became loathsul and licentious; they taking the advantage, invaded them, and cast them out of their possessions: and were sometime their Masters, sometime their Tributaries, as they pleased or displeased God: and according to the wisdom and vertue of their Commanders.

In this City of *Rabba*, was the Iron bed of *Og* found, nine cubits of length, and four of breadth. *Deut.* 3. The City was taken in *Davids* time, and the Inhabitants slain with great severity, and by divers torments. At the first assault thereof *Urias* was shot to death, having been by direction from *David* appointed to be imployed in the leading or an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Army perished: and wherein *David* so displeased God, as his affairs had ill success afterward, even to his dying day. From hence had *David* the weighty and rich Crown of Gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* wore: or which, as some expound it, was used to be put on the head of their Idol, weighing a talent, which is 60. pound weight, after the common talent. *2 Sam.* 12. In the time of Christians it had a Metropolitan Bishop, and under him twelve others. *Will. Tyr. Bel. sac.* 13. c. 22. *Pto.*

The mountains which are described within this Tribe, and that of *Manasse*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those that *Ptolomy* calleth *the hills of Hippus*, a City of *Cœlosyria*: and *Strabo*, * *Trachones*: the same which continue from near *Damascus*, unto the *Desarts* of *Moab*: and receive divers names, as commonly Mountains do, which neighbour and bound divers Countries: for from the South part, as far Northwards as *Astaroth*, the chief City of *Og*, they are called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*; from thence Northward they are known by the name of *Hermon*, for so *Moses* calleth them: The *Sidonians* name them *Shirion*, but the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, others, *Seir*: of which name all those hills also were called, which part *Judæa* and *Idymæa*: and lastly, they are called *Libanus*, *Strab. l.* 6. * Τραχὼν is *locus asper & salebrosus*: whence it appears, that *Trachonites regio*, in these parts was properly the hill-countrey. *Deut.* 3. 9.

(*b*) The letters D and R in the Hebrew are very like, so that one is oft mistaken for a nother and hence me without making cause is put to another, as for *Rodanim*. 1 *Chron.* 1. we have *Dodanim*. *Gen.* 10. 4

* Other names of this City, according to Stephanus were *Ammana* and *Astaroth*: but in this latter perhaps he mistook, which might seem to be the same *Astaroth*, one of the chief Cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be spoken of, *Marasse Adrichomius* says, it was also called *Urbs aquarum*, because of the river *Jabic's* winding about it; but in the place 2 *Sam.* 27. whence he gathers this opinion, *Junius* reads *inter cepi ab urbe aquam*, if we must read with others, *cepi ut urbem aquarum*, yet it cannot be taken of *Rabbah* it self, but of some other Fort adjoyning, *Gen.* 14.

Hierem. 22 *Libanus*, for so the Prophet *Hieremy* makes them all one, calling the high Mountains of *Galaad*, the head of *Libanus*.

These Mountains are very fruitful, and full of good pastures, and have many Trees Hier. 8. 8. 9 which yeild *Balsamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah*, and *Dibon*, and the River *Jaboc*: others do also fancy another River, which rising out of the Rocks of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

§. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the Gadites wan from Og, *the King of Basan.*

THis Tribe of *Gad* possest half the Country of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petræa* called *Nabathea*, as well within as without the Mountains of *Gilead*: though at this time when the *Gadites* wan it, it was in the possession of *Sehon* and *Og*, *Amorites*: and therefore *Moses* did not expel the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thrust the issues of *Lot* over the Mountains *Trachones*, or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othoniel* the first Judge of *Israel*, the *Ammonites* joyned with the *Moabites* against the *Hebrews*, and so continued long. *Jephta* Judge of *Israel* had a great conquest over one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace Jud. 10. with them again.

Afterward we find that cruel King of the *Ammonites*, called *Nahas*, who besieging *Jabes Gilead*, gave them no other conditions 1 Sam. 11. but the pulling out of their right eyes. The reason why he tendred so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame upon *Israel*) because those *Gileadites* using to carry a Target on their left arms, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right, be utterly disabled to defend themselves: but *Saul* came to their rescue, and delivered them from that danger. This *Nahas*, as it may seem, became the confederate of *David*, having friended him in *Saul*'s time, though *Josephus* thinks that this *Nahas* was slain in the battel, when *Saul* raised the siege of *Jabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the *Moabites* of that name.

Joseph. l. 6. Ant. c. 5. &c. 2 Sam. 10. 4. 18.

Hanun succeeded *Nahas*: to whom when *David* sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirm the former friendship which he had with his father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadours garments to the knees, and shaved the half of their beards. But afterward, notwithstanding the aids received from the *Aramites*, subject to *Adadezer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maacah*, and from *Istob*, yet all those *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were overturned: their chief City of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken; the Crown which weighed a talent of gold, was set on *David*'s head; all such as were prisoners, *David* executed with strange severity; for with saws and harrows he tare them in pieces, and cast the rest into lime-kills. *Josaphat* governing *Juda*, they assisted the *Moabites* their neighbours against him, and perished together. *Ozias* made them Tributaries, and they were again by *Jotham* inforc't to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two years.

Istob, that is, the men of *Thob*: *Thob* is a small Territory under *Aram* hills. *Rehob* is another between *Hamath* and *Sidon*, in the North bound of *Canaan*, *Num.* 13. 22. of which see in the tribe of *Asser*. *Hier.* 40. & 41. 2 *Chro.* 20. 1 *Chro* 36. 2 *Chro.* 26.

The fifth King of the *Ammonites*, of whose name we read, was *Baalis* the confederate of *Zedekia*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalis* sent *Ismael*, of the blood of the Kings of *Juda*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who served *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. VII.

Of the other half of Manasse.

THe rest of the Land of *Gilead*, and of the Kingdom of *Og* in *Basan*, with the land of *Hus* and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein also were part of the small Territories of * *Batania*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the half Tribe of *Manasse* over *Jordan*; of which those three later Provinces defended themselves against them for many ages. But *Batania Ptolomy* setteth farther off, and to the North-East, as a skirt of *Arabia* the *Desart*: and all those other Provinces before named with *Petræa*, and *Ituræa*, he nameth but as part of *Cœlosyria*; as far South as *Rabba*, or *Philadelphia*: likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, saving the Land near the *Dead Sea*, he makes a part of *Arabia Petræa*: for many of these small Kingdoms take not much more ground than the country of *Kent*.

* Another territory adjoyning to *Manasse*, whose limits were confounded with some of these, was that *Thisbitis* the country of *Elias*, as it is 1 *Kings* 16. 1. and of *Tobias*, *Tob.* 1. 2. It lay on the East to the tribe of *Nephtali* the right hand of it, as in *Tob.* 1 2. and was possest by Colonies of the *Israelites* in the time of *Saul* after his victory over the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites* in those parts as it is gathered out

Basan, or, after the *Septuagint*, *Basanitis*. stretcheth it self from the River of *Jaboc* to the (a) *Machati* and *Gessuri*: and from the Mountains to *Jordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Cattel. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world: especially of oaks, which bare mast (of which the

of 1 *Chr.* 5. 10. whence it appears, that it was part of *Ituræa*, of which *c.* 7. *sect.* 4 || 5. & 6. (a) So they call them of *Machacah*, of which *Machati* somewhat hath been spoken toward the end of the fifth *Paragraph* of this Chapter, see the 1 *Mac.* 5. 36. and *Deut.* 3. 14. and *Jos.* 13. 5.

Prophet

Prophet *Zacharias*; *Howle, O ye oaks of Baſhan*) and by reaſon hereof they bred ſo many ſwine, as (*b*) 2000. in one herd were carried headlong into the Sea, by the unclean ſpirits which *Chriſt* had caſt out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it 60. Cities walled and defenced: all which, after *Og* and his ſons were ſlain, *Jair*, deſcended of *Manaſſe*, conquered, and called the Country after his own name, *Avoth Jair*, or the Cities of *Jair*.

b Mat. 8. 32.

The principal Cities of this half Tribe (for I will omit the reſt) are theſe, *Pella*, ſometimes (*c*) *Butis*, otherwiſe *Berenice*; by *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, it is ſaid to have been called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Son, *Alexander* the great, were born. It was taken, and in part demoliſhed by *Alexander Jannæus*, King of the *Jews*, becauſe it refuſed to obey the Jews laws: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Government of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, ſaith *Niger*. *Carnaim*, by the River of *Jaboc*, taken by (*d*) *Judas Macchabæus*: where he ſet on fire the (*e*) Temple of their Idols: together with all thoſe that fled thereunto for Sanctuary; and neer it they place the Caſtle of *Carnion*, of which 2 *Macc.* 12. 22. Then the ſtrong City of (*f*) *Ephron* neer *Jordan*: which refuſing to yeeld paſſage to (*g*) *Judas Macchabæus*, was forced by him by aſſault, and taken and burnt with great ſlaughter.

c Anciently, as it ſeems, it was called Tebel. See above in the bounds of Manaſſ. in this Chapter, Sect. 4. §. 2.

d 1 Mac. 5.

e Joſ. 12. ant. 12.

f 1 Mac. 5.

g 2 Mac. 12. 27.

Jabes Gilead, or *Jabeſus*, was another of the Cities of this half Tribe, which being beſieged by *Nahas* (*h*) King of the *Ammonites*, was delivered by *Saul*, as is (*i*) elſewhere mentioned. In memory whereof theſe Citizens (*k*) recovered, embalmed and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his ſons: which hung deſpightfully over the walls of *Bethſan*, or *Scythopolis*. (*l*) *Gaddara*, or *Gadara*, is next to be named, ſeated by *Pliny* on a Hill neer the River *Hieromiace*, which River *Ortelius* ſeems to think to be *Jaboc*. At the foot of the Hill there ſpring forth alſo hot baths, as at *Machærus*. *Alexander Jannæus* after ten moneths ſiege, wan it, and ſubverted it. *Pompey* reſtored it: and *Gabinius* (*m*) made it one of the five Courts of Juſtice in *Paleſtine*. *Hieruſalem* being the firſt, *Gadara* the ſecond, *Emath*, or *Amathus* the third, *Hiericó* and *Sephora* in *Galilee*, the fourth and fifth. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, ſurnamed *Aſcalonita*, accuſed him to *Julius Cæſar* of many crimes: but perceiving that they could not prevail, and that *Herod* was highly favoured of *Cæſar*, fearing the terrible (*n*) revenge of *Herod*, they ſlew themſelves: ſome by ſtrangling, others by leaping over high Towers, others by drowning themſelves.

h 1 Sam. 11.

i Joſ. 6. ant. 5.

k 1 Sam 31

l 1 Chro. 10

m Joſ. 14. ant. 13.

n Joſ. 15. ant. 13.

To the Eaſt of *Gadara* they place *Sebei* (*o*) in which, *Joſ. ant.* 5. 13. ſaith, *Jephthæ* was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Jud.* 12. 7. *Sepultus eſt in Civitate ſua Gilehad*, (for *in una Civitatum Gilehad*) imagine *Gilehad* to be the name of a City, and to be the ſame with *Sebei*. In like manner following the Vulgar, 1 *Macc.* 5. 26. where it readeth *Caſphor* for *Chesbon*; the ſame *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla & firma Gilehaditarum Civitas*: ſo of one City *Heſbon*, or *Chesbon*, which they call *Eſſebon*, the chief City of *Sehon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*; he imagineth two more: This *Caſphor* in *Manaſſes*, and a City in *Gad* which he calleth *Casbon*, of which we have admoniſhed the Reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (ſo called, becauſe the Hill on which it ſtood, was in faſhion like the back of a Cammel) which *Joſephus* placeth not far from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis* over againſt *Tarichea*, which is on the Weſt ſide of the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*, ſee this *Joſephus* in the fourth book of the Jewiſh war: where he deſcribes the place by nature to be almoſt invincible: and in the ſtory of the ſiege, ſhewes how *Veſpaſian* with much danger of his own perſon, entring it, was at firſt repulſed, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length, after the coming of *Titus* when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks with their wives and children, to the number of five thouſand, thus periſhed: beſides four thouſand ſlain by the *Romans*: ſo that none eſcaped, ſave only two women that hid themſelves.

o Of *Miſpa* in *Gilehad*, the city of *Jephtha*; ſee in the Tribe of *Gad*.

c p. 1. & 3.

About four miles Weſt from *Gadara*, and as much Eaſt from *Tiberias* (which is on the other ſide of the Lake) *Joſephus* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence *Ptolomy* gives the names to the Hils that compaſs the Plains in which it ſtandeth: ſo that it may ſeem to have been of no ſmall note. It is ſeated far from the hill Country: on the Eaſt of the Lake, as alſo *Pliny* noteth, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15. It was reſtored by *Pompey*: after by *Auguſtus* added to *Herod*'s Tetrarchy: it was waſted by the *Jews*, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many maſſacres of their Nation, they were inraged againſt their borderers.

In vita ſua.

Joſ. bel. Jud. l. 2. c. 19.

The next City of note, but of more ancient fame, is *Edrehi*, or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* King of *Baſan* chiefly abode, when *Moſes* and *Iſrael* invaded him: and neer unto this his Regal City, it was that he loſt the battel and his life. It ſtood in S. *Hierom*'s time: and had the name of *Adar*, or *Adara*. Not far from theſe Towns neer *Jordan*, in this Valley, ſtood *Geraſſa*, or *Gergeſſa*, inhabited by the

Of another *Edrehi* in *Niphtali*; ſee *Joſ.* 19 37. *Deut.* 3. 1. & 10. *Item Joſ.* 13. 31.

the *Gergesites*, descended of the fifth son of *Canaan*. Of these *Gergesites* we read, *Mat.* 8. 28. that *Christ* coming from the other side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coasts: where casting the Devils out of the possessed, he permitted them to enter into the herd of Hoggs: in which story, for *Gergesites*, or *Gergesins*, S. *Luke* and S. *Marke* have *Gaderens*: not as if these were all one (for *Gergessa*, or *Gerasa* is a distinct Town in these parts from *Gadara*) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this story. This City received many changes and calamities: of which *Josephus* hath often mention. For besides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Annius*, Lievtenant to *Vespasian*: and 1000. of the ablest young men put to the sword, and the City burnt. In the yeer 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damascus*: and in the same year recovered by *Baldwine de Burgo* King of *Jerusalem*: and by him utterly razed. Neer unto *Gerasa* is the Village of *Magedan*, or, after the *Syriack*, *Magedu*, or, after the *Greek*, *Magdala*, where the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* desired of our Saviour a sign from Heaven: the same place, or some adjoyning to it, which S. *Mark* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumstances of which story it appears that this coast lay between the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Country of *Decapolis*. *Brochard* makes both these places to be one; and finds it to be *Phiale*, the fountain of *Jordan*, according to *Josephus*: but this *Phiale* is too far from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethsaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appears by the story, not far hence, towards the North, was the *Desart* of *Bethsaida*, where *Christ* filled 5000. people with the five barley loaves and two fishes.

Mat. 8 28. Mark 5 Luke 8. Mark 15. Mark 8. Broch. it. in 2. Of this Phiale see in Neph. c. 7. sect. 4 ss. 3. Matt. 14. Mark 6. Luke 9. John 6.

On the North of this *Bethsaida*, they place *Julias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the South. It was sometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Christ*, it was compassed with a wall by *Philip* the *Tetrach* of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*: and after the name of *Julia*, the wife of *Tiberias*, called *Julias*, as hath been further spoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: where it was noted that *Josephus* makes this *Julias* to be the same as *Bethsaida*. Upon the East side of the same Lake of *Tiberias* stands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Christ in Matthew*; *Woe be unto thee Corazim.*

Josep. 18. ... 3. & ...

But the principal City of all these in ancient time was *Asteroth*: sometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*: and therefore the Countrey adjoyning called the Land of Giants, of whose race was *Og* King of *Basan*. In *Genesis* this City is called *Asteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence 1 *Mac.* 5. 26. it is called simply *Carnaim*, as *Jos.* 13. 21. it is called *Asteroth*, without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* signifieth a pair of Horns, which agree well with the name of their Idol *Asteroth*, which was the image of a sheep, as it is elsewhere noted, that *Asteroth* in *Deuteronomy* signifieth sheep. Others, from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take *Karnaim* to have been the name of the people which inhabited this City: and expound it *heroes* * *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphæi* which inhabited this City (*Gen.* 14. 5.) were Giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Deut.* 3. 11. *Og. ex residuo gigantum*, with the words *Jos.* 13. 12. *Og ex reliquiis Raphæorum*: but if the *Karnaim* (or *Carnajim*) were these *Raphæi*, the word would not have been in the dual number: neither would *Moses* in the places of *Genesis* have said the *Raphæi* in *Asteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but either the *Raphæi* in *Asteroth* of the *Raphæi*, or some other way fittest for perspicuity: for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth one from the other.

Gen. 14. 5. See chap. 2. sect. 3. n. 4.

* Because horn when it is polished, shineth: hence it is that the Verb of this Noun is sometime Active: as it were cornuum esse: whereupon the *Vulgar*, *Exo* 34. 29 reading *cornuum* *corneam*, or *lucidum faciem*, gave occasion to the fabulous Painters to paint *Moses* with Horns. *Judith.* 1. 8.

Not far from *Asteroth*, *Adricomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar* in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, four miles from *Corazin*. This City (saith he) is remembred in the *Canticles*, and in the book of *Judith*, and there are that of this City understand *David* in his 120. *Psalm*: and here the Sepulchre of *Job* is yet to be seen, saith *Breidenbach.*

1 *Cant.* 5.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is so that the Greek hath *Galaad* in stead of the word *Cedar*, which the Vulgar doth use in that place of *Judith*, and joyneth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Psalm* do rather prove that *Cedar* was not hereabout, than any way help *Adricomius*. For that they speak of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the *Canticles*, that they were *de colores*, much more than any under the Climates of the Land of *Canaan*: whence *Junius* out of *Lampridius* and *Pliny* placeth them in *Arabia Petræa*, far from these parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Job*, it is certain that the *Arabians* and *Saracens* (holding those places) fain many things to abuse the *Christians*, and to get mony. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many (if not all) the historical circumstances of *Job* are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his Country seek to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded upon him, infer what his Countrey was, and build unto him a City by conjecture.

Rup. Lyra Oleast. in Gen. Bel. in Cant. l. 1. de ver. Dei S. Am. Ep. ad Rom. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 18. c. 2. Chrys. Hom. 2. De patientia Job. Greg. com. in Job.

Of

Of *Job* himself, whether he was the same *Jobab* remembred in the 36. of *Genesis*, descended from *Esau* King also of *Idumæa*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaster*, and *Bellarmine* are of another opinion, yet Saint *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Gregorie*, with *Athanasius*, *Hippolitus*, *Irenæus*, *Eusebius Emissenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Eustachius*, and other cited by S. *Hierome* in his 126. Epist. to *Evagrius*, take him for the same.

The Land of *Huts* or *Hus*, wherein *Job* dwelt, is from the Greek Ους, which the *Septuagint* use for the word *Huts*, translated by the Vulgar sometimes *Hus*, as *Job* 1.1. sometime *Ausitis*, as *Hierem.* 25.20. This Land is placed by *Junius* between *Palæstine* and *Cœlosyria*, besides *Chamatha* (or *Hamatha*) under *Palmyrene*, in the Countrey called by *Ptolomy Trachonitis*, or *Bathanæa*, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with *Basan* in this half Tribe of *Manasses*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus seated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Jer.* 25.20. where he reckons the *Hussites* among the promiscuous borders of the *Israelites*, whom he therfore calleth promiscuous, or *miscelaniam turbam*, because their bounds were not only joyned but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other: but of this place the words of *Hieremy*, *Lam.* 4. 21. speaking of the same Prophecy, of which he speaketh in the 25. Chapter, must needs be expounded, as *Junius* reads them, distinguishing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edomi, O quæ habitas in terra Hutzi*; *O daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the Land of Hus.* Now because the Vulgar doth not so distinguish, but readeth, *Filia Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus*; *Daughter of Edom which dwellest in the land of Hus*: Hence, as it seems, some of the learned have thought that *Job* was an *Edomite*, as we have said, and King of *Edom*, which if they understand by it *Idumæa*, or *Edom*, so called in *Moses* time, they are greatly mistaken, making this *Land* of *Hus* to be in *Idumæa*. For it is very probable that *Esau*, when he first parted from *Jacob*, did not seat himself in *Edom*, or *Seir*, which lieth on the South border of *Judæa*, but inhabited *Seir* far to the East of *Jordan*, and held part of those Mountains, otherwise called *Galaad*, and *Hermon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, for *Seir*; and from this his habitation did *Esau* incounter *Jacob*, when he returned out of *Mesopotamia*, who passed by the very border of *Esau* his abiding. It is true, that at such time as *Moses* wandered in the *Desarts*, that the posterity of *Esau* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Judæa*: for it is like that the *Amorites*, who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did also drive the *Edomites* out of those parts, who thence-forward seated themselves to the South of *Judæa*, bordering the *Desart Paran*, and stretched their habitations over the *Desarts* as far as *Hor* where *Aaron* died.

Now for this *Hus*, which gave the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the son of *Aram*, as *Junius* thinks in his note upon *Gen.* 10. 23. or rather *Hus* the son of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother, the question is doubtful. For my part I rather encline to think, that it was *Hus* the son of *Nachor*: partly because these Families of *Aram* seem long before to have been lost: and partly because in *Job* 32. 2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Jobs* friends, which seems to be of *Jobs* own Country, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz* the brother of *Hus*, the son of *Nachor*: as also *Jer.* 25. in the same continuation (though some other Nations named between) where *Hus* is spoken of, there *Buz* is also named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that in the place of *Job* 32. *Elihu* the *Buzite* is said to be of the Family of *Ram*: (which *Junius* expounds to be as much as of the Family of *Aram*) for that by his *Aram* we are not to understand *Aram* the son of *Sem*, *Junius* himself maketh it plain, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his book, where he saith, that one of *Jobs* friends (which must needs be this *Elihu*) was of the posterity of *Nachor* (as also in this place he confesseth so much expressly) and in as much as he readeth not *è Familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *è Familia Syriæ*; like as elsewhere *Laban*, who sprung of *Nachor*, is called a *Syrian*.

As for the other three of *Jobs* friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Family, or of the Family of *Nachor*) it is implyed that they were of other kindreds, as also by the *Septuagints* addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Ausitis*, it is implyed that they thought only *Elihu* to have been of *Jobs* own Country.

Franciscus Brochard the *Monk*, in his description of the *Holy Land* in the journy from *Acon* Eastward, findeth *Suetha*, and *Theman* on the East of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very near to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may seem to have denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchite*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Job*, of the which *Job* 2. 11. But *Junius* thinks that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia the Desart*, descended of *Shuach* the son of *Abraham* and *Ketura*: of whom *Gen.* 25. 2. perhaps, saith he, the same whom *Pliny* calls *Saccæi*. So also he thinketh the *Themanites*, of whom

For ου and αυ are often changed one into the other: whence they used *Ausitis* for *Ousitis*, &c. Hence also by *Junius* and others it is called *Ausanitis*, & so as it seems they read it in the *Septuaglut*, *Jun.* in *Gen.* 10. 23.

Deut. 3. 9.

Whence the *Septuagint* call him *ex regione Ausitide.*

See *Sixtus Senensis.*

Eliphaz was, to have been of *Arabia the Desart*: and *Eliphaz* himself to have been of the posterity of *Theman* the son of *Eliphaz*, which was the son of *Esau*. And so also *Nahamah*, whence *Tsophar* the third of *Job*'s friends (which in this place of *Job*. 2. 11. are mentioned) is by the same learned Expositor, thought either to be named of *Thimnah* by transposition of letters (which *Thimnah*, *Gen.* 36. 40. is named among the sons of *Esau*, that gave denomination to the places where they were seated) or else to be the same *Nahamah*, which *Jos.* 15. 41. is reckoned for a City of *Juda* in the border, as he thinks, of *Edom*. And yet I deny not but that near the Land of *Hus*, in *Basan*, as it seems, in the Tribe of *Manasses*, there is a Region which (at least) in later times was called *Suitis*, or of some like name. For this is evident by the History of *Will. Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita*, or *Suites* (as he cals it diversly) of exceeding great strength and use for the retaining of the whole Country: which, in the time of *Baldwine* the second King of *Hierusalem*, was with great digging through rocks recovered by the *Christians*; having not long before been lost, to the great disadvantage of the Country, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The situation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* described to be sixteen miles from the City *Tiberias*, on the East of *Jordan*: by *Adrichomius* four miles North-ward from the place where *Jordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

De bel. sacr. lib. 22. c. 5. & 21.

Other Cities of this part of *Manasses* named in the Scripture, are these: *Golan*, *Gehesthera*, *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the *Israelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, we have spoken by occasion among the Cities of *Gad*. The other two were given to the *Levites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* we have both *Gaulanitis superior* and *inferior*, oft in *Josephus*. *Behesthera* is accounted the chief City of *Basan* by some, but the Writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betser*, or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierome* hath *Arga*, a name of a City placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Josua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Josephus* cals it. This Lake, being as it were in the midst between *Cæsarea Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which, as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this half Tribe on the West. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, saith *Brocard*: otherwise more contract, leaving the marish ground on both sides, for Lions and other wilde beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Jos. 21. 27. *Deut.* 4. 43.

Adjoyning to this Lake in this Country of *Manasses*, *Josephus* names two places of strength, fortified by himself in the beginning of the *Jews* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the North side of this half Tribe of *Manasse*, and in the North-East, the Scripture nameth divers bordering places towards *Damascus*, as *Tsedad*, *Chauram*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, lying in a line drawn from the West; of which three Cities we read, *Ezek.* 47. 15. with which also agrees the place, *Num.* 34. 8. where for *Chauram* between *Tsedad*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chauram* is the name of *Auranitis Regio*, in *Josephus* and *Tyrius*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Gessur* and *Mahacath*, or *Macati*, which were likewise borderers to *Manasses* towards the North-East) are unknown: only that *Gessur* was of might, it appears in that *David* married *Mahaca* the daughter of *Thalmay* King of *Gessur*: by whom he had the most beautiful, but wicked and unfortunate *Absalom*.

1 *Chron.* 3. 2.

CHAP. XI.

The History of the Syrians, *the chief Borderers of the* Israelites *that dwelt on the East of* Jordan.

§. I.

Of the City of Damascus, *and the divers Fortunes thereof.*

Damascus of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beauty, antiquity, and riches, and was therefore called the City of joy or gladness, and the House of pleasure; and is not only remembred in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The *Hebrews*, saith *Josephus*, think it to have been built by *Hus* the son of *Aram*: of which opinion S. *Hierome* upon *Esay* seemeth to be: though in his Hebrew questions he affirmeth, that it was founded by *Damascus* the son of

Joseph l. 1. c. 14.

Is. 17. Gen. 15. 2. of *Eliezer*, *Abraham*'s Steward; a thing very unlikely, ſeeing the City was formerly known by that name, as appears by *Abraham*'s calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of *Damaſco*. *David* was the firſt that ſubjected it to the Kingdom of *Juda*, after the overthrow of *Adadezer* their King; but in *Solomon*'s time, *Rezon* recovered it again, though he had no title at all or right to that Principality: but *David* having overthrown *Hadadezer* King of *Sophena* (otherwiſe *Syria Soba*, or *Zoba*) *Razon* or *Rezon*, with the remainder of that broken Army, invaded *Damaſcena*, and poſſeſt *Damaſcus* it ſelf, and became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life.

1 King 11 40.

The next King of *Damaſcus* was *Adad* the *Edomite*, who flying into *Egypt* from *David* and *Joab*, when they ſlew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Egypts* Wives ſiſter: of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was ſo called. This *Adad* returning again, became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life, and (as ſome Writers affirm) invaded *Damaſcus*, and thruſt *Rezon* thence out. In the Line of *Adad* that Kingdom continued nine deſcents (as hereafter may be ſhewed in the Catalogue of thoſe Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Aſſyrians*, and then the *Grecians* ſucceeded. This City was exceeding ſtrong, compaſſed with waters from the Rivers of *Abanah*, and *Pharpar*: whereof one of them, prophane Writers call *Chryſorrhoas*, the golden River. *Junius* takes it for *Adonis*. The Country adjoyning is very fruitful of excellent Wines and Wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very ſtrong Caſtle, built as it ſeems by the *Florentines*, after it became Chriſtian: the Lillies being found cut in many Marbles in that Citadel. Againſt this City the Prophets *Amos*, *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, and *Zacharias*, propheſied that it ſhould be taken, burnt, demoliſhed, and made a heap of ſtones. In the time of the laſt *Rezon*, and tenth King of the *Damaſcens*, *Teglatphalaſſer*, invited by *Achaz* King of *Juda*, carried away the naturals of *Damaſcus* into the Eaſt: leaving of his own Nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, ſaith *Hierome* upon *Eſay*: which thing was performed by *Salmanaſſer*, according to *Junius* in his note upon that place, five years after the Prophecy. In time it was reſtored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolomies*; but long after, when *Syria* fell into the hands of the *Romanes*, it was taken by *Metellus*, and *Lollius*. In the time of the Chriſtians it had an Archbiſhop: Saint *Hierome* living, as he affirmeth upon the *Acts*, it was the *Metropolis* of the *Saracens*: being taken by *Haomer* their King from the *Romanes*, in the year of our redemption 636. and in the year 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Lewis* King of *France*, *Baldwine* the third King of *Hieruſalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Auſtria*, brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick Barbaroſſa* afterward Emperour, *Theoderick* Earl of *Flaunders*, and other Princes aſſembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the ſea-coaſt, determined to recover *Damaſcus*: but being betrayed by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize.

Herold. 6. bell. ſacr. 1 3. 8. 10. & 17. 49. & 9.

2 King 16

Eſay 17.

Joſ. ant. 4.

Onuphrius in chron. Platic. 46. Will. Tyr. bell ſacr. lib. 17 c. 1. 23. 4 5.

In the year 1262. *Halon* the *Tartar* incompaſt it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him under the Wals, and threatned extreme torture unto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refuſing it, the King was torn aſunder before them, and in fine the City taken, *Agab* the ſon of *Halon* was by his father made King thereof.

Herold bel. ſacr. 4 c. 14

In the year 1400 *Tamberlain* Emperour of the *Parthians*, invaded that Region, and beſieged the City with an Army of 1200000. (if the number be not miſtaken.) He entred it, and put all to the ſword, filling the ditch with his priſoners; thoſe that retired into the Caſtle, which ſeemed a place impregnable, he overtopped with another Caſtle adjoyning: he forbare the demoliſhing of the City, in reſpect of the beauty of the Church, garniſhed with forty Gates, or ſumptuous Porches. It had within it 9000. Lanterns of Gold and Silver: but while he invaded *Egypt*, they again ſurprized *Damaſcus*. Laſtly, in his return after three moneths ſiege, he forc't it: the *Mahometans* proſtrating themſelves with their Prieſts, deſired mercy. But *Tamberlain* commanding them to enter the Church, he burnt them and it to the number of 30000. and did ſo demoliſh it, as thoſe that came afterwards to ſee their houſes, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Trophee of his victory, he raiſed three Towers with great art, builded with the heads of thoſe whom he had ſlaughtered. After this, it was reſtored and re-poſſeſt by the *Soldane* of *Egypt* with a Garriſon of *Mammalukes*: And in the year 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the *Turks* wreſted it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*: in whoſe poſſeſſion it now remaineth inhabited with Mahometans and Chriſtians of all neighbouring Nations.

Herold l. 6 c. 4.

§. II.

Of the firſt Kings of Damaſcus, *and of the growing up of their power.*

NOw be it that *Damaſcus* were founded by *Hus* the ſon of *Aram*, or by *Damaſcus*

the son of *Eliezer Abraham*'s steward, we find no relation of their Kings, or Commonwealth till *Davids* time. For it stood without the bounds of *Canaan*: and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Josua*, and the *Judges*, as impertinent to that Story. But were it so that it had some *Reguli*, or petty Kings over it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *David* overthrew *Adadezer* Prince of *Sophena*, or *Syria Zoba*: the same Nation which *Pliny* calleth *Nubæi*, inhabiting between *Batania* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to understand the story of those *Syrian* Princes, whom soon after the Kings of *Damascus* made their vassals, the Reader may inform himself, That on the North-East parts of the Holy Land, there were three chief Principallities, whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Commonwealth of *Israel*, namely, *Damascus*, or *Aram*, *Sophena*, or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath Zoba*; of which these were the Princes in *David*'s and *Solomon*'s times: *Razon*, or *Rezon* of *Damascus*, *Adadezer* of *Syria*, *Zoba*, and *Tohu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth, that *Damascus* was one of the Cities subject to *Adadezer* when *David* invaded him, though when *Saul* made war against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Josephus* affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were levied and sent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battel slain with 22000. *Aramites* of *Damascus*: whereof, as of the overthrow of *Adadezer*, *Rezon* the Commander of his Army, taking advantage, made himself King of *Damascus*, *Adadezer*, and *Adad* of *Damascus* being both slain. About the same time *Tohu* King of *Chamath*, or *Ituræa*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadezer* was utterly overthrown, sendeth for peace to *David*, and presenteth him with rich gifts: but *in dolo*, saith S. *Hierome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of *Damascus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Judæans* and *Israelites*. But to return to the Kings of *Syria*, I mean of *Syria* as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damascena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Ituræa*; to which I may add *Geshur*, because it is so accounted in the second of *Sam.* 15. as joyning in the Territory to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is far greater, of which *Palæstina* it self is but a Province, as I have noted in the beginning of this Tract:) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our later Writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*.

Plin. l. 6. c. 28.

1 Sam. 14. 47.

3082.

2 Sam. 8.

1 King 11

Some account *Rezon*, others *Adad* of *Idumæa*: of whom it is written in the first of *Kings*, that *David* having invaded that Region, and left *Joab* there to destroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings seed fled into *Egypt*; and was there married to *Taphnes* the Queens sister, as before; who hearing of *David*'s death, and of the death of his Captain *Joab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned again: and, as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expel *Rezon* out of *Damascus*, and was the first of the *Syrian* Kings. To me it seemeth otherwise. For, as I take it, *Adadezer*, the son of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the Founder of that Principallity: and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his fathers name, as he grew powerful, took upon him the stile of *Adad*, the great god of the *Assyrians*, saith *Macrobius*, which signified Oneness of Unity. I also find a City called *Adada*, in the same part of *Syria*: of which whether these Princes took the name, or gave it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-adad*, *El-adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli* adjoyned. And that *Adadezer* was of greatest power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, that *David* undertook the war: Secondly, because he levied 22000. *Aramites* out of the Territory of *Damascus*: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damascens* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would have given us his name: Thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adadezer* was King, was an exceeding large Territory, and contained of *Arabia* the *Desart* as far as to *Euphrates*, according to *Pliny*: and the greatest part of *Arabia Petræa*, according to *Niger*. Whosoever was the first, whether *Adadezer*, or *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezon* was the second: *Who was an enemy to Israel all the dayes of Solomon.* Besides the evil that *Adad* did, the evil that *Hadad* did, seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumæa*, lately returned out of *Egypt*: to wit, 23. years after he was carried thither.

2 Sam. 8. & 12. 1 Sam. 14. 47.

Plin. l. 6. c. 28.

1 King 11

The third King of *Damascus*, and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion*; to *Hezion* succeded *Tabremmum*, or *Tabrimmum*; to him *Benhadad*, as is proved in the first of Kings: For *Asa* King of *Juda* the son of *Abiam*, the son of *Roboam*, the son of *Solomon*, being vexed and invaded by *Baasha*, the successour of *Nadab*, the son of *Jeroboam*, sent to *Benhadab* the son of *Tabrimmon*, the son of *Hezion*, King of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to invade *Israel* (while *Baasha* sought to fortifie *Rama* against

1 King 15. 18.

Asa:

Aſa: thereby to block him up, that he ſhould not enter into any of the territories of *Iſrael)* who according to the deſire of *Aſa*, having received his preſents, willingly invaded the Country of *Nephtalim*, and took divers Cities, and ſpoyls thence: *Aſa* in the mean while carrying away all the Materials, which *Baaſha* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withal, and converted them to his own uſe.

1 Kin. 15. 18. This *Benhadads* Father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Aſa*: and ſo was his Father *Hezion*: for *Aſa* requireth the continuance of that friendſhip from *Benhadad*, his ſon: though it ſeemeth that the gold and ſilver ſent him out of the Temple, was the moſt forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded *Iſrael*, before the enterprize of his ſon *Benhadad*, it is conjectured. For *Benhadad* when he was priſoner with *Achab*, ſpake as

1 Kin. 20. 34. followeth: *The Cities which my father took from thy father, I will reſtore, and thou ſhalt make ſtreets or Keepers of the borders for thee in Damaſcus: as my Father did in Samaria.* And herein there ariſeth a great doubt (if the argument it ſelf were of much importance) becauſe *Tabremmon* was father indeed to

1 Kin. 15. *Benhadad* which invaded *Baaſha*, at the requeſt of *Aſa*: But this *Benhadad* that twice entred upon *Achab*, and was the ſecond time taken priſoner, was rather the ſon of *Benhadad*, the firſt of that name, the confederate of *Aſa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the ſon of *Tabremmon*. For between the invaſion of *Benhadad* the firſt, in *Baaſha*'s time, and the ſiege of *Samaria*, and the overthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there paſt 49 years, as may be gathered out of the reigns of the Kings of *Iſrael*. So that if we allow 30. years of age to *Benhadad*, when he invaded *Baaſha*, and after that 49. years ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty lacking one, it is unlikely that *Benhadad* at ſuch an age ſhould make war. Beſides all this, the firſt *Benhadad* came with no ſuch pomp; but the ſecond *Benhadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I reſolve, that *Benhadad* the ſon of *Tebremmon* invaded *Baaſha* and *Omri*; and *Benhadad* the ſecond invaded *Achab*, at whoſe hands this *Benhadad* received two notorious overthrows: the firſt

1 Kin 20. at *Samaria*, by a ſally of 700. *Iſraelites*: the ſecond at *Aphec*, where, with the like number in effect, the *Iſraelites* ſlaughtered 200000. of the *Aramites*; beſides 27000. which were cruſh't by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* again ſetteth at liberty: to whom he rendreth thoſe Towns that his father had taken from the Predeceſſour of *Achab*, but being returned, he refuſed to render *Ramoth Gilead*, a frontier Town, and of great importance. Now three years after (for ſo long the league laſted) *Ramoth* not being delivered, *Achab* invaded *Gilead*, and beſieged the City, being aſſiſted by *Joſaphat*. The *Aramites* came to 1 *Kin.* 22. ſuccour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded, 3227. and dieth that night. After this, *Ben-* 3232. *hadad* ſendeth the Commander of his forces, called *Naaman*, to *Joram* the ſon of *Achab* to be healed of the leproſie, and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picked a quarrell againſt *Joram*: and when *Joram*, by *Eli-* 2 *Kin.* 5. *zeus* his intelligence had eſcaped his plot, 2 *Kin.* 6. he ſent men and Chariots to take the Pro- 2 *Kin.* 6. phet, as is aforeſaid. After *Benhadad* beſieged *Samaria* again, and being terrified thence from Heaven, he departed home, and ſickneth, and ſendeth *Azael* with great gifts to 2 *Kin.* 7. *Elizeus*, to know his eſtate if he might live. 3234. *Azael* returning, ſmothereth him. *Zonaras* and *1 Mo.* 1. *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad Adar*, and the ſon *Jer.* 49. *ad.* 1. 8. *c.* 3 of *Adar*: *Amos* and *Hieremy* mention the Towers of *Benhadad*. *Joſephus* writeth that *Benhadad* and his ſucceſſour *Azael* were worſhipped for Gods by the *Syrians* to his time, for the ſumptuous Temples which they built in *Damaſcus*. The *Syrians* alſo boaſted much of their antiquity, ignorant, ſaith he, that ſcarce yet 1100. years are compleat ſince their wars with the *Iſraelites*.

Hazael or *Azael*, the firſt King of the race of the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*, was annointed by *Eliſha*, or *Elizeus*, when he was ſent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Benhadad* ſhould recover his preſent ſickneſs: He waged war with *Joram*, who received divers wounds at the encounter at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*: from whence returning to be cured at *Jeſreel*, he and the King of *Juda*, *Ahaziah* or *Ochozias*, are ſlain by *Jehu*, as before is ſaid. After the death of *Joram*, *Azael* continued war againſt *Jehu*, and waſted *Gilead*, and all thoſe portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manaſſe*, 2 *Reg.* 12. over *Jordan*. He then invaded *Juda*, and 17. took *Gath*; but by gifts from *Joas* he was averted from attempting *Hieruſalem*: for he preſented him all the *hallowed things which* Jehoſaphat, Jehoram, *and* Ahaziah *his fathers,* 2 *Reg.* 12. *Kings of* Juda, *had dedicated, and which he himſelf had dedicated; and all the gold which was found in the treaſures of the Lord,* 1 *Reg.* 15. *and in the Kings houſe*. This was the ſecond time that the Temple was ſpoiled to pleaſe the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*. For *Aſa* did preſent *Benhadad* with thoſe treaſures, when he invited him to war upon *Baaſha* King of *Iſrael*. And notwithſtanding this compoſition between *Joas* and *Azael*, yet a part of his Army ſpoiled the other Provinces of *Judæa*, and 2 *Reg.* 13. ſlaughtered many principal perſons. Laſtly, 7.

Azael

Azael vexed *Joahaz* the son of *Jehu*, and brought him to that extremity, as he left him but fifty Horse-men, ten Chariots, and ten thousand Foot-men of all his people.

§. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

2 Reg. 13. Joſ. ant. c. 9. AFter *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the second, or rather the third of that name, the son of *Hazael*, reigned in *Damascus*: who fought against *Israel* with ill success: for *Joas* King of *Israel*, the son of the unhappy *Joachaz*, as he was foretold by *Elisha* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three several battels: and he lost all those Cities to *Israel*, which his father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Joachaz*.

Joſ. ant. l. 7. c 6. After this *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael*, there succeeded three others by the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, onely *Nicholaus Damascenus* cited by *Josephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that *Jeroboam* the second, the son of *Joas*, recovered *Damascus* it self to *Juda*, saith the *Geneva*, but better in *Junius*, *Utque recuperabat Damascum, & Chamatham Jehudæ pro Israele*; that is, *And how he recovered for Israel, Damascus and Chamatha of Judæa*; for these Cities sometimes conquered by *David*, did of right belong to the Tribe of *Juda*.

1 Kin. 14. 28.

And it is likely, that this conquest upon the *Adads* was performed: the first of these three *Adads* then living, of whom there is no Story. For when as *Jehoas* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael*, and had recovered the Cities which *Hazael* had won from *Israel*; and so left his Kingdom to his son *Joroboam* the second; it seemeth that this *Jeroboam* without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and invaded *Damascus*.

Razin, or *Rezin*, after *Josephus*, *Rases*; after *Zonaras*, *Raason* the tenth *Adad*, making league with *Pekah*, or *Phacas* King of *Israel*, against *Achaz* King of *Juda*; both carry away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in *Hierusalem*: but in vain. Then *Adad* alone invadeth *Elath*, and beating out the Jews, maketh it a Colony of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achab* brought *Teglatphalassar* against *Razin*, who took him and beheaded him, and won *Damascus*: with whom ended the line of the *Adads*, and the Kingdom of *Damascus*: the *Assyrians* becoming masters both of that and *Israel*. These *Adads*, as they reigned in order are thus reckoned:

2 Kin. 16. 5. 9. Esay 7. Joſ. ant. l. 9 c. 11.

1 *Adadezer* the son of *Rehob*.
2 *Rezin* the son of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.
3 *Hezion*.
4 *Tabremmon*.
5 *Benhadad*, who invaded *Baasha*.
6 *Benhadad* the second, taken prisoner by *Achab*.
7 *Hazael*, whom *Elisha* foretold with tears of his advancement; the same who overthrew *Joram* King of *Israel* at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a second *Hazael* which preceded *Benhadad* the third, it is not improbable, because that *Hazael* which took *Geth*, and compounded the war with *Joas*, made the Expedition thirty years, and perchance more, after the first *Hazael* which stifled his master *Benhadad*, and had slain *Joram* the son of *Achab* King of *Israel*. For *Joas* began to reign in the 7. year of *Jehu* King of *Israel*; and after he had reigned 23. years, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long we know not) it is said that *Hazael* took *Geth*, and turned his face towards *Jerusalem*. It is also some proof that *Hazael* that took *Geth*, was not the same with *Hazael* that murdered *Benhadad*, because he could not at that time be of good years, being as it seemeth, the second person in the Kingdom, and Commander of *Benhadads* men of war. To this *Hazael* (be he the first or second) succeeded.
8 *Benhadad*, the third, whom *Joash* King of *Israel* thrice overthrew.
9 *Resin*, or *Rezin*, the last, who joyned with *Pekah* King of *Israel*, against *Juda*, at which time *Achaz* King of *Juda* waged for his defence *Teglatphalassar*.

Now between *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicolaus Damascenus* finds three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelve in all.

2 Sam 8. 9. Esay 37. For the rest of the Princes of *Syria*, which were but *Reguli*, as those of *Emath*, and *Gessur*, we find that *Tohu* was King of *Emath*, or *Camath*, in *Davids* time, to whom he sent his son *Joram* with presents, after *Davids* victory against *Adadezer*. Also *Senacherib* speaketh of a King of *Emath*, but names him not.

§. IV.

Of Other lesser Kingdoms of the Syrians, which being brought under the Assyrians, never recovered themselves again.

OF *Gessur* we find two Kings named; to wit, *Talmai*, and his Father *Ammihur*: to *Talmai*, whose Daughter *David* married,

it

it was that *Abſalom* fled, who was his maternal Grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sephena*, or *Syria*, *Soba*, or *Cœloſyria*, there are two named, *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, the Father of *Adadezer*, and *Adadezer* himſelf; and it is plain that after his death the ſeat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to *Damaſcus*, a City better ſitting their greatneſs. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of theſe Kings of *Syria* (which became ſo potent, and joyned *Soba*, *Damaſcus*, *Emath*, and the *Deſart* of *Arabia*, with other Provinces into one, under *Rezin* the ſecond of the *Adads*) as it began with *David*, ſo it ended at once with the Kingdom of *Iſrael*. For *Ahaz* King of *Juda* waged the *Aſſyrian Teglatphalaſſar* againſt *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, and againſt *Rezin* the laſt King of *Damaſcus*: which *Teglath* firſt invaded *Damaſcena*, and the Region of *Soba*, and took *Damaſcus* it ſelf, and did put to death *Rezin* the laſt, carrying the Inhabitants captive. This was the ſecond time that the *Aſſyrians* attempted *Iſrael*. For firſt *Phul Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Menahem* governing *Iſrael*) who ſtopt the enterpriſe of *Phul* with a thouſand talents of ſilver: for this *Phul Belochus*, whoſe pedigree we will examine hereafter, being ſcarce warm, as yet, in his ſeat at *Babylon*, which he, with the help of his companion *Arbaces*, had wreſted from *Sardanapalus*: having beſides this King of *Syria* in his way, who ſeemed to be a great and ſtrong Prince, was content to take the compoſition of a thouſand talents of the King of *Iſrael* for that preſent time. But his ſon *Teglath* following the purpoſe of his father *Belochus*, and finding ſo excellent an occaſion, as the war begun between *Iſrael* and *Judah*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being alſo wrapt in that war, and waſted in ſtrength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of *Juda*, his impreſt and entertainment. So, firſt attempting *Damaſcus*, which lay in his path towards *Iſrael*, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great eaſe poſſeſt himſelf of the Cities of *Nephtalim*; leading with him a great part of the people captive. And his ſon *Salmanaſſer*, whom *Ptolemy* called *Nabonaſſer*, after the revolt of *Hoſea*, forced *Samaria*, and rent that Kingdom aſunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* ſupplanted, the race and Monarchy of the *Syrian Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglath* ſlaughtered; the Kingdom of *Iſrael* in *Hoſea*, whom *Salmanaſſer* overturned; happened near about a time: that of *Ninus* in the daies of *Belochus*, and the other two in the daies of *Teglatphalaſſer*, and *Salmanaſſer* his ſon. For *Sardanapalus* periſhed, *Oſia* ruling *Juda*; and the other two Kingdoms were diſſolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Laſtly, the Kingdom of *Juda* it ſelf, being attempted by *Senacherib*, the ſon of *Salmanaſſer*, in vain, and preſerved for the time by God miraculouſly, was at length utterly overturned. *Hieruſalem* and the Temple burnt 132. years after the captivity of *Iſrael* and *Samaria*: the deſtruction of *Iſrael* being in the ninth year of *Hoſea*: that of *Juda* in the eleventh of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon* held alſo the Kingdom of *Syria*, from the eighth year of *Salmanaſſer*; to the laſt of *Baltaſſar*, whom *Herodotus* calleth *Labynitus*: in all about 200. years. After theſe the *Perſians* from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their laſt King, held *Syria* about 200. years. 3603. 3811.

Then *Alexander Macedon* took this among other Provinces of the *Perſian* Empire, and his ſucceſſors the *Selucidæ* reigned therein, till it became ſubject unto the power of the *Romans*, from whom it was wreſted long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in poſſeſſion of the *Turk*, as ſhall be ſhewed in due place. Thus much of the Nations bordering upon the *Iſraelites*, with whom they had moſt to do, both in war and peace; being the onely people, whoſe Hiſtory in thoſe ancient times carried an aſſured face of Truth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of Benjamin, and of Hieruſalem.

§. I.

Of divers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, ***whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Mitſpa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah, and Gibha.***

OF the Tribe of *Benjamin*, the twelfth and youngeſt ſon of *Jacob*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were muſtered at Mount *Sinia* 35000. able bodies: all which periſhing in the *Deſarts*, there entred the *Holy Land* of their iſſues 45600. fit to bear Arms: and theſe had their Territory on this ſide *Jordan*, between *Juda* and *Ephraim*: The Cities

Cities within this Tribe neareſt *Jordan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid*, and *Ono*: of which, *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed* a *Benjamite*: they were all three re-inhabited with *Benjamites*, after the return out of Captivity, as is mentioned, *Nehem.* 11. 35. and *Eſd.* 2. 35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes beſides *Hadid* in *Nehemia*, a City called *Lod-hadid*: This *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon Macchabæus*.

Samarim, or *Tſemaraim*, named of *Tſemary* one of the ſons of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land ſtandeth *Jericho*, one of the Toparchies and the laſt of *Juda*, ſeated in a moſt fruitful Valley, adorned with many Palm-trees: and therefore elſewhere called the City of Palms. From the time of *Joſua*, who utterly deſtroyed it, it lay waſte untill the time of *Achad*: in whoſe daies *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the loſs of *Abiram* his eldeſt ſon, and built the gates of it in the loſs of his youngeſt ſon *Segub*: according to the curſe of *Joſua*: in which and other reſpects, *Hoſ.* 12.14. calleth *Joſua* a Prophet. In after-times it was deſtroyed by *Veſpaſian*, and re-built by *Adrian*.

To the South-eaſt of *Jericho* ſtood * *Halmon* of the Levites, of which *Joſ* 21. 18. To the South *Betharaba*, of which *Joſ.c.*15. and *c* 18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is ſo much mention in the Scripture, where *Joſua* firſt ate of the fruits of the land, circumciſed all thoſe born in the *Deſarts*, and celebrated the Paſſeover.

The reaſon of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymology of this name (for it ſeems by the place, *Deut.* 11.30. that the name was known before the coming of the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *Joſ* 5. 9. *Ob devolutionem probri Ægyptiaci*, becauſe their fore-skins (the people being there circumciſed) were tumbled down the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis præputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was alſo called *Geliloth*, as appears by comparing the places, *Joſ.* 15.7. and 18. 17. for it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Joſ.* 22.13. and *Geliloth* ſignifieth borders. It ſtood (though in ſome diſtance) directly Eaſtward, over againſt the two Hills *Garazim* and *Hebal*: upon the one of which the bleſſings, and on the other the curſings were to be read to the people, both being the Mountains of *Ephraim*. Further, for the ſituation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitſpa* of *Benjamin* (of which alſo we read oft in the Scripture) were ſeated about the midſt of the length of the land of *Canaan*: for which reaſon (*a*) *Samuel* choſe theſe two places, to either of which he came yearly to give judgement to the *Iſraelites*; of which two, *Gilgal* (as is ſaid) was near *Jordan* on the Eaſt ſide of this Tribe and *Mitſpa* near the Weſt Sea, towards the land of the *Philiſtims*.

The third place, which is named with theſe two, whither alſo *Samuel* uſed yearly to come, is [b] *Bethel*: which alſo was ſeated in this Tribe of *Benjamin*. But to return to *Gilgal*, which was the firſt place where the *Ark* reſided, after they paſt over *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-Jeharim*, and at length to *Hieruſalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Joſua* pitched up the 12. ſtones, which were taken out of the channel of *Jordan*, when it was dry, that the *Iſraelites* might paſs over it: by which Story, as it is ſet down *Joſ.* 4. it appears, that the ſame day that they paſſed over *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the ſame *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitſpa*, whither *Samuel* came yearly to give judgment, there alſo were often the greateſt meetings held: as that for the revenge of the Levites wife againſt *Gibha*, and the *Benjamites*, *Joſ.* 20. 1. and another againſt the *Philiſtims*, 1 *Sam.* 7.12. Thither alſo *Judas Macchabæus* gathered the *Jews* (when *Hieruſalem* was poſſeſt by the *Heathen*) as it is 1 *Mac.* 3.47. in which place this reaſon of their meeting is added; *Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitſpa antea Iſraeli.* Touching this *Mitſpa*, to avoid confuſion, it is to be remembred, that the Scriptures mention four places of this name: *Mitſpa* of *Juda*, of which *Joſ.* 15.38. (*c*) *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, of which we have ſpoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Mitſpa* of the *Moabites*, where *David* for a while held himſelf, commending his Parents to the King of *Moab*, 1 *Sam.* 22.3. and laſtly, this chief *Mitſpa* of the *Benjamites*. And as in this place the chief meetings were held both before *Hieruſalem* was recovered from the *Jebuſites*, and alſo in the time of the *Macchabees* (as we have ſaid) when *Hieruſalem* was held by the wicked under *Antiochus*, ſo alſo in the time of *Hieremy*, after the deſtruction of the Temple by the *Chaldees*, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonoſor* left in *Jewry*, as Governour over thoſe that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: until (to the great hurt of the *Jews*) he was ſlain by the treaſon of *Iſmael*, one of the royal blood of *Juda*, as it is *Jerem.* 41.

1 *Chron.* 8. 12.

Neh. 11. 33

1 *Kings* 16. 34. *Joſ.* 6. 29.

* 1 *Chro.* 6. 60. This *Halmon* is called *Halemeth*, whence they make a new City *Almath*, as if this Tribe had given five Cities to the *Levites*.

Deut. 11. 30.

(*a*) 1 *Sam.* 7 15.

b *Junius* in this place, for *Bethel* reads *Domum Dei fortis*, and interprets it, *Kireath-jeharim*, where the *Ark* abode. For (ſaith he) by the Law, *Exo.* 23. 17. the greateſt meetings in their annual feaſts were to be where the *Ark* was, but this place doth not ſpeak of feſtival, but of judicial meetings: and beſides the Prieſts did uſe to bring the *Ark* to their great meetings, whereſoever they were, as appears 1 *Sam.* 11. 11. & 14. 18. neither is it eaſie to expound *Bethel* otherwiſe than for the City *Bethel*: though *Junius* alſo take it for the place where the *Ark* was, 1 *Sam.* 10 3.

(*c*) It was no other than this *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, of which *Joſ.* 11. 8. as appears by that which is added, *Verſus orientem*, for *Joſua* notes the three quarters, North, Weſt, and Eaſt, to which he followed the *Canaanites*, though *Adrichomius* and others out of this place imagine a *Mitſpa* or *Maſpha* (as they write it) in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

Neer

Neer unto this *Mitspa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Bethcar*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of help: where *Samuel* pitched up the Pillar or Stone, for a Trophey against the *Philistims*.

Touching *Bethel*, which (as it seems) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chief meetings for the ministring of Justice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Joseph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Benjamin*, as it is *Nehem.* 11. 31. and *Jos.* 18. 22.) and how another City called *Luz* (*d*) near adjoyning to it, was built by the man of the City which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Jud.* 1. and of the occasion of the name from *Jacob's* vision: and how *Jereboam*, by erecting one of his calves here, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it (*e*) *Beth-aven*, that is, the house of Vanity, *Hos.* 4. 15. and 10. 5. as also other memorable things of this place, they are so well known out of the Histories of the Scripture, that we may well pass them over.

(d) 1 Sam. 7 11. *Jos.* 16. 1.

(e) Borrowing the name of a neighbour town in the confines of the Kingdom of *Juda* and *Israel* between *Hai* and *Bethel*, *Jos* 7. 2. and 18. 12.

The Territory of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, from the time of the great victory of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, of which 2 *Chron.* 13. was taken from them, and adjoyned to the Kingdom of *Juda*: and so it continued, as appears by the Story of *Josias*: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, 2 *Reg.* 23. whence those coasts 1 *Macc.* 11. 34. are called *Apheræma*, which *Greek* word signifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the ten Tribes. It was one of the three *Seigniories*, or *Perfectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the *Jews*, out of the *Samaritan Country*. A part of it, as appears 2 *Chron.* 13. 19. was *Hephravin*, which *Jos.* 18. 23. is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Not far from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we find three other Cities, often mentioned in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gidha*, and *Geba*. Of the name *Rama*, (*f*) it is noted already, in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many Towns so called, because of their high situation. But whereas they find out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Juda* (as it seems, because *Matt.* 2. it appears that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and also out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* make *Silo* to have been called *Rama*, and find yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; these three have no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Asser*, as it seems, we have testimony, *Jos.* 19. 29. and of another in *Nephthalim*, *Jos.* 19. 36. of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim*, 1 *Sam.* 25. 1. which more often is called (*g*) *Ramatha*, and 1 *Sam.* 1. 1. *Ramathaim Tsophim*: for which the *Septuagint* have *Aramathaim-sophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they think *Joseph* of *Aramathæa*, *Matt.* 27. 57. was denominated.

(f) See cap. 9. sect. 1.

(g) Of this *Amatha* I understand the place 1 *Macc.* 11. 34. where it is named for one of the three *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* yeelds to the *Jews* out of the country of *Samaria*: this lying toward the East to *Jericho*, and *Lydda* toward the West, and *Apherænis* (of which even now we speak) lying in the midst between the two other. A sixth *Rama* it seems there was in the Tribe of *Simeon* toward the South, which *Jos.* 19 8. is called *Rama* of the South, and otherwise *Baalalibeer*.

Of a fourth *Rama* we read, 2 *Reg.* 8. 29. which is *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, seated, as we said, near *Bethel* the uttermost South-border of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes: for which cause *Baasha* in the time of *Asa* King of *Juda*, fortified it, to hinder those that did fly from him to *Asa*. Of this *Rama*, or *Ramatha*, I should rather think *Joseph* was, that buried *Christ*: because it was nearer to *Hierusalem*, and after the Captivity belonged to *Judæa*, as it appears, *Esd.* 2. 26. wherein that it is joyned with *Geba*, it is plain that he speaketh of that *Rama* with whose stones (after *Baasha* had ceased to build it) *Asa* (as it is 1 *Reg.* 15. 22.) built *Gebah* adjoyning to it: both being in *Benjamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the ten Tribes, so was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdom of *Juda*: whence 2 *Reg.* 23. 8. we reade that *Josiah* through all his Kingdom, even from *Gebah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-sheba*, which was the South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third City *Gibha*, which was the City of *Saul* (the wickedness of which City in the time of the *Judges* had almost utterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguished, *Esay.* 10. 27.) of which word (*h*) *Gibha*, in another from *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gibbaath*, another City in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinity of this City also to *Rama* of *Benjamin* appears, *Jud.* 19. 13. where the *Levite* with his Wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took up his lodging at *Gibha*. By that place of 1 *Sam.* 22. 6. it seems that there was in this *Gibha* some Tower or *Cittadel* called *Rama*: where *Junius* reads *in excelso*, for *in Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings Palace in this City, was *Rama*: as it seems that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chief place where *Samuel* with the *Colledge* of *Prophets* abode, was *Najoth*. The great City of *Hai* overthrown by *Josua*, which *Jos.* 7. 2. is placed neer *Beth-aven*, upon the East of *Bethel*,

(h) *Gibha* in construction, that is, Governing a genitive case, is *Gibbath*: whence the *Valgar* out of the *Septuagint* read *Jos.* 24 33. *Gibbath Phinees*: for which *Junius* hath *Collis Phineæ* (for this word is oft times an Appellative signifying a Hill) but *Adrichomius* taking notice of this, build his City *Gabaath* upon this Text, and placeth it in *Benjamin*, when as the words adjoyned, note that this Hill was in the Mountains of *Ephraim*.

was in this Tribe, as is proved, *Neh.* 7. 10.30. though it be not named by *Jos. c.* 18. for it was burned by him and laid desolate, as it is *Jos.* 8. 28. *In solitudinem, in tumulum perpetuum.* Another City of chief note is reckoned *Jos.* 18. 25. In this Tribe was *Gibbon*, the chief City of the *Hevites:* whose cunning to bind the *Israelites* by oath to save their lives, is set down, *Jos.* 9. whence they were reckoned among the * *Nethinæi*, or *Proselites*, and were bound to certain publick services in the house of God: which oath of saving these *Gebeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine, 2 *Sam.* 21. 1. This *Gibeon*, or *Gibbon* with *Almon* and *Jebah* (of both which we have spoken) and with *Hanothoth* the natal place of *Hieremy* the Prophet, were said *Jos.* 21.28. to be given to the *Levites* by the *Benjamites.* Near to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appears, 1 *Reg.* 2. 26. where *Abiathar* the Priest, which was of *Nob* before it was destroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Hanothoth.* It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Neh.* 9. 31. and though in the time of *Saul* the residing place of the *Ark* was at *Kireath-jearim:* yet by the lamentable tragedy of bloud-shed, which *Saul* raised in this place (as it is set down 1 *Sam.* 21. and 22.) in the judgement of *Junius*, it is proved that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

* The word *Nethinim*, or *Nethinæi*, is as much as *dati* (as it were *à Deo dati*) or as *Junius* expounds it, *dedititi:* it is used 1 *Chro* 9 2. and in *Esdras* and *Nehemias* often.

Michmas also in this Tribe, *Nehem.* 9. 31. was a place of fame, of which *Esay.* 10. 28. where also he nameth *Gallim*, and *Migrom* in this Tribe. In *Michmas Saul* had his Camp, 1 *Sam.* 13. 2. (when he left *Gibha* to *Jonathan*) and there also was *Jonathan Macchabæus* his abode, 1 *Macc.* 9. 73. Of *Giscala* in *Galilee Josephus* makes often mention, but of any here in *Benjamin*, which they make the natal place of Saint *Paul*, whence (they say) when it was taken by the *Romans*, he sailed with his parents to *Tharsis*, of this I find no good warrant. Other places of less importance I omit, and come to the City of *Hierusalem*, and the Princes and Governours of this City: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, whence *Jos.* 18. 28. it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin.*

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§. II.

Of divers memorable things concerning Hierusalem.

AT what time *Hierusalem* was built (which afterward became the Princess of all Cities) it doth not appear. Some there are who imagine that *Melchisedec* was the Founder thereof in *Abraham's* time. But, * according to others, that City out of which *Melchisedec* encountred *Abraham* (in his return from the overthrow of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings or Captains, when *Let* was made prisoner) standeth by the River of *Jordan*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse* bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Salem*, and by the Greeks *Solima.*

* See in the hither half of *Manasse.*

Hierusalem (whensoever, or by whomsoever built) was a principal City in *Josua* his time: yet not so renowned as *Hazor* the *Metropolis* (in those dayes and before) of all the *Canaanites.* *Adonizedek* (whom *Josua* slew) was then King of *Hierusalem.* That it was belonging to the *Jebusites* it is manifest: for how long soever they held it before *Moses* time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost 400. years after him: even till *David* wan it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Jebusæi* (the children of *Jebusæus* the son of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Jebus.* And so much did that Nation rely on the strength of the place, as when *David* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blind, and impotent people should defend it. 2 *Sam* 5.6

David, after he had by Gods assistance possest it, and turned out the *Jebusites*, gave it an exceeding great increase of circuit; strengthened it with a Citadel or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from *Jebussalem*, the City of the *Jebusites*, to *Hierusalem*, which the Greeks call *Hierosolima.* After *David's* time *Solomon* amplified, beautified and strengthened it exceedingly. For besides the work of the Temple, which was no less admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, Gates, and Wals, could not any where in the world be exampled: and besides, that it had 150000. Inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foot depth, cut out of the very rock: and 250. foot of breadth: whereof the like hath seldome been heard of, either since or before. *Jos. cont. Ap. l. 1.* *Strab. geog. l. 16.*

After the death of *Solomon*, and that the Kingdom of the *Jews* was cut asunder, *Shishac* King of *Egypt*, and his Predecessor, having bred up for that purpose *Adad* the *Idumæan*, and *Jeroboam Solomon's* servant; and both married to *Egyptians:* the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: *Shishac* first invaded the Territory of *Juda*, entred *Hierusalem*, and sack't it, and became Master not only of the riches of *Solomon*, but of all those spoyls which *David* had gotten from *Adadezer*, *Tohu*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was again sack't, and a part of the wall thrown down by *Joas* King of *Israel*; while 1 *Chro.* 11. 2 *King.* 14

2 King 16 while *Amaſia* the twelfth King thereof governed *Juda*.

Not long after, *Achas* the fifteenth King of *Juda* impoveriſhed the Temple, and preſented *Teglatphalaſſer* with the treaſures thereof. And *Manaſſes* the ſon of *Ezekiah*, the ſon of *Achaz*, by the vaunts made by *Ezekiah*, to the Embaſſadors of *Merodach*, loſt the remain, and the very bottom of their treaſures. It was again ſpoyled by the *Babylonians*, *Joakim* then reigning. But this ungrateful, Idolatrous and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by theſe Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but perſiſting in all kind of impiety, filling the City even to the mouth with innocent bloud, God raiſed up that great *Babylonian* King *Nebuchodonoſor*, as his ſcourge and revenger, who making this glorious City and Temple, with all the Palaces therein, and the Wals and Towers which embraced them, even and level with the duſt, carried away the ſpoyls with the Princes and people, and cruſht them with the heavy yoak of bondage and ſervitude full ſeventy years, inſomuch as *Sion* was not only become as a torn and plowed-up field, *Hieruſalem* an heap of ſtones, and rubble, the Mountain of the Temple as a grove, or wood of thorns and briars, but (as *Hierome* ſpeaketh) even the birds of the Ayre ſcorned to flie over it, or the beaſts to tread on that defiled ſoil.

1 Chron. 5. 26.
2 King 25
2 King. 19
2 Par. 18.
Mich. 3. Hier. 25. 26, 29.

Then 70. years being expired, according to the Prophecy of *Daniel*, and the *Jews* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was again built, though with interruption and difficulty enough: and the City meanly inhabited, and without Wals or other defences, for ſome 60. and odd years, till *Nehemia* by the favour of *Artaxerxes* re-built them. Then again was the Temple and City ſpoyled by *Bagoſes*, or *Vagoſes*, the Lievtenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by * *Ptolomæus* the firſt; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and again by *Apollonius* his Lievtenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not deſtroyed, nor robbed, though *Craſſus* in his *Parthian* expedition took as much as he could of that which *Pompey* ſpared.

Hier. tom 3 trad. Heb.
Neh 12. 34. &c.
* The firſt of the Egyptian Kings after Alexander Macedon, who diſſembling his Religion, came up to Hieruſalem to offer ſacrifice. Joſ. 12. ant. 1.

But the damages which it ſuſtained by the violence of ſacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompenced by the induſtry or bounty of good Princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberality of ſtrangers. Before the captivity, the people of the Land, through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repair the Temple of *Solomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomæus Lagi* to the ſecond Temple, was requited by the bounty of his ſon *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*. The miſchief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were ſent to *Hieruſalem* out of other Nations. Finally, all the loſſes, which either the City or Temple had endured, might well ſeem forgotten in the reign of *Herod*, that uſurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the City, new built the Temple, and with many ſumptuous works did ſo adorn them, that he left them far more ſtately and glorious than they had been in the dayes of *Solomon*.

M T C 170 Scylla.

§. III.

Of the deſtruction of Hieruſalem *by the* Romanes.

IN this flouriſhing eſtate it was at the coming of our *Saviour Chirſt Jeſus*: and after his death and aſcenſion, it ſo continued about fourty years. But then did *Titus* the *Romane*, being ſtirred up by God to be the revenger of *Chriſt* his death, and to puniſh the *Jews* ſinful ingratitude, incompaſſe it with a *Romane* Army, and became Lord thereof. He began the ſiege at ſuch time as the *Jews* from all parts were come up to the celebration of the *Paſſeover*: ſo as the City was then filled with many hundreds of thouſands of all ſorts: and no manner of proviſion or ſtore for any ſuch multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civil diſſenſion, oppreſt them within the Wals; a forcible enemy aſſailed them without. The *Idumæans* alſo, who lay in wait for the deſtruction of the *Jews* Kingdom, thruſt themſelves into the City, of purpoſe to betray it: who alſo burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonoſor* took it. And to be ſhort, there periſhed of all ſorts, from the firſt beſieging, to the conſummation of the victory, eleven hundred thouſand ſouls: and the City was ſo beaten down and demoliſhed, as thoſe which came afterward to ſee the deſolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had been any ſuch place or habitation. Only the three *Herodian* Towers, (works moſt magnificent, and overtopping the reſt) were ſpared, as well for lodgings for the *Romane* Garriſons, as that thereby their victory might be the more notorious and famous; for by thoſe buildings of ſtrength and ſtate remaining, after ages might judge what the reſt were; and their honour be the greater and more ſhining, that thereover became victorious.

1 Eſd. 4. 45.

After this, ſuch *Jews* as were ſcattered here and there in *Judæa*, and other Provinces,

began again to inhabit ſome part of the City; and by degrees to re-build it, and ſtrengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and Tributaries to the *Roman* State: but after 65. years, when they again offered to revolt and rebel, *Ælius Adrianus* the Emperour ſlaughtered many thouſands of them, and overturned thoſe three *Herodian* Towers, with all the reſt, making it good which Chriſt himſelf had foretold; *That there ſhould not ſtand one ſtone upon another* of that ungrateful City. Afterward, when his fury was appeaſed, and the prophecy accompliſhed, he took one part without the Wall, wherein ſtood *Mount Calvary*, *and the Sepulchre of Chriſt*, and excluding of the reſt the greateſt portion, he again made it a City of great capacity, and called it after his own name, *Ælia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, he cauſed a Sow to be cut in Marble, and ſet it in the front thereof, which he did in deſpight of the *Jews* Nation: making an Edict, that they ſhould not from thence-forth ever enter into the City, neither ſhould they dare ſo much as to behold it from any other high place over-topping it.

Guil. Tyr. bell. ſacr. l. 14 c. 12.

But the Chriſtian Religion flouriſhing in *Palæſtina*, it was inhabited at length by all Nations, and eſpecially by Chriſtians; and ſo it continued 500. years.

Onuphrius Chron.

It was afterward in the 636. year after Chriſt, taken by the *Egyptian Saracens*, who held it 400. and odd years.

Guil. Tyr. l. 8 c. 5. 18. 19. &c.

In the year 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, by aſſault, with an exceeding ſlaughter of the *Saracens*; which *Godfrey*, when he was elected King thereof, refuſed to be crowned with a Crown of Gold, becauſe Chriſt, for whom he fought, was therein crowned with thorns. After this recovery, it remained under the Succeſſours of *Godfrey* fourſcore and eight years: till in the year 1197. it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt*: and laſtly, in the year 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the *Turks* caſt out the *Egyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbarec*, or the Holy City. Neither was it *Jeruſalem* alone that had ſo often times been beaten down and made deſolate, but all the great Cities of the World have with their Inhabitants, in ſeveral times and ages, ſuffered the ſame ſhipwrack. And it hath been Gods juſt will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to puniſh the impiety of men, by famine, by the ſword, by fire, and by ſlavery; but he hath revenged himſelf of the very places they poſſeſt; of the wals and buildings, yea, of the ſoil and the beaſts that fed thereon.

For, even that land, ſometime called holy, hath in effect loſt all her fertility and fruitfulneſs; witneſs the many hundreds of thouſands which it fed in the dayes of the Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*: it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding ſtony and barren. It alſo pleaſed God, not onely to conſume with fire from Heaven the Cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very ſoil it ſelf hath felt, and doth feel the hand of God to this day. God would not ſpare the beaſts that belonged to *Amalec*, no not any ſmall number of them to be ſacrificed to himſelf: neither was it enough that *Achan* himſelf was ſtoned, but that his moveables were ſo conſumed and brought to aſhes.

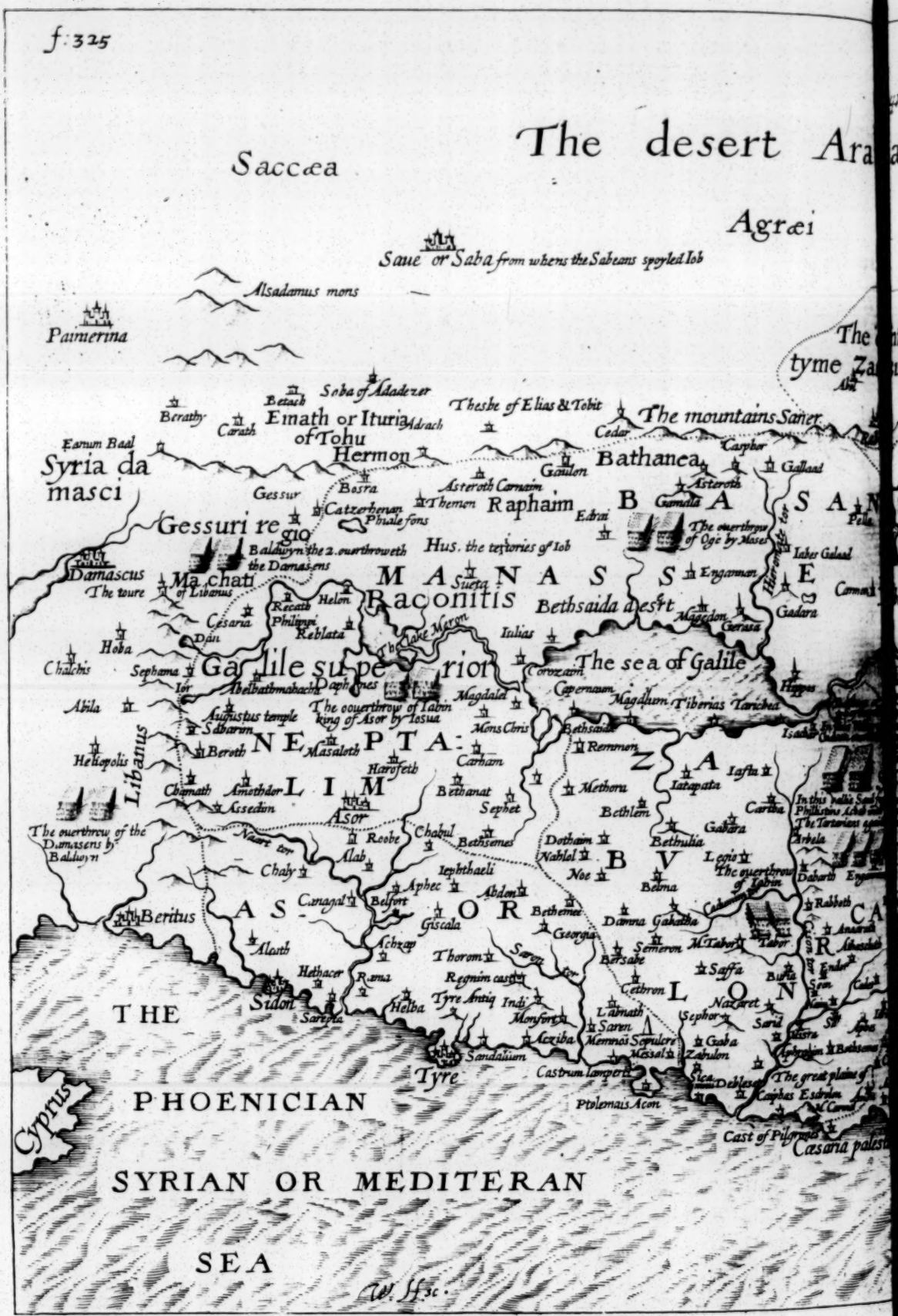
§. IV.

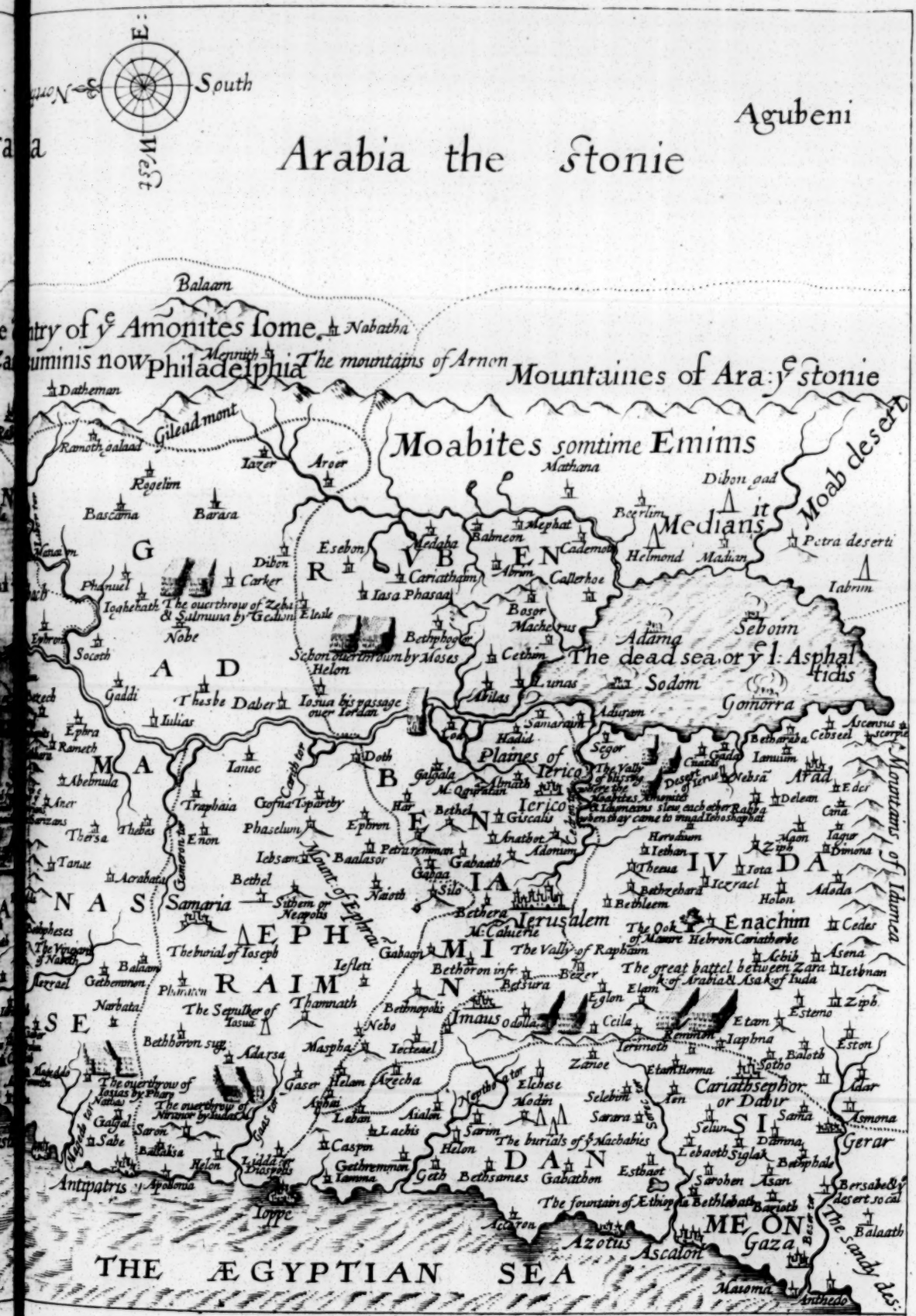
Of the vain and malicious reports of Heathen Writers, touching the ancient Jews.

OF the original of the *Jews*, prophane Writers have conceived diverſly and injuriouſly. *Quintilian* ſpeaks infamouſly of them, and of their Leader; who (ſaith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians*. Others affirm, that while *Iſis* governed *Egypt*, the people were ſo increaſed, as *Jeroſolymus* and *Judas* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by *Moſes* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moſes* was accidental, becauſe he was taken up and ſaved out of the waters. But *Juſtine*, of all other moſt malicious, doth derive the *Jews* from the *Syrian* Kings; of whom, *Damaſcus*, ſaith he, was the firſt: and to him ſucceeded *Abraham*, *Moſes*, and *Iſrael*. He again ſuppoſeth (ſomewhat contrary to himſelf) that *Iſrael* had ten ſons, among whom he divided the land of *Juda*; ſo called of *Judas* his eldeſt, who had the greateſt portion. The youngeſt of the ſons of *Iſrael* he calleth *Joſeph*: who being brought up in *Egypt*, became learned in Magical Arts, and in the interpretation of Dreams, and ſigns prodigious; and this *Joſeph* (ſaith he) was father to *Moſes*: who with the reſt, by reaſon of their foul diſeaſes, and leſt they ſhould infect others, were baniſhed *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how theſe men, thus baniſhed, when in the Deſarts they ſuffered extream thirſt and famine, and therein found relief the ſeventh day, for this cauſe even after obſerved the ſeventh day, and kept it Holy; making it a law among themſelves, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. He addeth alſo, that they might not

Juſtin. l. 36

marry


The desert Ara
Saccæa
Agræi
Saue or Saba from whens the Sabeans spoyled Iob
Alsadamus mons
Palmerina
The mountains Saner
Cedar
Caspher
Bathanea
Gaulon
Gallaad
Asteroth
Asteroth Carnaim
Themon
Raphaim
Edrai
Gamala
The ouerthrow of Ogie by Moses
Lake Galaad
Hus. the territories of Iob
Soba of Adadezer
Theshe of Elias & Tobit
Betach
Berathy
Carath
Emath or Ituria of Tohu
Adrach
Earum Baal
Hermon
Syria da masci
Gessur
Basra
Catzerhenan
Phiale fons
Gessuri regio
Baldwyn the 2. ouerthroweth the Damasens
Damascus
The toure
Machati of Liberius
MANASSE
Raconitis
Bethsaida desert
Engannim
Suesta
Recath
Helon
Cesaria Philippi
Reblata
Dan
Hoba
Chalchis
Sephama
Ior
Abelbathmahacha
Galile superior
Daphnes
Lake Merom
Iulias
Gadara
Magedon
Cerasa
The sea of Galile
Corozaim
Capernaum
Magdalum
Tiberias
Tarichea
Hippus
Abila
Augustus temple
Sabarum
The ouerthrow of Iabin king of Asor by Iesua
Magdala
Mons Chris
Bethsaida
Remmon
NEPTA-
Masaleth
Carnam
Haroseth
Libanus
Heliopolis
Bereth
Chamath
Amethdor
Assedon
LIM
Asor
Bethanat
Sephet
Methoru
Bethlem
Iasua
Iatapata
Zabulon
Gabara
Bethulia
Carina
The ouerthrow of the Damasens by Baldwyn
Reobe
Chabul
Bethsemes
Dotham
Nahlol
Noe
Lepis
Daberth
Rabboth
Chaly
Iephthaeli
Aphec
Abdon
Belfort
Canagal
Beritus
ASHER
Giscala
Bethemec
Damna
Gabaltha
Achzap
Thorom
Regnim castr
Georgia
Semeron
M. Tabor
Tabor
Hathacer
Rama
Bersabe
Saffa
Cethron
Sidon
Sarepta
Helba
Tyre Antiq
Indi
Monfort
Lamath
Saren
Nazaret
Sephor
Sarid
Memnon Sepulcre
Acziba
Sandalium
Tyre
Castrum lamperti
Ptolemais Acon
Caspias Esdrelon
The great plaine of
Dabaret
Cast of Pilgrims
Casaria palest
THE PHOENICIAN
Cyprus
SYRIAN OR MEDITERAN SEA


E:
South
West
Agubeni
Arabia the stonie
Balaam
Nabatha
Mennith
Philadelphia
The mountains of Arnon
Mountaines of Ara: y^e stonie
Datheman
Gilead mont
Moabites somtime Emims
Moab desert
Ramoth galaad
Iazer
Aroer
Regelim
Bascama
Barara
Methana
Dibon gad
it
Medians
Beerlim
Mephat
Petra deserti
Esebon
Medaba
Balmeon
Cademoth
Helmond
Madian
Iabrim
Dibon
Carker
Cariathaim
Abrim
Callerhoe
Iasa Phasaa
Baser
Machærus
Adama
Seboim
Nobe
Bethphogor
Sebon ouerthrown by Moses
Cethim
The dead sea or y^e Asphaltites
Helon
Lunas
Sodom
Gomorra
Gaddi
Thesbe
Daber
Iosua his passage ouer Iordan
Iulias
Adumim
Ascensus
Ephra
Rameth
Hadid
Plaines of Iericho
Segor
Cebseel
Mountains of Iaumea
Ianoc
Doth
Galgala
Almath
Desert of Iericho
Nebsa
Arad
Abelmula
Traphaia
Bethel
Deleam
Thebes
Phaselum
Ephron
Giscalis
Anathot
Adomim
Iethan
Zeph
Iagur
Tanae
Acrabata
Petra rumman
Gabaath
Gabaa
Naioth
Silo
Bethzehara
Israel
Adada
Samaria
Sithem or Neapolis
Bethera
Ierusalem
Enachim
Cedes
Bethoron infr
Bezer
Asena
Iethnan
Gethemnen
Narbata
Thamnath
Bethnopolis
Imaus
Odolla
Ceila
Etam
Esteno
Zeph
Bethhoron sup
Adarsa
Maspha
Iecteel
Zanoe
Iaphna
Eston
Gaser
Helem
Azecha
Elchese
Modin
Selebim
Aen
Cariathsephor or Dabir
Adar
Leban
Aialon
Lachis
Sarra
Sama
Asmona
Sarim
Caspin
Helon
Gerar
Gethremmon
Iamma
Geth
Bethsames
Gabaathon
Esthaol
Sarohen
Asan
Bersabee
desert
Antipatris
Apollonia
Ioppe
Azotus
Ascalon
Gaza
Balaath
THE ÆGYPTIAN SEA
Maioma
Antheda
The sandy des:

marry out of their own Tribes, leſt diſcovering their uncleanneſs, they might alſo be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Egyptians*. Theſe and the like fables hath *Juſtine*.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as groſly belie them, in affirming, that in the inmoſt Oratory of their Temple, they had the golden head of an Aſs, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himſelf, having in the fifth book of his own Hiſtory truly confeſſed of the *Jews*, that they worſhipped one onely God: and thought it moſt prophane to repreſent the *Deity* by any material figure, by the ſhape of a man, or any other creature: and they had therefore in their Temples no Image or Repreſentation, no not ſo much as in any City by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, in *Stephanus*; who alſo makes *Judas* with *Idumæa*, the firſt parents of the *Jews*. Cited by Stephanus in Judea.

Claudius Iolaus draws them from *Judæus*, whoſe parents were *Sparton* and *Thebis*; whence it came, that the *Spartans* or *Lacedæmonians* challenged kinred of the *Hebrews*: but they did it as deſcended of *Abraham*, ſaith *Joſephus*. Some of theſe reports ſeem to have been gathered out of divine letters, though wreſted and perverted, according to the cuſtom of the Heathen. For ſo have they obſcured and altered the Story of the Creation, of Paradiſe, of the Flood; and given new names to the children of *Adam* in the firſt age, to *Noah* and his ſons in the ſecond: and ſo to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moſes*, and the reſt of the Fathers, and Leaders of the *Hebrews*: all which feigmings, as touching the *Jews* and their originals, *Joſephus* againſt *Appion*, and *Tertullian* have ſufficiently anſwered. For that the *Hebrews* were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and ſo *Chaldæans* originally, taking name either of *Heber*, the ſon of *Sale*, or elſe (ſaith *Montanus*) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greek *Grammarian*, derive the *Hebrews*, or *Jews*, from *Arabon*; having miſtaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the ſon of *Heber*, in the ſixth deſcent. Their ancient names were firſt changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Jacob*, otherwiſe *Iſrael*, the chief part were called *Iſrael*, another part after *Eſau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Jacob*, being moſt of the Tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name of *Judas*, the ſon of *Jacob*, and became *Judæans*, or *Jews*: as alſo for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the ſon of *Joſeph*, the chief of the Patriarchs of the ten Tribes, the reſt of the ten Tribes were comprehended: but were firſt rooted out when the Kingdom of *Iſrael* fell. The *Judæans* continued their names, though they ſuffered the ſame ſervitude not long after, under *Nabuchodonoſor*. Called Jews.

The government which this Nation under-went, was firſt paternal: which continued till they ſerved the *Egyptians*. They were ſecondly ruled by their Captains and Leaders, *Moſes* and *Joſua*, by a policy Divine. Thirdly, they ſubjected themſelves to Judges. Fourthly, they deſired a King, and had *Saul* for the firſt: Of whom, and his Succeſſours, before we intreat, we are firſt to ſpeak of their government under Judges, after the death of *Joſua*: with ſomewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about theſe times. Ten in Apol.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Joſua, *to the War of* Troy: *which was about the time of* Jephtha.

§. I.

Of the Inter-regnum *after* Joſua's *death: and of* Othoniel.

WHen *Joſua* was now dead, who with the advice of the 70. Elders, and the high Prieſt, held authority over the people, and ordered that Common-weal: it pleaſed God to direct the Tribe of *Juda* (in whom the Kingdom was afterward eſtabliſhed) to undertake the War againſt the *Canaanites*, over whom (with Gods favour, and the aſſiſtance of *Simeon*) they became victorious.

In the firſt attempt which they made, they not onely ſlew ten thouſand, but made *Adonibezek* priſoner: the greateſt and cruelleſt Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizites*. This tyrants cruelty, as elſewhere hath been ſignified, they returned in the ſame kind upon his own head: and ſo by the torments which he now felt in his own perſon (before

(before no otherwise known unto him but by his malicious imagination) made him confess and acknowledge Gods judgments against himself.

The Tribes of *Juda* and *Simeon* did also master and possess during this *Inter-regnum* (or as some think, before the death of *Josua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Askolon*, *Ekron*, and *Hierusalem*, which they burnt, and the *Jebusites* after re-edified. They took also the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathsepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be not set down in expres words that any one person commanded in chief over the people, as *Moses* and *Josua* did: yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authority among them: and that he, with the advice of *Phinees*, directed and ordered their wars. For if any think that they proceeded without a Chief, the good succes which followed their undertakings, witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb*, even while *Josua* governed, as appears, *Jos.* 10. 39. that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the Captains: for the performance of which enterprise, he promised his daughter *Achsah*: which he performed to *Othoniel* his younger brother after the conquest: whose behaviour in that service was such, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greatest reputation among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first Judge soon after. But while those of *Juda* made war with their borderers, from whom they onely recovered the mountainous Countries (for they could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Vallies, *because they had Chariots of Iron.*) The rest of the Tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their own Territories. In which war they laboured with variable succes: for as the house of *Joseph* recovered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the plain Countries, and forc't them to save themselves in the Mountains. And now the *Israelites*, unmindful of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculously a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies (the Elders being also consumed, who better advised them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not only joyn themselves in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more detestable) they served the Idols of *Baal*, and *Astaroth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the Lord God, whom they had provoked with their Idolatry, deliver them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*, whom *Chushan Rishathaim* at that time commanded.

Judg. 1. 19

Judg. 1. 25

Judg. 1. 30

But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight years, it pleased him to have compassion on his people, and to raise up *Othoniel* to be their Judge and Leader: who by God assisted, delivered his brethren from oppression, and inforced the *Aramites* to return into their own Desarts, and into *Mesopotamia* adjoyning: after which the *Israelites* had peace fourty years, during all the time of *Othoniels* government. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Tostatus*, to have been the younger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the book of *Judges*, he is twice called *Othoniel*, the son of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother. Others do rather interpret those words [*Calebs* younger brother] as if they signified the meanest of his kinred. Indeed it is not likely that *Calebs* Daughter should marry with her own Uncle; yet it follows not therefore that *Othoniel* should have been the meanest of the kinred. Wherefore we may better think that he was the Nephew of *Caleb*, (as some learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture seem to enforce. For *Caleb* was the son of *Jephunneth*, and *Othoniel* the son of *Cenas*, *Calebs* younger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brothers son; to whom it was not onely lawful, but commendable to marry with his Cousin German *Calebs* Daughter.

Judg. 3. 11.

2608. 2648.

How long it was from the death of *Josua*, to the government of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found: but it seems to have been no short time. For many wars were made in that space against the people of the Land. *Laish* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best Writers are of opinion, that between the times of *Josua* and *Othoniel*, that civil war brake out between the *Benjamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Levites* Wife. For it is written, that in those dayes there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes. And as *Juda* led the people against the *Canaanites*, during the *Inter-regnum*, so was he commanded to do against *Benjamin*, even by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a Judge to appoint what should be done; which sheweth it to have been when *Josua* was dead, and before the government of *Othoniel*, especially considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Governours, were spent under such oppression of strangers, as would have given them no leave to have attempted such a civil war, if their power had been as great, as it was in the managing of this action; wherein they so weakened the body of their estate, by effusion of blood, that in many ages they

Judg. 17. & 18. & 19.

they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

§. II.

Of the memorable things of this age in other Nations: and of the difficulty in the computation of times.

THere lived in this age of *Othoniel*, *Pandon*, or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the fifth King of *Athens*; who began to rule in the twentieth year of *Othoniel*, and governed forty years. He was father to *Erictheus*: his daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whose daughter *Semele* was born *Dionysius* or *Liber Pater*: under whom *Linus* the Musician lived. In his time also the Cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharsus* were built.

Ida and *Dactylus* flourished in this age, who are said to have found out the use of Iron: but *Genesis* hath taught us the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in Iron and Brass. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* governed *Thebes*: whom divers Chronologers find in *Ehuds* time. But S. *Augustine* making a repetition of those fables, which were devised among the *Grecians* and other Nations, during the government of the Judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose parentage there is as little agreement. *Vives* upon the thirteenth Chapter of S. *Augustine de Civit. Dei*, and the eighteenth book, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progeny, where he that desires his pedigree may find it. *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* make him native of *Attica*: and the son of *Eleusius* King of *Eleusina*: which *Eleusius* by careful industry had fed the people of that Territory in the time of a great famine. This, when upon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not perform, fearing the fury of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kind of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prow a graven or carved Serpent; who because he made exceeding great speed to return and to relieve his people with Corn from some neighbour Nation: it was feigned by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the air.

Gen. 4. 22. Whence came the name of Vulcan by Aphæresis of the two first letters. *Aug. de civit Dei, l. 18. c. 13*

Whether the times of these Kings, which lived together with *Othoniel*, and after him, with the rest of the Judges and Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set down, I cannot avow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars; to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of better judgment. For whether *Eusebius* and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves so conversant with these ancient Kings, and with the very year when they began to rule) have hit the mark of time, of all other the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the ancientest Chronologers have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but conjecture. Secondly, because their own disagreement and contention in those elder dayes, with that of our own age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans understanding, save his own; but that he is greatly distracted, after what pattern to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not onely in the reigns of Heathen Kings and Princes; but even in the computation of those times which the indisputable authority of holy Scripture hath summed up, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the Judges and the oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the egression to the building of *Solomon*'s Temple, in the Persian Empire, the seventy Weeks, and in what not? Wheresoever the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men have sought by so many wayes to uncover the Sun, that the days thereby are made more dark, and the clouds more condensed than before: I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in these computations: and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdoms took beginning in this or that year, I avow it no otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a private opinion: which I submit to better judgments. *Nam in priscis rebus veritas non ad unguem quærenda; In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth*, sayes *Diodore*.

§. III.

Of Ehuds *time, and of* Proserpina, Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tytius, Admetus, *and others that lived about these times.*

AFter the death of *Othoniel*, when *Israel* fell back to their former Idolatry, God incouraged *Moab* to invade and suppress them: to perform which, he joyned the forces

forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* unto his own, and so (as all kind of misery readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawn his help from, thereby to make them feel the difference between his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easie conquest over *Israel*, whom God himself exposed to those perils, within which they were so speedily folded up. In this miserable estate they continued full eighteen years under *Eglon* King of the *Moabites* and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his ears from their crying repentance: but raised up *Ehud* the son of *Gera* to deliver them: by which weak man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the justness of his quarrel, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, he resolved to attempt upon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguish, he assured himself of the following victory: especially giving his Nation no time to re-establish their government, or to choose a King to command and direct them in the Wars. According to which resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embassadour to *Eglon*, loaden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appease him, and obtaining private access, upon the pretence of some secret to be revealed, he pierc't his body with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge: and shutting the doors of his closet upon him, escaped.

It may seem, that being confident of his good success, he had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readiness. For suddenly after his return, he did re-pass *Jordan*, and invading the Territory of *Moab*, overthrew their Army, consisting of 10000. able and strong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victory, and that *Samgar* his Successor had miraculously slain 600. *Philistims* with an Ox goad: the Land and People of *Israel* lived in peace unto the end of fourscore years from the death of *Othoniel*, which term expired in the Worlds year 2691.

In the dayes of *Ehud*, *Naomi*, with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two sons, travelled into *Moab*, and so the story of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourscore years which are given to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Molossians*, otherwise *Pluto*, stole *Proserpina*, as she walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponium* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pausanias*) by the River *Cephisus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if he mean not two distinct Rivers. This stealth being made known to *Pyrithous*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* joyned themselves, they agreed together to recover her: but *Pluto*, or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they say) a very huge Dog, which fastened on *Pyrithous*, and tare him in pieces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him, and by strength took and mastered the Dog *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his delivering *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zezes*, as I take it, hath written this story somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrithous*, saith he, attempted to steal *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Molossians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proserpina*: *Proserpina* being a general name also for all fair women. This purpose of theirs being known to *Aidonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrithous* were both taken; and because *Pyrithous* was the principal in this conspiracy, and *Theseus* drawn on by a kind of affection or inforcement, the one was given for food to *Aidonius* his great Dog *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner, till *Hercules*, by the instigation of *Euristheus*, delivered him by strong hand. The *Molossi*, which *Stephanus* writes with a single (*s*) were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting near the Mountains of *Pindus*: of which Mountains *Oeta* is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himself. The River of *Acheron* (which the Poets describe to be in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Molossi* in *Thessali*: but these are neighbours to the *Cassiopæi*, saith *Plutarch* in his Greek questions.

The rape of *Orithya*, the daughter of *Erytheus*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the North-wind, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athens*. In this time also *Tereus* ravished *Philomela*, of which the fable was devised of her conversion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* having married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her sister, forced her in her passage, and withall cut out her tongue, that she might not complain; perswading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother-in-laws mercilesse behaviour towards her, *Philomela* expressed by her needle upon cloath, and sent unto *Progne*. In revenge whereof, *Progne* caused her onely son *Itys* to be cut in pieces, and set before *Tereus* her husband, so dresst as it appeared to be some other ordinary food: of which when he had eaten his fill, she caused his head, hands and feet, to be presented unto him: and then fled away with such speed towards *Athens*,

Paus. in Att.

Athens, where her Father *Pandion* yet lived, as the Poets feigned, that she was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* finds to be *Daulis*, in *Phocis*: and the Tomb of *Tereus*, *Pausanias* hath built near the Rocks *Mergi*, in the Territory of *Athens*. By which, as also by the name *Daulis*, where these things are supposed to have been done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digression in his *Peloponnesian* War, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odrysæ*, (as the Poets call him *Odrysius*) but that *Phocis* a Country in *Greece* not far from *Attica*, a City whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandions* time inhabited by *Thracians*, of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion*, to have amity with his neighbours, made him his son-in-law: as it is good to believe, saith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom he might have succour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that should have held the Kingdom of *Odrysæ*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may seem to have been, partly because, as *Pausanias* sayes, *Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines*; as if a Swallow, remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and her sister, did for ever after hate that place.

Lib 9. Paus. in Att.

Thucyd. l. 1.

Near this time *Melampus* (who is said to have understood the voices of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. He restored to their former health the Daughters of *Prætus* King of the *Argives*, who (as the Poets please) were made mad by *Juno*: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries where the ground was light, they did use often to plough with Kine.

Paus l. 1. Homer. Odyss. 11.

Paus.

In the seven and fortieth year of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to reign in *Dardania*, and gave it his own name; about which time *Phemone* the chief Priest of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, devised the Heroical Verse,

Of the same date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Eusebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and also of that part of which the people were anciently *Mæones*. Of *Tantalus* was devised the fable that some Poets have applied to the passion of love: and some to the covetous that dare not injoy his riches. *Eusebius* calls this *Tantalus* the son of *Jupiter*, by the Nimph *Pleta*: *Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zezes*, give him another mother. He was said to be the son of *Jupiter*, as some will have it; because he had that Planet in his ascendent, betokening Wisdom and Riches. It is said, that when he made a feast to the gods, having nothing more precious, he caused his own son to be slain and drest to the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the shoulders; whereby was signified, that those men which seek after Divine knowledge, prefer nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their own children, of all else the most dearest. And where it was devised, that he had alwayes Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacy of the world, yet his mind being otherwise, and to higher desires transported, he enjoyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Ovid*:

Euseb. Prep Evan. l. 2. Zezer. hist. 10. Chil. 5.

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat.
Tantalus, *hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Here *Tantalus* in water seeks for water, and doth miss.
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught wisdom and vertue to mortal men: which story *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly expresst in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwise, and say, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirsty of more abundance, was never satisfied. Of whom *Horace* against covetousness.

Tantalus *à labiis sitiens fugientia captat*
Flumina; quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirsting *Tantalus* doth catch at streams that from him flee.
Why laugheſt thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is feigned of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the gods, to vain and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quod furatus,
Coetaneis convivis.
Nectar Ambrosiamque dedit.

Because that stealing immortality,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* give
To guests of his own age, to make them live.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of Divinity ought not to be imparted to the unpure Vulgar. For as the cleanest meats in a foul stomack, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reserved mysteries are often perverted by an unclean and defiled mind.

Mark 4.11 *To you it is given* (saith *Christ* in *Mark*) *to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God, but unto them that are without, all things be done in Parables.* So it is said of him, that *he expounded all things to his Disciples apart.* And therefore doth *Gregory Nazianzene* infer upon a place of S. *Paul: Quod si* Paulo *licuisset effari ea, quorum ipsi cognitionem cœlum tertium & usque ad illud progressio suppeditavit, fortasse de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius constaret*; *If* Paul *might have uttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third Heavens, and his going thither, did bring unto him, peradventure we might know somewhat more of God.*

Mark 4.34 Greg. in Orat. de vera ratione disp. de Deo. 2 Cor. 12.

Pythagoras, saith *Revelin*, thought it not the part of a wise man, *Asino lyram exponere, aut mysteria, quæ ita reciperet, ut Sus tubam, & fidem graculus, & unguenta Scarabæus: quare silentium indixit discipulis, nè vulgo divinorum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando facilius quàm loquendo apprehendantur*; *To set an Ass to a Harp, or to learn mysteries: which he would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a Jay a Viol, or Scarabies, and unclean flies soveraign ointment. Wherefore he commanded silence to his Disciples, that they should not disclose divine mysteries to the common sort, which are easier learned by meditation than by babling.* And therefore did the *Egyptians* communicate their mysteries among their Priests in certain *Hieroglyphick* letters, to the end that their secrets might be hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is also said, that *Tytius* lived, whom *Apollo* slew, because he sought to force his mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tytius* was the son of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloved of *Jupiter*, to avoid *Juno*'s revenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where she was delivered of *Tytius*: whose Mother dying, and himself therein nourished, he was therefore called the son of the earth. *Pausanias* speaking of the grave of this Giant, affirms, that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his stature out of *Homer*:

Porrectúsque novem Tytius *per jugera terra.*
Assiduas atro viscere pascit aves. Hom. Od. 11.

Nine furlongs stretcht lies *Tytius*, who for his wicked deeds,
The hungry Birds with his renewing liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; That *Apollo* killing this cruel and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a City in *Phocis*, it was feigned by the Poets, to the terrour of others, That he was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still lived, and had his flesh renewed.

Admetus, King of *Thessaly*, lived also in this age, whom it is said that *Apollo* first served as a Herd-man, and afterward, for his excellent wit, was by him advanced; but having slain *Hyacinthus*, he crost the *Hellespont*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where, together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in brick, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leap into their places by playing on his Harp: according to him in *Ovid*, which saith:

Ilion *aspicies, firmataque turribus altis*
Mœnia, Apollineæ *structa canore lyræ.*

Strong *Ilion* thou shalt see with walls and towers high,
Built with the harp of wise *Apollo*'s Harmony.

Thus the Poets: but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this work. And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megariens* witness, saith *Pausanias*. Paus. in Att.

In these dayes also of *Ehud*, or (as some find it) in the dayes of *Deborah*, lived *Perseus*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, by whose Souldiers (as they sailed out of *Peloponnesus*, to seek their adventure on *Africa* side) *Meduſa*, the Daughter and Successor of *Phorcus*, being weakly accompanied as she hunted, near the Lake *Tritan*, was surprised and slain: whose beauty, when *Perseus* beheld, he caused her head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was such, and so much admired, and the beholders so astonished which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, That all that looked on *Meduſa*'s head, were turned into stones.

Triton a Lake of Africa, which Pliny calleth Pallantias. Didym. in pereg. Bisl.

Cecrops, the second of that name, and 7. King of *Athens*, and *Acrisius* the 13. or, after *Eusebius*,

Euſeb. in Chron. *Euſebius*, the 14. King of the *Argives*, began alſo their reigns, as it is ſaid, in the time of this Judge: of which the firſt ruled 40. years, and the ſecond 31. years. Alſo *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the ſon of *Glaucus*, the ſon of *Siſyphus*: who inticed by *Antea*, or *Sthenobia*, the wife of *Prætus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refuſing it, ſhe accuſed him to her huſband, that he offered to force her: whereupon *Prætus* ſent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about ſome affairs of weight, between him and his ſon-in-law *Jobates*: giving ſecret order to *Jobates* to diſpatch him: but *Jobates* thinking it diſhonourable to lay violent hands on him, imployed him againſt *Chimæra*, a Monſter vomiting, or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pittying his innocency, ſent him the winged Horſe, *Pegaſus*, ſprung up of the blood of *Meduſa*, formerly ſlain by the ſouldiers of *Perſeus* in *Africa*, to tranſport him; a horſe that none other could maſter or bridle but *Minerva*: upon which beaſt *Bellerophon* overcame *Chimæra*: and performed the other ſervices given him in charge: which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambuſh to have ſlain him: but being victorious alſo over all thoſe, he arrived to *Jobates* in ſafety: whom *Jobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, firſt with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdom: after which he grew ſo inſolent, as he attempted to flie up to heaven upon his *Pegaſus*: whoſe pride *Jupiter* diſdaining, cauſed one of his ſtinging flies ſo to vex *Pegaſus*, as he caſt off *Bellerophon* from his back, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind; of which burthen *Pegaſus* being diſcharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heaven: and being fed in *Jupiters* own ſtable, *Aurora* begg'd him of *Jupiter* to ride on before the Sun. This tale is diverſly expounded; as firſt by ſome, That it pleaſeth God to relieve men in their innocent and undeſerved adverſity, and to caſt down thoſe which are too high minded: according to that which is ſaid of *Bellerophon*: that when he was expoſed to extream hazard, or rather certain death, he found both deliverance and honour: but waxing over-proud and preſumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was again thrown down into the extremity of ſorrow, and ever-during miſery. Secondly by others, That under the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruel Pyrat of the *Lycians*, whoſe ſhip had in her prow a Lyon, a Goat in the mid-ſhip, and a Dragon in the ſtearn, of which three beaſts this Monſter *Chimæra* was ſaid to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* purſued with a kind of Galley, of ſuch ſwiftneſs, that it was called the flying Horſe: to whom the invention of ſayls (the wings of a ſhip) are alſo attributed. Many other expoſitions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not unlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a ſhip, for ſo *Virgil* calleth one of the greateſt ſhips of *Æneas*.

Plutar. in claris mulier.

L. 5. Æneid. Homer in hymn. ad Apoll.

Ion alſo, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquity of their parent *Javan*) derive their name of *Iones*, is ſaid to have been about *Ehuds* time: *Homer* calls them *Jaones*, which hath a near reſemblance to the word *Javan*. Perhaps it might be ſo that *Ion* himſelf took name from *Javan*: it being a cuſtom obſervable in the Hiſtories of all times, to revive the ancient name of a fore-father, in ſome the principal of his iſſue.

The invaſion of *India* by *Liber-Pater*, is by ſome reported as done in this age: but S. *Auguſtine* makes him far more ancient: placing him between the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Joſua*.

Lib. 18. c. 12. de ci. dei. l. 18. c. 15.

About the end of the 80. years, aſcribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flouriſhed: who gave name to *Peloponneſus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

§. IV.

Of Deborah *and her Contemporaries.*

AFter *Iſrael* had lived in peace and plenty to the end of theſe 80. years, they again began to forget the giver of all goodneſs, and many of thoſe being worn out, which were witneſſes of the former miſery, and of Gods deliverance by *Ehud*; and after him by *Samgar*; the reſt began to return to their former neglect of Gods commandments. For as Plenty and Peace are the parents of idle ſecurity; ſo is ſecurity as fruitful in begetting and bringing forth both danger and ſubverſion: of which, all eſtates in the world have taſted by interchange of times. Therefore when their ſins were again ripe for puniſhment, *Jabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the territory of *Iſrael*; and having in his ſervice 900. iron Chariots, beſides the reſt of his forces, he held them in ſubjection twenty years, till it pleaſed God to raiſe up *Deborah*, the Propheteſs, who incouraged *Barac* to levy a force out of *Nepthalim*, and *Zabulon*, to incounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nepthalim* were more forward than the reſt in this action, it may ſeem to have proceeded partly from the authority that *Barac* had

among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more sensible than in others, because *Hazor* and *Haroseth* the chief holds of *Jabin*, were in *Nephtalim*. So in the dayes of *Jeptha* the *Gileadites* took the greatest care, because the *Ammonites*, with whom the War was, presled most upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliver *Israel* from the *Moabites*: and by the counsel and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoak of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisera* by *Jael* the *Kenites* wife: so was it his will at other times, to work the like great things by the weakest means. For the mighty *Assyrian Nabuchodonosor*, who was a King of Kings, and resistless, he overthrew by his own imaginations, the causers of his brutish melancholy: and changed his matchless pride into the base humility of a Beast. And to approve that he is the Lord of all power, he sometime punisheth by invisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Army of *Senacherib* by his Angel, or as he did the *Egyptians* in *Moses* time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharaoh* by the waves of the Sea; and the *Canaanites* by hail-stones in the time of *Josua*: sometimes by the ministery of men, as when he overthrew the four Kings of the East, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the houshold servants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to set upon their own confederate the Army of the *Edomites*; and having slain them, to kill one another in the
2 Chro 20. sight of *Jehosaphat*: and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Prophetess speak unto *Barac* in these words: *But this*
Judg 49. *journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for the Lord shall sell* Sisera *into the hands of a Woman.* In which victory all the strength of the *Canaanite Jabin* fell to the ground, even to the last man: in the end of which War it seemeth that *Jabin* himself also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the fourth of *Judges*.

After all which, *Deborah* giveth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his powerfulness, and great mercies, she sheweth the weak estate whereinto *Israel* was brought for their Idolatry by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering Nations, in these words: *Was there a shield or spear seen among*
Jud. 5. v. 18. *forty thousand of Israel?* She also sheweth how the *Israelites* were severed and amazed,
verſ. 17. some of them confined over *Jordan*, and durst not joyn themselves to the rest; as those of *Reuben* in *Gilead*: that the *Asherites* kept the Sea-coast, and forsook their habitations towards the Land; and the children of *Dan*, who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ships for safety, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. She then cursed the Inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling near the place of the battel (belike fearing the success) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then blesseth *Jael* the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who nailed *Sisera* in her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Israelites*. For though the Family of *Heber* were inforced in that miserable time of subjection, to hold correspondency with *Jabin* the *Canaanite*, yet when occasion offered them means, they witnessed their love and faith to their ancient Friends. Lastly, she derideth the Mother of *Sisera* who promised her Son the victory in her own hopes: and fancied to her self, and described the spoils both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, she directeth her praise and thanks to God onely victorious.

From the beginning of *Jabins* oppression to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased unto *Israel*, there passed 40. years. In which time the Kingdom of *Argos*, which had continued 544. years, was translated to *Mycenæ*: The translation of this Kingdom, *Vives* out of *Pausanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lynceus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the Children of *Abas* the son of *Lynceus* divided the Kingdom: of which *Acrisius* being eldest, held *Argos* it self: *Proetus* his brother possest *Ephyra*, or *Corinth*, and *Tirynthos*, and other Cities, with *Pau. in Co-* all the Territory towards the Sea: there be- *rinthiacis.* ing many Monuments in *Tirynthos*, which witness *Proetus* possession, saith *Pausanias*.

Now *Acrisius* was foretold by an Oracle, that he should be slain by the son of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompany her. But the Lady being exceeding fair, it is fained that *Jupiter* turned himself into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings son, or other worthy man, corrupted her Keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of whom *Perseus* was born; who when he grew to mans estate, either by chance (saith *Ctesias*) or in shewing his grand-father the invention of the *discus*, or leaden ball, slew him unwillingly. After this, *Perseus*, to avoid the infamy of *Patricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdomes with his Uncle *Proetus*: and built *Mycenæ*. This imprisonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise: and that she

was

was incloſed in a brazen vault under the Kings Hall with her Nurſe and Keepers. Upon this cloſe cuſtody *Horace* hath this witty obſervation:

Inclusam Danaen *turris ahenea,*
Robustæque fores, & vigilum canum
Tristes excubiæ munierant satis
Nocturnis ab adulteris:

Si non Acrisium *Virginis abditæ*
Custodem pavidum, Jupiter *&* Venus
Risissent, fore enim tutum iter & patens
Converso in pretium Deo.

Aurem per medios ire satellites,
Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.

The brazen tower with doors cloſe barr'd,
And watchful bandogs frightful guard,
Kept ſafe the maidenhead
Of *Danae* from ſecret love:
Till ſmiling *Venus*, and vviſe *Jove*
Beguil'd her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a golden ſhowre,
The god into her lap did poure
Himſelf, and took his pleaſure.
Through guards and ſtony vvals to break,
The thunder-bolt is far more weak,
Than is a golden treaſure.

The firſt Kings of the Argives *were theſe.*

Inachus the firſt King, who began to reign in the firſt year of *Jacob*, and the 61. of *Iſaac:* from which time, to the end of *Sthenelus*, *Caſtor* miſreckoneth 400. years. This Kingdom before the tranſlation, *Euſebius* accounteth to have ſtood 544. years, others but at 417. *Io* was the daughter of this *Inachus:* vvhom the *Egyptians* called *Iſis*.

Phoroneus,	*Sthenelus,*
Apis,	*Danaus,*
Argus,	*Lynceus,*
Piraſus,	*Abas,*
Phorbas,	*Acriſius,*
Triopas,	*Pelops.*
Crotopus,	

After the tranſlation to *Mycenæ*, *Mar. Scotus* finds theſe Kings:

Perſeus,	*Euryſtheus,*
Sthenelus,	

Atreus and *Thyeſtes.* } The ſons of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*: *Atreus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus.*

Agamemnon,	*Tiſamenus,*
Ægyſthus,	*Penthilus* and
Oreſtes,	*Cometes.*

Of theſe Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leave out the two firſt, and the laſt, beginning with *Euryſtheus:* and ending with *Penthilus.* In *Tiſamenus* time the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponeſus:* of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Debora*, vvere *Midas*, vvho reigned in *Phrygia:* and *Ilus*, vvho built *Ilium:* vvith others mentioned in our *Chronological* Table, as Contemporaries vvith *Debora.*

§. V.

Of Gideon, *and of* Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, *and others that lived in this Age.*

DEbora and *Barac* being dead, the *Midianites*, aſſiſted by the *Amalekites*, infeſted *Iſrael.* For when, under a Judge, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or proſperity: The Judge was no ſooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatry. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did ſo maſter them in a ſhort time (the hand of God being withheld from their defence) as to ſave themſelves, they crept into caves of the mountains, and other the like places of hardeſt acceſs: their enemies poſſeſſing all the plains and fruitful vallies: and in harveſt time, by themſelves, and the multitude of their cattel, deſtroying all that grew up: covering the fields as thick as graſſhoppers: vvhich ſervitude laſted ſeven years. *Jud. 6.*

Then the Lord by his Angel ſtirred up *Gideon* the ſon of *Joaſh*, afterward called *Jerubbaal*: vvhoſe fear and unvvillingneſs, and how it pleaſed God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and preciſely ſet down in the holy Scriptures: as alſo how it pleaſed God by a few ſelect perſons, namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make them know that he onely vvas the Lord of Hoſts. Each of theſe 300. by *Gideons* appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, inſtruments of more terrour than force, vvith vvhich he gave the great Army of their enemies an alarum: vvho hearing ſo loud a noiſe, and ſeeing (at the crack of ſo many pitchers broken) ſo many lights about them, eſteeming the Army of *Iſrael* to be infinite, and ſtrucken vvith a ſudden fear, they all fled vvithout a ſtroke ſtricken, and vvere ſlaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made priſoners and ſlain. *Jud. 6. v. 5.* *Jud. c. 6. & 7.*

ſlain. In his return the *Ephramites* began to quarrel with *Gideon*, becauſe he made war without their aſſiſtance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprize) would no doubt have held themſelves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeaſing them with a mild anſwer, followed after the enemy, in which purſuit being tyred with travel, and weary even with the ſlaughtering of his enemies, he deſired relief from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreſhed) he might over-take the other two Kings of the *Midianites*: which had ſaved themſelves by flight. For they were four Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and waſted *Iſrael*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*; which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, ſought the like relief from the Inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like ſort refuſed to ſuccour him. To both of theſe places he threatned therefore the revenge, vvhich in his return from the proſecution of the other two Princes, he performed: to vvit, that he vvould tear the fleſh of thoſe of *Succoth* vvith thorns and briars, and deſtroy the Inhabitants and City of *Penuel*. Novv vvhy the people of theſe two Cities ſhould refuſe relief to their brethren the *Iſraelites*, eſpecially after ſo great a victory: if I may preſume to make conjecture, it ſeems likely, firſt, that thoſe Cities ſet over *Jordan*, and in the vvay of all invaſions, to be made by the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Midianites*, into *Iſrael*, had either made their own peace with thoſe Nations, and were not ſpoyled by them; or elſe they knowing that *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* were eſcaped with a great part of their Army, might fear their revenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and diſpoſitions of theſe men: as it is not rare to find of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, eſpecially of thoſe which follow the war, that both envy and maligne others, if they perform any praiſe-worthy actions, for the honour and ſafety of their own Country, though themſelves may be aſſured to bear a part of the ſmart of contrary ſucceſs. And ſuch malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Country ſhould ſuffer hazzard and want, than that ſuch men as they miſlike, ſhould be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

A place in Baſan, as it is thought *Jud.* 8.10.

Now *Gideon*, how or whereſoever it were that he refreſhed himſelf and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and purſued his former victory to the uttermoſt: and finding *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* in *Karkor* (ſuſpecting no further attempt upon them) he again ſurprized them, and ſlaughtered thoſe 15000. remaining: having put to the ſword in the former attempt 120000. and withall he took *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* priſoners: whom becauſe themſelves had executed *Gidion*'s brethren before at *Tabor*, he cauſed them both to be ſlain: or (as it is written) at their own requeſt ſlew them with his own hands, his Son whom he firſt commanded to do it, refuſing it; and in his return from the conſummation of this marvellous victory, he took revenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiving no offence committed againſt him, either by ſtrangers, or by his brethren the *Iſraelites*. But ſuch mercy as he ſhewed to others, his own children found ſoon after his death, according to that which hath been ſaid before. The debts of cruelty and mercy are never left unſatisfied: for as he ſlew the 70. Elders of *Succoth*, with great and unuſual torments, ſo were his own 70. ſons, all but one, murthered by his own baſtard *Abimelec*: The like *Analogy* is obſerved by the *Rabbines*, in the greateſt of the plagues which God brought upon the *Egyptians*, who having cauſed the male children of the *Hebrews* to be ſlain, others of them to be caſt into the River and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like meaſure, deſtroying their own firſt-born by his *Angel*, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his Army in the Red Sea. And hereof a world of examples might be given both out of the Scriptures and other Hiſtories.

In the end ſo much did the people reverence *Gideon* in the preſent for his victory, and there own deliverance, as they offered him the Soveraignty over them, and to eſtabliſh him in the Government; which he refuſed, anſwering; *I will not reign over you, neither ſhall my childe reign over you, but the Lord ſhall, &c.* But he deſired the people that they would beſtow on him the golden ear-rings which every man had gotten. For the *Iſmaelites*, neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites*, uſed to wear them: the weight of all which was a thouſand and ſeven hundred ſhekles of gold, which makes of ours 2380. *li.* if we follow the account of the ſhekle vulgar. And becauſe he converted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew ſilk, purple, ſcarlet, and fine linen, belonging to the High Prieſt only, and ſet up the ſame in his own City of *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Iſrael* to Idolatry, the ſame

Judg. 8.13

Exod. 28. *Judg.* 8.28

ſame was the deſtruction of *Gideon* and his houſe.

There was another kind of *Ephod* beſides this of the High Prieſts, which the Levites uſed, and ſo did *David* when he danced before the *Ark:* and *Samuel* while he was yet young, which was made of linnen only.

Now if any man demand how it was poſſible for *Gideon* with 300. men to deſtroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained, we may remember, that although *Gideon* with 300. gave the firſt alarm, and put the *Midianites* in rout and diſorder; yet all the reſt of the Army came in to the ſlaughter, and purſuit: for it is written; *That the men of Iſrael being gathered together out of Nephtaly, and out of Aſher, and out of Manaſſe, purſued after the Midianites:* for this Army *Gideon* left in Tents behind him, when he went down to view the Army of his enemies, who with the noiſe of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution. Judg. 7. 23

There lived with *Gideon*, *Ægeus*, the ſon of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens: Euryſtheus* King of *Mycenæ: Atreus* and *Thyeſtes* the ſons of *Pelops*, who bare dominion over a great part of *Peloponneſus*, and after the death of *Euryſtheus*, the Kingdom of *Mycenæ* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus*, who holding his brother in jealouſie, as an attempter, both of his Wife and Crown, ſlew the children of *Thyeſtes*, and cauſing their fleſh to be dreſt, did therewith feaſt their father. But this cruelty was not unrevenged. For both *Atreus* and his ſon *Agamemnon* was ſlain by a baſe ſon of *Thyeſtes*, yea the grand-children, and all the linage of *Atreus* died by the ſame ſword.

In *Gideon*'s time alſo thoſe things were ſuppoſed to have been done, which are written of *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. *Dædalus*, they ſay, having ſlain his Nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Minos*, King of *Crete*, for ſuccour; where for his excellent workmanſhip he was greatly eſteemed, having made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth*, like unto that of *Egypt*. Afterward he was ſaid to have framed an artificial Cow for *Paſiphae* the Queen, that ſhe, being in love with a fair Bull, might by putting her ſelf into the Cow, ſatisfie her luſt; a thing no leſs unnatural than incredible, had not that ſhameleſs Emperour *Domitian* exhibited the like beaſtly ſpectacle openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*; of purpoſe, as may ſeem, to verifie the old Fable. For ſo it appears by thoſe Verſes of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable ſhew, as a goodly Pageant, in thoſe vicious times.

Junctam Paſiphaen Dicteo credite Tauro
Vidimus, accepit fabula priſca fidem.
Neceſe miratur Cæſar, longæva vetuſtas
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of *Paſiphae*, *Servius* makes a leſs unhoneſt conſtruction of it, thinking that *Dædalus* was of her counſel, and her Pandar for the enticeing of a Secretary of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which ſignifieth a Bull, who begat her with childe; and that ſhe being delivered of two ſons, the one reſembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was feigned that ſhe was delivered of the Monſter *Minotaur*, half a Man, and half a Bull. But this practice being diſcovered, and *Dædalus* appointed to be ſlain, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicil:* in which paſſage he made ſuch expedition, as it was feigned that he faſhioned wings for himſelf and his ſon to tranſport them. For whereas *Minos* purſued him with boats which had oares only, *Dædalus* framed ſails both for his own boat, and for his ſons, by which he out-went thoſe that had him in chaſe. Upon which new invention, *Icarus* bearing himſelf over-bold, was over-born and drowned.

It is alſo written of *Dædalus*, that he made Images that could move themſelves, and go, becauſe he carved them with legs, arms, and hands; whereas thoſe that preceded him, could only preſent the body and head of thoſe men, whom they carried to counterfeit, and yet the workmanſhip was eſteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had ſeen ſome of thoſe that were called the Images of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* alſo flouriſhed *Linus* the *Theban*, the ſon of *Apollo*, and *Terpſichore*, who inſtructed *Thamaris*, *Orphæus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the Sun and Moons courſe, and of the generation of living Creatures, but in the end he was ſlain by *Hercules* his Scholar with his own Harp. *Herind.* *Plut Pauſ. l. 9.*

Again, in this age thoſe things ſpoken of *Sphinx*, and *Oedipus*, are thought to have been performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by ſea and land, was by the *Corinthians* Army, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to thoſe whom ſhe maſtered, was meant by the rocky and unacceſſible Mountain near *Thebes*, which ſhe defended; and by *Oedipus* diſſolving her probleme, his victory over her. She was painted with wings, becauſe exceeding ſwift, and with the body of a Lion, for her cruelty. But that which *Palæphatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable, *Strab. l. 9.*

bable, did not the time disprove it, for he calls her an *Amazonite*, and the wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her help he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despightful part, with her own troop she held the Mountain by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharp war upon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* overthrown. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharp war with the *Megarians* and *Athenians*, because his son *Androgeus* was slain by them. He possest himself of *Megara*, by the treason of *Scylla*, daughter of *Nisus* the King. He was long Master of the Sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of delivering him every year seven of their sons: which tribute *Theseus* released, as shall be shewed, when I come to the time of the next Judge *Thola*. In the end he was slain at *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia*, by *Cocalus* the King, while he pursued *Dædalus*: and was esteemed by some to be the first Law-giver to those Islands.

Arist. pol. l. 1.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the Giant, who was said to have 60. and odd cubits of length, which though *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was such a body found by *Sertorius* the *Roman*, in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* slew *Antæus*: yet for my self I think it but a loud lie. That *Antæus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, *Eusebius* affirmeth: and because he cast so many men to the ground, he was feigned to be the son of the earth. *Pliny* saith, that he inhabited near the Gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. St. *Augustine* affirms, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* also which he overcame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a subtle Sophister.

Euseb. in Chro.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 12.

Euseb in in Chro.

§. VI.

Of the Expedition of the Argonauts.

ABout the eleventh year of *Gideon*, was the famous expedition of the *Argonauts* of which many fabulous discourses have been written, the sum of which is this:

Pelias the son of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers side to *Æson*, who was *Jasons* father, reigning in *Jolcos* a Town of *Thessaly*, was warned by the *Oracle* of *Apollo* to take heed of him that wore but one shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, invited *Jason* to him, who coming hastily, lost one shoe in passing over a brook: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an Oracle should advise him to take heed? to which question when *Jason* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Colchos* to fetch the golden Fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to undertake that service. Therefore *Jason* prepared for the voyage, having a ship built by *Argus* the son of *Phryxus*, by the counsel of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the bravest men of *Greece* to sail with him: as *Typhis* the Master of the ship, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus* sons of *Æacus*, and fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged sons of *Boreas*, *Amphiaraus* the great Soothsayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon*, that slew the great wild Boar, *Ascalaphus* and *Jalmenus*, or *Almenus*, the sons of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last war of *Troy*, *Laërtes* the father of *Ulysses*, *Atalanta* a warlike Virgin, *Idas* and *Lynceus* the sons of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Castor* and *Pollux*, slew *Castor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were slain themselves: *Lynceus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Jupiter* with lightning.

These and many other went with *Jason* in the ship *Argo*: in whose Prow was a table of the Beech of *Dodona*, which could speak. They arrived first at *Lemnos*; the women of which *Island*, having slain all the males, purposing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were nevertheless contented to take their pleasure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: over whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*, who entertained them friendly; but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night, they were driven by contrary winds back into his Port, neither knowing that it was the same Haven, nor being known by the *Doliones* to be the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which means they fell to blows, insomuch that the *Argonauts* slew the most part of the *Doliones*, together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceived, with many tears they solemnized his funeral. Then departed they again, and arrived shortly in *Mysia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the son of *Elates*, who went to seek *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was ravished by the *Nymphs*.

Polyphemus built a Town in *Mysia* called *Cios*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Mysia* the *Argonauts* sailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebryses*, the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, over whom *Amycus* the son

of

of *Neptune* vvas then King. He being a ſtrong man, compelled all ſtrangers to fight vvith him at vvhorlbats, in vvhich kind of fight he had ſlain many, and vvas now himſelf ſlain by *Pollux*. The *Bebryces* in revenge of his death flew all upon *Pollux*, but his companions reſcued him, vvith great ſlaughter of the people. They ſailed from hence to *Salmydeſus* a Town in *Thrace* (ſomewhat out of their vvay) wherein *Phineus* a South-ſayer dwelt, vvho vvas blind, and vexed vvith the *Harpies*. The *Harpies* vvere ſaid to be a kind of Birds vvhich had the faces of women, and foul long claws, very filthy creatures, vvhich vvhen the table vvas furniſhed for *Phineus*, came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did ſo defile the reſt, that they could not be endured. When therefore the *Argonauts* craved his advice and direction for their voyage: You ſhall do vvell (quoth he) firſt of all to deliver me from the *Harpies*, and then afterwards to ask my counſel. Whereupon they cauſed the table to be covered, and meat ſet on; vvhich vvas no ſooner ſet down, than that preſently in came the *Harpies*, and played their accuſtomed pranks: vvhen *Zetes* and *Calais* the vvinged young men ſaw this, they drew their ſwords, and purſued them through the air: Some ſay, that both the *Harpies* and the young men died of wearineſs in the fight, and purſuit. But *Apollonius* ſaith, that the *Harpies* did covenant with the youths, to do no more harm to *Phineus*, and were thereupon diſmiſſed. For this good turn, *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, and advertiſed them withall of the dangerous Rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of windes running together, did ſhut up the paſſage; wherefore he willed them to put a Pigeon before them in the paſſage: and if that paſſed ſafe, then to adventure after her; if not, then by no means to hazzard themſelves in vain. They did ſo, and perceiving that the Pigeon had onely loſt a piece of her tayle, they obſerved the next opening of the Rocks, and then rowing with all their might, paſſed through ſafe, onely the end of their Poop was bruiſed.

From thence forward (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have ſtood ſtill, for the gods, ſay they, had decreed that after the paſſage of a ſhip, they ſhould be fixed. Thence the *Argonauts* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabited about the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteouſly, Here *Idmon* a Southſayer of their company was ſlain by a wild Boar, alſo here *Typhis* dyed: and *Ancæus* undertook to ſteare the ſhip. So they paſſed by the River *Thermodon*, and Mount *Caucaſus*, and came to the River *Phaſis*, which runs through the land of *Colchos*. When they were entred the haven, *Jaſon* went to *Æetes* the King of *Colchos*, and told him the Commandment of *Pelias*, and cauſe of his coming, deſiring him to deliver the golden Fleece; which *Æetes*, as the Fable goeth, promiſed to do, if he alone would yoak together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, ſowe Dragons teeth, vvhich *Minerva* had given to him, being part of thoſe which *Cadmus* did ſowe at *Thebes*. Theſe Bulls were great and fierce and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had given them to *Æetes*.

Whileſt *Jaſon* was in a great perplexity about this task, *Medæa* the daughter of *Æetes* fell into a moſt vehement love of him, ſo far forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, ſhe came privily to him, promiſing her help if he would aſſure her of his marriage. To this *Jaſon* agreed, and confirmed his promiſe by oath. Then gave ſhe to him a medicine wherewith ſhe bade him to anoint both his body and his armour, which would preſerve him from their violence: further ſhe told him, that armed men would riſe out of the ground, from the teeth which he ſhould ſowe, and ſet upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, ſhe bade him throw ſtones amongſt them as ſoon as they came up thick, whereupon they would fall together to blows, in ſuch wiſe that he might eaſily ſlay them. *Jaſon* followed her counſel; whereto when the event had anſwered, he again demanded the Fleece. But *Æetes* was ſo far from approving ſuch his deſire, that he deviſed how to deſtroy the *Argonauts*, and burn their ſhip; which *Medæa* perceiving, went to *Jaſon*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oak in the Grove of *Mars*, where, they ſay it was kept by a Dragon that never ſlept. This Dragon was by the Magick of *Medæa* caſt into a ſleep: ſo taking away the Golden Fleece, ſhe went with *Jaſon* into the ſhip *Argo*; having with her, her brother *Abſyrtus*.

Æetes underſtanding the practices of *Medæa*, provided to purſue the ſhip, whom when *Medæa* perceived to be at hand, ſhe ſlew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, ſhe ſcattered his limbs in divers places; of which *Æetes* finding ſome, was fain to ſeek out the reſt, and ſuffer his daughter to paſs: the parts of his ſon he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the *Greek*

word signifieth *Division*. Afterwards he sent many of his subjects to seek the ship *Argo*, threatning that if they brought not back *Medæa*, they should suffer in her stead. In the mean while the *Argonauts* were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River *Eridanus*: which is *Po* in *Italy*.

Jupiter, offended with the slaughter of *Absyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempest, and carried them they knew not whether; when they came to the Islands *Absyrtides*, there the ship *Argo*, (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to them and said, that the anger of *Jupiter* should not cease, till they came to *Ausonia*, and were cleansed by *Circe*, from the murder of *Absyrtus*. Now they thereupon sailing between the coasts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and passing through the Sea of *Sardinia*, and alongst the coasts of *Hetruria*, came to the Isle of *Æea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleansed them. Thence they sailed by the coast of the *Syrens*, who sang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other side sang so well, that he stayed them. Onely *Butes* swam out unto them, whom *Venus* ravished, and carried to *Lylibæum* in *Sicily* to dwell.

Having past the *Syrens*, they came between *Scylla* and *Carybdis*, and the stragling Rocks, which seemed to cast out great store of flames and smoak. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conveyed them safe through at the appointment of *Juno*. So they coasted *Sicilie*, where the Beeves of the Sun were, and touched at *Corcyra*, the Island of the *Phæaces*, where King *Alcinous* reigned. Mean while the men of *Colchos*, that had been sent by *Æetes* in quest of the ship *Argo*, hearing no news of it, and fearing his anger, if they fulfilled not his will, betook themselves to new habitations: Some of them dwelt in the Mountains of *Corcyre*, others in the Islands of *Absyrtides*, and some coming to the *Phæaces*, there found the ship *Argo*, and demanded *Medæa* of *Alcinous*: whereto *Alcinous* made answer, that if she were not *Jasons* wife, they should have her; but if she were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchos*; not daring to return home, stayed with the *Phæaces*, so the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Island *Minos* reigned, who had a man of brass given to him (as some of the Fablers say) by *Vulcan*. This man had one vein in his body reaching from the neck to the heel, the end whereof was closed up with a brazen naile; his name was *Talus*, his custome was to run thrice a day about the Island for the defence of it. When he saw the ship *Argo* pass by, he threw stones at it, but *Medæa* with her Magick destroyed him. Some say that she slew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promising to make him immortal, she drew out the naile that stopt his vein, by which means all his blood ran out, and he died: others there are that say he was slain by *Pæan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heel. From hence the *Argonauts* sailed to *Ægina*, where they were fain to fight for fresh water. And lastly, from *Ægina* they sailed by *Eubæa* and *Locris*, home to *Jolcos*, where they arrived, having spent four whole months in the expedition.

Some there are that by this journey of *Jason*, understand the mistery of the Philosophers stone, called the golden Fleece, to which also, other super-fine *Chymists* draw the twelve labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks, that by the golden Fleece was meant a golden book of Parchment, which is of sheep-skin, and therefore called golden, because it was taught therein how other metals might be transmuted. Others would signifie by *Jason*, Wisdom, and Moderation, which overcometh all perils: but that which is most probable, is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the story of such a passage was true, and that *Jason* with the rest went indeed to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arrive by boat. For not far from *Caucasus* there are certain steep falling torrents which wash down many grains of Gold, as in many other parts of the World; and the people there inhabiting use to set many fleeces of wool in those descents of waters, in which the grains of gold remain, and the water passed thorow, which *Strabo* witnesseth to be true. The many rocks, straits, sands, and currents, in the passage between *Greece* and the bottom of *Pontus*, are Poetically converted into those fiery Bulls, the armed men rising out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleep, and the like. The man of brass, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, were other hazzards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediteran Sea*, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, under Poetical morals: all which *Homer* afterward used (the man of brass excepted) in the description of *Ulysses* his travels on the same In-land seas.

Of

§. VII.

of Abimelech, Tholan, *and* Jair, *and of the* Lapythæ, *and of* Theſeus, Hippolytus, *&c.*

AFter the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his baſe ſon, begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembring what offers had been made to his father by the people, who deſired to make him and his their perpetual Princes; and, as it ſeemeth, ſuppoſing (notwithſtanding his fathers religious modeſty) that ſome of his brethren might take on them the Soveraignty, practiſed with the Inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himſelf; who being eaſily moved with the glory, to have a King of their own, readily condeſcended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed ſeventy pieces of ſilver
Judg. 9. 4. of their Idoll *Baalberith*, with which treaſure he hired a company of looſe and deſperate vagabonds, to aſſiſt his firſt deteſtable enterpriſe, to wit, the ſlaughter of his ſeventy brethren, the ſons of *Gideon*, begotten on his Wives, of which he had many; of all which none eſcaped but *Jotham*
Verſe 5. the youngeſt, who hid himſelf from his preſent fury: all which he executed on one ſtone; a cruelty exceeding all that hath been written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monſter that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whoſe revenges are without date, and for everlaſting) neither hath it reſpect to nature, which laboureth the preſervation of every being: but it rageth alſo againſt her, though garniſhed with beauty which never dieth, and with love that hath no end. All other paſſions and affections, by which the ſouls of men are tormented, are by their contraries often-times reſiſted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is it ſelf the child and darling of *Satan*, looketh onely towards the ends by it ſelf ſet down, forgetting nothing (how fearfull and inhumane ſoever) which may ſerve it: remembring nothing, whatſoever juſtice, piety, right or religion can offer and alledge on the contrary. It aſcribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weakneſs of the undertakers, and rather praiſeth the adventure, than feareth the like ſucceſs. It was the firſt ſin that the World had, and began in *Angels*: for which they were caſt into Hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his natural corruption. The puniſhment alſo preceded his creation, yet hath the Devil, which felt the ſmart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practiſe the other, as befitting every age, and mans condition.

Jotham, the youngeſt of *Gideons* ſons, having eſcaped the preſent peril, ſought by his beſt perſwaſions to alienate the *Sechemites* from the aſſiſting of this mercileſs Tyrant, letting them know, that thoſe which were vertuous, and whom reaſon and religion had taught the ſafe and happy eſtate of moderate ſubjection, had refuſed to receive as unlawful, what others had no power to give, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his own peculiar people) had appointed them by whom and how to be governed. This he taught them by the Olive, which contented it ſelf with its Fatneſs, the Figge-tree with its ſweetneſs, and the Vine with the good juice it had: the Bramble onely, who was moſt baſe, cut down all the reſt, and accepted the Soveraignty. He alſo fore-told them by a Prophetical ſpirit, what ſhould befall them in the end, and how a fire ſhould come out of the Bramble, and conſume the Cedars of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an eaſie matter to call thoſe men back whom rage without right led on) *Gaal* the ſon of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem* from the Service of *Abimelech*: who therefore after ſome aſſaults entred the place, and maſtered it; and in concluſion fired the Town, wherein their Idoll *Baalberith* was worſhipped, and put all the people of all ſorts to the ſlaughter. Laſtly, in the aſſault of the Caſtle or Tower of *Tebet*, himſelf was wounded in the head with a ſtone thrown over the wall by a woman; and finding himſelf mortally bruiſed, he commanded his own Page to pierce his body, thereby to avoid the diſhonour of being ſlain by ſo feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* uſurped the Government the *Lapithæ* and *Centaurs* made war againſt the *Thebans*. Theſe Nations were deſcended of *Apollo*, and were the firſt in thoſe parts that deviſed to manage horſes, to bridle and to ſit them: inſomuch, as when they firſt came down from the Mountains of *Pindus*, into the plains, thoſe which had never ſeen horſmen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horſes; ſo did the *Mexicans*, when *Ferdinando Cortes* the *Spaniard* firſt invaded that Empire. *Palaphat. de tuiſt. de incredul.*

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Tholo* of *Iſſachar* governed *Iſrael* 23. years, and after him

him *Jair* the *Gileadite* 22. years, who ſeems to be deſcended of *Jair* the ſon of *Manaſſe*, who in *Moſes* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the ſame after his own name, *Havoth Jair*. For to this *Jair* there remained thirty of thoſe Cities which his Anceſtor had recovered from the *Amorites* Of theſe Judges, becauſe there is nothing elſe written, it is an argument, that during all their times *Iſrael* lived without diſturbance, and in peace.

Deut 3. 14. *Num.* 12. 41.

Jud. 10.

When *Jair* judged *Iſrael*, *Priamus* began to reign in *Troy*, who at ſuch time as *Hercules* ſacked *Ilium*, was carried away captive with his ſiſter *Heſione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ranſome, he re-built and greatly ſtrengthened and adorned *Troy*; and ſo far enlarged his Dominions, as he became the ſupreme Lord in effect of all *Aſia* the leſs. He married *Hecuba* the Daughter of *Ciſſeus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (ſaith *Cicero*) fifty ſons, whereof ſeventeen by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his Aunt *Heſione*, took *Helena* the Wife of *Menelaus*, the cauſe of the war which followed.

2091.

In Tuſc.

Theſeus the tenth King of *Athens*, began likewiſe to reign in the beginning of *Jair*: ſome Writers call him the ſon of *Neptune* and *Æthra*: but *Plutarch* in the Story of his life, finds him begotten by *Ægeus*, of whom the *Grecian* Sea between it and *Aſia* the leſs took name. For when *Minos* had maſtered the *Athenians*, ſo far as he forc'd them to pay him ſeven of their ſons every year for tribute, whom he incloſed within a *Labyrinth*, to be devoured by the Monſter *Minotaur*: becauſe belike the ſons of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Paſiphae* the Queen, had the charge of them: among theſe ſeven *Theſeus* thruſt himſelf, not doubting by his valour to deliver the reſt, and to free the Countrey of that ſlavery occaſioned for the death of *Androgeas*, *Minos* his ſon.

And having poſſeſt himſelf of *Ariadnes* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, he received from her a bottom of thred, by which he conducted himſelf through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the City of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by means whereof having ſlain *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to return. But vvhereas his father *Ægeus* had given order, that if he came back vvith victory and in ſafety, he ſhould uſe a white ſail in ſign thereof, and not that mournful black ſail under which they left the port of *Athens*: This inſtruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Ægeus* deſcrying the ſhip of *Theſeus* vvith a black ſail, did caſt himſelf over the Rocks down into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Ægeum*.

One of the firſt famous acts of *Theſeus*, vvas the killing of *Scyron*, vvho kept a paſſage between *Megara* and the *Peloponneſian Iſthmos*, and threw all vvhom he maſtered into the Sea, from the high Rocks. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by vvreſtling, vvho uſed by that art to kill others. He alſo rid the Country of *Procruſtes*, vvho uſed to bend down the ſtrong limbs of two trees, and faſtned by cords ſuch as he took, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by the ſpringing up tare them aſunder. So did he root out *Periphetes* and other miſchievous thieves and murtherers. He overthrew the Army of the *Amazones*, who after many victories and vaſtations, entred the Territory of *Atheus*. *Theſeus* having taken their Queen *Hippolita* priſoner, begat on her *Hippolitus*; with whom afterward his mother-in-law *Phædra*, falling in love, and he refuſing to abuſe his fathers bed, *Phædra* perſwaded *Theſeus*, that his ſon offered to force her: after which it is feigned, that *Theſeus* beſought *Neptune* to revenge this wrong of his ſons by ſome violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of advantage, ſent out his Sea-Calves, as *Hippolitus* paſſed by the Sea-ſhore, and ſo affrighted his horſes, as caſting the Coach over, he was (by being intangled therein) torn in pieces. Which miſerable and undeſerved deſtiny, when *Phædra* had heard of, ſhe ſtrangled her ſelf. After which it is feigned, that *Diana* intreated *Æſculapius* to ſet *Hippolitus* his pieces together, and to reſtore him to life: which done, becauſe he was chaſte, ſhe led him with her into *Italy*, to accompany her in her hunting, and field ſports.

It is probable that *Hippolitus*, when his father ſought his life, thinking to eſcape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receive many wounds in forcing his paſſage and eſcape; which wounds *Æſculapius*, to wit, ſome skilful Phyſician, or Chirurgion, healed again: after which he paſſed into *Italy*, where he lived with *Diana*, that is, the life of a Hunter, in which he moſt delighted. But of thoſe ancient prophane Stories *Plutarch* ſaith well, that as *Coſmographers* in their deſcriptions of the World, where they find many vaſt places whereof they know nothing, fill the ſame with ſtrange Beaſts, Birds, and Fiſhes, and with *Mathematical* lines; ſo do the *Grecian* Hiſtorians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the Tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous diſcourſes. True it is, that *Theſeus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom he made

made his pattern, and was the firſt that gathered the *Athenians*, from being diſperſed in thin and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for deviſing them Laws to live under, and in order, he was by the beggarly, mutable, and ungrateful multitude, in the end baniſhed. Some ſay, *per Oſtraciſmum*, by the Law of Lots, or names written on ſhels, which was a device of his own.

He ſtole *Helen* (as they ſay) when ſhe was fifty years old, from *Aphidna*, which City *Caſtor* and *Pollux* overturned, when they followed after *Theſeus* to recover their ſiſter. *Eraſiſtratus* and *Pauſanias* write, that *Theſeus* begot her with child at *Argos*, where ſhe erected a Temple to *Lucina:* but her age makes that Tale unlikely to be true, and ſo doth *Ovid*, *Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum*, &c. The rape *Euſebius* finds in the firſt of *Jair*, who governed *Iſrael* twenty two years, to whom ſucceeded *Jephta* or *Jepte*, ſix years, to whom *Ibzan*, who ruled ſeven years, and then *Habdon* eight years: in whoſe time was the fall of *Troy*. So, as if *Theſeus* had a child by her in the firſt of *Jair*, (at which time we muſt count her no leſs than fifteen years old: for the women did not commonly begin ſo young as they do now) ſhe was then at leaſt two and fifty years old at the deſtruction of *Troy:* and when ſhe was ſtollen by *Paris*, eight and thirty: but herein the *Chronologers* do not agree. Yet *Euſebius* and *Bunting*, with *Halicarnaceſſeus*, do in effect conſent, that the City was entred and burnt in the firſt year of *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, the Succeſſour of *Mneſtheus*, the Succeſſour of *Theſeus*, ſeventeen daies before the *Summer Tropick*; and that about the eleventh of *September* following, the *Trojans* croſt the *Helleſpont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there, and in the next ſpring that they navigated into *Sicilia*; where wintering the ſecond year, the next Summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But S. *Auguſtine* hath otherwiſe, That when *Polyphides* governed *Sicyon*; *Mneſtheus*, *Athens*; *Tantanes*, *Aſſyria*; *Habdon*, *Iſrael*; then *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*, tranſporting with him in twenty ſhips the remainder of the *Trojans:* but the difference is not great; and hereof more at large in the ſtory of *Troy* at hand.

In *Sicyonia*, *Phæſtus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His ſucceſſours, *Adraſtus*, who reigned four years, and *Polyphides*, who reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Jair*; ſo is alſo *Mneſtheus* King of *Athens* and *Atreus*, who held a great part of *Peloponneſus*. In *Aſſyria*, during the government of theſe two peaceable Judges, *Mitreus*, and after him *Tantanes* reigned. In *Egypt*, *Amenophis*, the ſon of *Rameſes*, and afterwards *Annemanes*.

Jud. 10. 3.

Bunt. Chro. Euſeb. Chron. Hald. 1.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, Lib 18 c. 19.

§. VIII.

Of the war of Thebes, *which was in this age.*

IN this age was the War of *Thebes*, the moſt ancient that ever Greek Poet or Hiſtorian vvrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly againſt the *Peripateticks*) that the World had a beginning, urgeth them vvith this objection:

——Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumque & mundi, ſemperque æterna fuêre,
Cur ſupra bellum Thebanum, & funera Trojæ,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere Poetæ?

If all this World had no original,
But things have ever been as now they are:
Before the ſiege of *Thebes*, or *Troys* laſt fall,
Why did no Poet ſing ſome elder War?

It is true, that in theſe times *Greece* vvas very ſalvage, the Inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the Captains of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground vvhereon he dwelt his own, longer than he could hold it by ſtrong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourſe they uſed little; neither did they plant many trees, or ſow more corn than vvas neceſſary for their ſuſtenance. Money they had little or none; for it is thought that the name of money vvas not heard of in *Greece*, vvhen *Homer* did vvrite, vvho meaſures the value of Gold and Braſs: by the vvorth in cattel: ſaying, that the golden Armour of *Glaucus* vvas vvorth an hundred Beeves; and the Copper Armour of *Diomedes* vvorth nine.

Roberries by land and ſea vvere common and vvithout ſhame, and to ſteal horſes or kine vvas the uſual exerciſe of their great men. Their Towns vvere not many, vvhereof thoſe that vvere vvalled vvere very few, and not great. For *Mycenæ* the principal City in *Peloponneſus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the reſt were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancy, and though in ſome ſmall Towns of that half Iſle of *Peloponneſus*, the Inhabitants might have enjoyed quietneſs within their

him *Jair* the *Gileadite* 22. years, who seems to be descended of *Jair* the son of *Manasse*,
Deut 3.14. Num. 12. 41. who in *Moses* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his own name, *Havoth Jair*. For to this *Jair* there remained thirty of those Cities which his Ancestor had recovered from the *Amorites*
Jud. 10. Of these Judges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument, that during all their times *Israel* lived without disturbance, and in peace.

When *Jair* judged *Israel*, *Priamus* began to reign in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercu-*
2091. *les* sacked *Ilium*, was carried away captive with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ransome, he re-built and greatly strengthened and adorned *Troy*; and so far enlarged his Dominions, as he became the supreme Lord in effect of all *Asia* the less. He married *Hecuba* the Daughter of *Cisseus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (saith
In Tusc. *Cicero*) fifty sons, whereof seventeen by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his Aunt *Hesione*, took *Helena* the Wife of *Menelaus*, the cause of the war which followed.

Theseus the tenth King of *Athens*, began likewise to reign in the beginning of *Jair*: some Writers call him the son of *Neptune* and *Æthra*: but *Plutarch* in the Story of his life, finds him begotten by *Ægeus*, of whom the *Grecian* Sea between it and *Asia* the less took name. For when *Minos* had mastered the *Athenians*, so far as he forc'd them to pay him seven of their sons every year for tribute, whom he inclosed within a *Labyrinth*, to be devoured by the Monster *Minotaur*: because belike the sons of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Pasiphae* the Queen, had the charge of them: among these seven *Theseus* thrust himself, not doubting by his valour to deliver the rest, and to free the Countrey of that slavery occasioned for the death of *Androgeas*, *Minos* his son.

And having possest himself of *Ariadnes* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, he received from her a bottom of thred, by which he conducted himself through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the City of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by means whereof having slain *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to return. But whereas his father *Ægeus* had given order, that if he came back with victory and in safety, he should use a white sail in sign thereof, and not that mournful black sail under which they left the port of *Athens*: This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Ægeus* descrying the ship of *Theseus* with a black sail, did cast himself over the Rocks down into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Ægeum*.

One of the first famous acts of *Theseus*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a passage between *Megara* and the *Peloponnesian Isthmos*, and threw all whom he mastered into the Sea, from the high Rocks. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wrestling, who used by that art to kill others. He also rid the Country of *Procrustes*, who used to bend down the strong limbs of two trees, and fastned by cords such as he took, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by the springing up tare them asunder. So did he root out *Periphetes* and other mischievous thieves and murtherers. He overthrew the Army of the *Amazones*, who after many victories and vastations, entred the Territory of *Atheus*. *Theseus* having taken their Queen *Hippolita* prisoner, begat on her *Hippolitus*; with whom afterward his mother-in-law *Phædra*, falling in love, and he refusing to abuse his fathers bed, *Phædra* perswaded *Theseus*, that his son offered to force her: after which it is feigned, that *Theseus* besought *Neptune* to revenge this wrong of his sons by some violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of advantage, sent out his Sea-Calves, as *Hippolitus* passed by the Sea-shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the Coach over, he was (by being intangled therein) torn in pieces. Which miserable and undeserved destiny, when *Phædra* had heard of, she strangled her self. After which it is feigned, that *Diana* intreated *Æsculapius* to set *Hippolitus* his pieces together, and to restore him to life: which done, because he was chaste, she led him with her into *Italy*, to accompany her in her hunting, and field sports.

It is probable that *Hippolitus*, when his father sought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receive many wounds in forcing his passage and escape; which wounds *Æsculapius*, to wit, some skilful Physician, or Chirurgion, healed again: after which he passed into *Italy*, where he lived with *Diana*, that is, the life of a Hunter, in which he most delighted. But of those ancient prophane Stories *Plutarch* saith well, that as *Cosmographers* in their descriptions of the World, where they find many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, and with *Mathematical* lines; so do the *Grecian* Historians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the Tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that *Theseus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom he made

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Ex lib. 9. ſ. in

Jud. 10. 3.

Bunt. Chro. Euſeb. Chron. Hal. t.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18 c. 19.

§. VIII.

Of the war of Thebes, *which was in this age.*

IN this age was the War of *Thebes*, the moſt ancient that ever Greek Poet or Hiſtorian vvrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly againſt the *Peripateticks*) that the World had a beginning, urgeth them vvith this objection:

——Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumque & mundi, ſemperque æterna fuêre,
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Non alias alii quoque res cecinere Poetæ?

If all this World had no original,
But things have ever been as now they are:
Before the ſiege of *Thebes*, or *Troys* laſt fall,
Why did no Poet ſing ſome elder War?

It is true, that in theſe times *Greece* vvas very ſalvage, the Inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the Captains of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground vvhereon he dwelt his own, longer than he could hold it by ſtrong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourſe they uſed little; neither did they plant many trees, or ſow more corn than vvas neceſſary for their ſuſtenance. Money they had little or none; for it is thought that the name of money vvas not heard of in *Greece*, vvhen *Homer* did vvrite, vvho meaſures the value of Gold and Braſs: by the vvorth in cattel: ſaying, that the golden Armour of *Glaucus* vvas vvorth an hundred Beeves; and the Copper Armour of *Diomedes* vvorth nine.

Robberries by land and ſea vvere common and vvithout ſhame, and to ſteal horſes or kine vvas the uſual exerciſe of their great men. Their Towns vvere not many, vvhereof thoſe that vvere vvalled vvere very few, and not great. For *Mycenæ* the principal City in *Peloponneſus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the reſt were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancy, and though in ſome ſmall Towns of that half Iſle of *Peloponneſus*, the Inhabitants might have enjoyed quietneſs within their

their narrow bounds; as likewise did the *Athenians*, because their Country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the Land in general was very rude, it will easily appear to such as consider what *Thucidydes* the greatest of their Historians hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his History. Wherefore, as in these later times, idle *Chronielers* use when the want good matter, to fill whole Books with reports of great Frosts, or dry Summers, and other such things which no man cares to reade; so did they who spake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great Flouds which were in the times of *Ogyges* and *Deucalion:* or else rehearse Fables of men changed into Birds, of strange Monsters, of adultery committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that savoured of humanity before the time of the war of *Thebes:* the brief whereof is this.

Oedipus the son of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, having been cast forth when he was an Infant, because an *Oracle* foretold what evil should come to pass by him, did afterwards in a narrow passage, contending for the way, slay his own Father, not knowing either then or long after, who he was. Afterward he became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queen *Jocasta*, called by *Homer*, *Epicaste:* on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, he begat two sons, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in process of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his Parents, he understood the grievous murther and incest he had committed, he tore out his own eyes for grief, and left the City. His Wife (and Mother) did hang her self. Some say, that *Oedipus* having his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly cursing his sons, because they suffered their father to be cast out of the Town, and aided him not. Howsoever it were, his two Sons made this agreement, that the one of them should reign one year, and the other another year, and so by course rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill observed. For when *Polynices* had after a years government resigned the Kingdom to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the first year, he refused to give over the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled unto *Argos*, where *Adrastus* the son of *Talaus* then reigned, unto whose Palace coming by night, he was driven to seek lodging in an out-house, on the back-side.

Hom Odyss. 11.

There he met with *Tydeus* the son of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calydon:* with whom striving about their lodging, he fell to blowes. *Adrastus* hearing the noise came forth and took up the quarrel. At which time perceiving in the shield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lion, he remembred an old Oracle by which he was advised to give his two Daughters in marriage to a Lion and a Bore: and accordingly he did bestow his Daughter *Argia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* upon *Polynices*, promising to restore them both to their Countries. To this purpose levying an Army, and assembling as many valiant Captains as he could draw to follow him, he was desirous among others to carry *Amphiaraus* the son of *Oicleus* a great Soothsayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphyaraus*, who is said to have fore-seen all things, knowing well that none of the Captains should escape, save only *Adrastus*, did both utterly refuse to be one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphyaraus*, offering unto her a very fair Bracelet, upon condition that she should cause her Husband to assist him. The Soothsayer knowing what should work his destiny, forbade his Wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the Bracelet was in her eye so precious a Jewel, that she could not refuse it. Therefore whereas a great controversie between *Amphyaraus* and *Adrastus*, was by way of compromise put unto the decision of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by solemn oath to stand to her appointment: she ordered the matter so, as a Woman should that did love a Bracelet better than her Husband. He now finding that it was far more easie to foresee then avoid destiny, sought for such comfort as revenge might afford him, giving in charge unto his sons, that when they came to full age, they should kill their Mother, and make strong war upon the *Thebanes*.

Now had *Adrastus* assembled all his forces, of which, the seven chief Leaders were himself, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in stead of whom some name *Mecisteus*) all *Argives*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Ætolian*, and *Parthenopeus* the *Arcadian*, son of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the Army came to the *Nemæan* Wood, they met a Woman, whom they desired to help them to some Water; she having a Childe in her arms, laid it down, and led the *Argives* to a Spring: but ere she returned, a Serpent had slain the Childe. This Woman was *Hypsipyle* the Daughter of *Thoas* the

the *Lemnian*, whom ſhe would have ſaved when the Woman of the Iſle ſlew all the Males by conſpiracy, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For ſuch her Piety the *Lemnian* Wives did ſell her to *Pyrats*, and the *Pyrats* to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Countrey about *Nemæa*, whoſe young ſon *Opheltes*, or *Archemorus* ſhe did nurſe, and loſt, as is ſhewed before. When upon the Childs death ſhe hid her ſelf for fear of her Maſter, *Amphiaraus* told her Sons where they ſhould find her: and the *Argives* did both kill the Serpent which had ſlain the Child, and in memory of the chance, did inſtitute ſolemn funeral games, called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adraſtus* wan the prize with his ſwift horſe *Areon*, *Tydeus* with the whorlbars, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wreſtling, *Parthenopæus* at ſhooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the firſt inſtitution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who think that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus* a *Lacedemonian*. Some ſay by *Hercules*, when he had ſlain the *Nemæan* Lion: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here ſet down.

From *Nemæa* the *Argives* marched onwards, arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them ſent Embaſſadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Covenants between him and *Polynices*. This meſſage was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was throughly reſolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what mettle was in the *Thebanes*, he made many challenges, and obtained victory in all of them, not without much envy and malice of the people, who laid fifty men in ambuſh to intercept him at his return to the army, of which fifty he ſlew allbut one, whom he ſent back to the City as a Reporter and Witneſs of his Valour. When the *Argives* underſtood how reſolved *Eteocles* was, they preſented themſelves before the City, and encamped round about it. *Thebes* is ſaid to have had at that time ſeven gates, which belike ſtood not far aſunder, ſeeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very far ſtronger, could ſcarce muſter up more thouſands than *Thebes* had gates) did compaſs the Town, *Adraſtus* quartered before the Gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygean*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiaraus* at *Proëtis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopæus* at *Electa*, and *Polynices* at *Hypſiſta*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Eteocles* having armed his men, and appointed Commanders unto them, took advice of *Tireſias* the Soothſayer, who promiſed Victory to the *Thebans*, if *Menœcius* the ſon of *Creon*, a principal man of the City, would vow himſelf to be ſlain in honour of *Mars* the god of War. So full of malice and pride is the Devil, and ſo envious at his Creators glory, that he not only challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and ſacrifice withal Divine worſhip, but commandeth us to offer our ſelves and our children unto him, when he hath ſufficiently clouded mens underſtanding, and bewitched their Wils with ignorance and blind devotion. And ſuch abominable ſacrifice of men, maides, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or fear they were moſt filled with ſuperſtition. But as they grew more wiſe, ſo did he wax leſs impudent in cunning, though not leſs malicious in deſiring the continuance of ſuch barbarous inhumanity. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without advice of any *Oracle*, made the Idol of that Country reſt contented with an Oxe in ſtead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade humane ſacrifices in *Africa*, and crucified the Prieſts in the Groves where they had practiſed them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown men of hay in ſtead of the living: yet among the ſalvages in the Weſt *Indies* theſe cruel offerings have been practiſed of late Ages: which, as it is a ſufficient argument that *Satan*'s malice is only covered and hidden by this ſubtilty among civil people: ſo it may ſerve as a probable conjecture of the barbariſmes then raigning in *Greece*. For *Menœcius*, as ſoon as he underſtood that his death might purchaſe Victory to his people, beſtowed himſelf (as he thought) upon *Mars*, killing himſelf before the gates of the City. Then was a battel fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed ſo far at the firſt, that *Capanius* advancing laddars to the Wals, got up upon the Rampart: whence, when he fell, or was caſt down, or (as Writers wave it) was ſtricken down by *Jupiter* with a thunder bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many on each part were ſlain in this battel, which cauſed both ſides to deſire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrel in ſingle fight: whereto the two brethren according, ſlew each other.

Another battel was fought after their death, wherein the ſons of *Aſtacus* behaved themſelves very valiantly: *Iſmarus* one of the ſons ſlew *Hippomedon*, which was one of the ſeven Princes: *Parthenopæus* being another of the ſeven (who was ſaid to have been

been so fair, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slain by *Amphidicus*, or, as some say, by *Periclymenus* the son of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus*, by *Menalippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought unto him by *Amphyaraus*, which he cruelly tore open, and swallowed up the brains. Upon which fact, it is said, that *Pallas*, who had brought from *Jupiter* such remedy for his wounds, as should have made him immortal, refused to bestow it upon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might have continued immortal, did perish through the beastly rage that he shewed at his death.

The host of the *Argives* being wholly discomfited, *Adrastus* and *Amphyaraus* fled: of whom *Amphyaraus* is said to have been swallowed quick into the earth, near to the River *Ismenus*, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead carkasses, or drowned in the River: and his body never found, nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good horse *Arion*, and came to *Athens*; where sitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercy, he made supplication for their aid to recover their bodies. For *Creon* having obtained the government of *Thebes* after the death of *Eteocles*, would not suffer the bodies of the *Argives* to be buried: but caused *Antigone*, the only daughter then living of *Oedipus*, to be buried quick, because she had sought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creons* Edict. The *Athenians* condescending to the request of *Adrastus*, did send forth an Army under the conduct of *Theseus*, which took *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the *Argives* to sepulture: at which time *Evadne* the Wife of *Capaneus* threw her self into the funeral fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little contented the sons of those Captains which were slain at *Thebes*, that any less revenge should be taken of their Fathers death, than the ruine of the City: Wherefore ten year after, having levied Forces, *Egialeus* the son of *Adrastus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopæus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Therſander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripylus* of *Mecisteus*, marched thither under the conduct of *Alcmæon*, the son of *Amphiaraus*: with whom also went his brother *Amphyloclus*. *Apollo* promised Victory, if *Alcmæon* were their Captain, whom afterward by another *Oracle* he commanded to kill his own Mother.

When they came to the City, they were encountred by *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles* then King of the *Thebans* (for *Creon* was only Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battel, and slew *Ægialeus*, yet was he put to the worst, and driven to fly, or (according to *Apollodorus*) slain by *Alcmæon*. After this disaster, the Citizens began to desire composition; but in the mean time they conveyed themselves with their Wives and Children away from thence by night, and so began to wander up and down, till at length they built the Town called *Estiæa*. The *Argives*, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Town, entring into it, sacked it, threw down the Wals, and laid it waste; howbeit it is reported by some, that the Town was saved by *Thirsander* the son of *Polynices*, who causing the Citizens to return, did there reign over them. That he saved the City from utter destruction, it is very likely; for he reigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the War of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

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§. IX.

Of Jephta, *and how the three hundred years which he speaketh of*, Judg. 11. 28. *are to be reconciled with the places*, Acts 13. 20. 1 Reg. 6. 1. *together with some other things touching Chronology about these times.*

AFter the death of *Jair* (near about whose time these things hapned in *Greece*, and during whose Government, and that of *Thola*, *Israel* lived in peace and in order) they revolted again from the Law and Service of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal* and *Asteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adjoyning, and imbraced the Idols of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: with those of the *Philistims*. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: so now he scourged them by the * *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philistims*. *Judg.* 10.

* The persecution of the *Ammonites* lasted 18 years, and ended in the year of the World 2820. in which year *Jephta* began, *Jud.* 11.

Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most oppresst, because they bordered upon the *Ammonites*, they were inforc't to seek *Jephta*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base born; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of devilish hatred and revenge, was content to lead the *Gileadites* to the War, upon condition that they should establish him their Governour after Victory. And when he had disputed with *Ammon* for the Land, disproved *Ammon*'s right, and fortified

fortified the Title of *Iſrael* by many arguments, the ſame prevailing nothing, he began the war; and being ſtrengthened by God, overthrew them: and did not onely beat them out of the Plains, but forc't them
Judg. 11. 33. over the Mountains of *Arabia*, even to *Minnith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities expreſt heretofore in the deſcription of the *Holy Land*. After which victory it is ſaid, that he performed the vain vow which he made, to ſacrifice the firſt living creature he incountred, coming out of his houſe to meet him; which happened to be his own daughter, and onely childe, who with all patience ſubmitted her ſelf, and onely deſired two moneths time to bewail her Virginity on the Mountains of *Gilead*; becauſe in her the iſſues of her Father ended: but the other opinion, that ſhe was not offered, is more probable, which *Borhæus* and others prove ſufficiently.
Bor in Judg.

After theſe things the children of *Iſrael*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephta*'s victory, or otherwiſe making way to their future calamity, and to the moſt grievous ſlavery that ever *Iſrael* ſuffered, quarrelled with *Jephta*, that they were not called to the War, as before time they had conteſted with *Gideon*. *Jephta* hereupon inforced to defend himſelf againſt their fury, in the incounter ſlew of them 42000. which ſo weakened the body of the Land,
Judg. 12. as the *Philiſtims* had an eaſie conqueſt of them all not long after. *Jephta*, after he had judged *Iſrael* ſix years, died: to whom ſucceeded *Ibzan*, who ruled ſeven years: after
2925. 2942. him *Elon* was their Judge ten years: in all which time *Iſrael* had peace. *Euſebius* finds not *Elon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Judge was omitted.

Now before I go on with the reſt, it ſhall be neceſſary upon the occaſion of *Jephta*'s account of the times, *Jud.* 11. 28. (where he ſayes that *Iſrael* had then poſſeſt the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan* 300. years) to ſpeak ſomewhat of the times of the Judges, and of the differing opinions among the Divines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point, ſeeming re-
Judg. 11. 21. pugnant or diſagreeing: the firſt is in this diſpute between *Jephta* and *Ammon*, for the
Act 13. 20. right and poſſeſſion of *Gilead*: the ſecond
1 *Kin.* 6. 1. is that of S. *Paul*, *Acts* 13. the third is that which is in the firſt of *Kings*. *Jephta* here challengeth the poſſeſſion of *Gilead* for 300. years: S. *Paul* giveth to the *Judges*, as it ſeems, from the end of *Joſua* to the laſt of *Heli*, 450. years. In the firſt of Kings it is taught, that from the departing of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Solomon*'s Temple, there were conſumed 480. years. To the firſt, *Beroaldus* findeth *Jephta*'s 300. years to be but 266. years, to wit, 18. of *Joſua*, 40. of *Othoniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Debora*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Jair*: But *Jephta* (ſaith *Beroaldus*) putteth or propoſeth a certain number for an uncertain: *Sic ut dicat annum agi prope trecenteſimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re moverit Iſraeli*; *So he ſpeaketh* (ſaith he) *as meaning, that then it was about, or well-nigh, the three hundred year, ſince Iſrael poſſeſſed thoſe Countries, no man making queſtion of their right.* *Codoman* on the contrary finds more years than *Jephta* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were ſpent in *Iſraels* captivity, at ſeveral times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Jephta* forbare to repeat the whole ſum, or any great part, leſt the *Ammonites* ſhould have juſtly objected, that 71. of thoſe years the *Iſraelites* were in captivity, and vaſſals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred years, it was enough for preſcription, he omitted the reſt.
Id facit, nu-mero certo pro incerto propoſito.

To juſtifie this account of 365. years, beſides the 71. years of captivity or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus* his 266. he addeth alſo 28. years more, and ſo maketh up the ſum of 365. Theſe 28. years he findeth out thus: twenty years he gives to the *Seniors* between *Joſua* and *Othoniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth eighteen years to *Joſua* his government, *Codoman* accounts that his rule laſted 26. according to *Joſephus*; whereas Saint *Auguſtine* and *Euſebius* give him 27. *Melanchon* 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28. years, is far more doubtful than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of ſome part of the years of affliction (to wit 34. years of the 71.) if we add them to the 266. years of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of theſe, we have the juſt number of 300. years. Neither is it ſtrange that *Jephta* ſhould leave out more than half of the years of affliction: ſeeing, as it is already ſaid, the *Ammonites* might except againſt the 71. years, and ſay, that during theſe years, or at leaſt a good part of them, the *Iſraelites* had no quiet poſſeſſion of the Countries in queſtion. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making thoſe 300. years remembred by *Jephta*, to be 306. which odd years, ſaith he, *Jephta* omitteth. But becauſe the years of every Judge, as they reigned, cannot make up the number of 306. but do onely compound 266. therefore doth

Luther add to this number the whole time which *Moses* spent in the Desarts of *Arabia Petræa*; which forty years of *Moses* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266. make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* judgment herein: for in the dispute between *Jephta* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon*, in these words: *Because Israel took my Land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Jaboc, &c. now therefore restore those Lands quietly*; or in peace. So by this place it is plain, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moses* departure out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the Land was possest. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam, Behold Israel took my Land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Jephta's* answer also confirmeth in these words: *When Israel dwelt in Heshbon, and in her Towns, and in Aroer, and in her Towns, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon* 300. *years: why did ye not then recover them in that space?* so as this place speaks it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300. years: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents that *Israel* had to possess it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me: for we do not use to reckon the time of our conquests in *France*, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

Judg 11. 28.

Junius nevertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, and sayes, that this time of 300. years hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Jephta's* narration: when he makes a brief repetition of *Moses* whole journey: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges*, in our translation in these words: *But when Israel came up from Egypt, &c.* and therefore *Moses* his 40. years (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. years: and not onely the time in which *Israel* possest *Gilead*, according to the Text, and *Jephta's* own words: of which I leave the judgment to others; to whom also I leave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480. years, from the deliverance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, even from the first departure out of *Egypt*, and yet find a more probable reconciliation of Saint *Pauls* and *Jephta's* account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet have been signified. For first, touching *Jephta's* three hundred years of possession of the East side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembred, that for a good while before the *Israelites* possessed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossessed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Jephta* might say, that they had possessed those Countries 300. years, reckoning 266. years of their own possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings, *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest.

Junius in 11. of *Judg.* annot.

The second place disputed is this of Saint *Paul*, *Act.* 13. that from the end of *Josua*, to the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450. years. And this place *Luther* understandeth also besides the letter (as I find his opinion cited by *Functius Krentzhemius*, and *Beza*) for I have not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, to the last year of *Heli*, but 357. years: and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the first of *Kings* 6. is said to be 480. years.

Read the 24. of *Jos.* and the 2. of *Judg.* 7. *Funct. Chro.* f. 4. *Beza* in his annotations upon the 13. of *Act.* v. 10.

Now forasmuch as Saint *Paul* (as it seems) finds 450. years from the death of *Josua* to the last of *Heli*, and leaves but thirty years for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who governed 40. for *David* who ruled 40. and for *Solomon* who wore the Crown three whole years ere that the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was errour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of Saint *Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about* 450. *years, unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet*: the words [*then afterward*] being clearly referred to the death, or after the death of *Josua*, as shall be hereafter proved. But where Saint *Luke*, rehearsing the words of Saint *Paul*, wrote 350. years (saith *Luther*) the Scribe in the transcription being deceived by the affinity of those two *Greek* words, whereof the one signifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote *Tetracosiois*, for *Triacosiois*; 400. years for 300. years; and 450. for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary judgment to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moses* death, he takes his account from the death of *Josua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. years: to wit, of the *Judges* (not reckoning *Sampsons* years) 319. and of years of servitude and affliction under strangers, 111. The reason why he doth not reckon *Sampsons* twenty years, is, because he thinks that they were part of the 40. years, in which the *Philistims* are said to have oppressed *Israel*. For it is plain, that during all *Sampsons* time, they were Lords over *Israel*.

Act. 13. 20.

Judg 13. 1.

Judg 15. 11.

Iſrael. So then of the Judges, beſides the 111. years of ſervitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have ſaid) 319. years, which two ſums put together, make 430. years. And whereas Saint *Paul* nameth 450. years, he finds 20. years to make up Saint *Paul*'s number, to have been ſpent after the death of *Joſua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captivity of *Cuſhan*, or the election of *Othoniel*: which 20. years added to 430. make 450. according to Saint *Paul*. To approve this time of the Elders, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of *Joſua*, and the ſecond of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Iſrael ſerved the Lord all the dayes of* Joſua, *and all the dayes of the Elders that over-lived Joſua*: ſo as to theſe times of the Elders, *Codoman* giveth 20. years, which make as before 450. according to Saint *Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficulty in this opinion, if here alſo the 20. years of the *Seniors* between *Joſua* and *Othoniel* ſhould be denied. For they which deny theſe years, and make *Othoniels* 40. to begin preſently upon the death of *Joſua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning, they have 20. years leſs than *Codoman*, ſo toward the end of it (when they reckon the years of affliction apart from the years of the *Judges*) in the number of *Sampſons* years, and of the forty years of the *Philiſtims* oppreſſing the *Iſraelites*, they have 20. years more than *Codoman*. For they reckon theſe 40. years of oppreſſion all of them a-part from *Sampſons* 20. but *Codoman*, as is ſaid, makes *Sampſons* 20. to be the one half of the forty of the *Philiſtims* oppreſſions; ſo that if the 20. years of the *Seniors* be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text ſeems to inforce) that the *Philiſtims* in any *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampſon* judged *Iſrael*, vexed the *Iſraelites* 40. years, beſides the 20. while *Sampſon* was their Judge; and ſo the reckoning will come to 450. years between the end of *Joſua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors* between *Joſua* and *Othoniel*: For, if the times of their affliction be ſummed, they make 111. years, to which if we add the years of the Judges, which are 339. we have the juſt ſum of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may ſeem to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we ſhould admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350. years, is to begin immediately, or ſoon after the death of *Moſes*: certainly the place of Saint *Paul* doth evidently teach the contrary, though it be received for true that there was *vitium ſcriptoris* in the reſt. For theſe be Saint *Pauls* words: *And about the time of forty years, God ſuffered their manners in the wilderneſs: and he deſtroyed ſeven Nations in the Land of* Canaan, *and divided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about* 450. *years*, *unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet*. So as firſt in the eighteenth verſe he ſpeaketh of *Moſes*, and of his years ſpent in the Wilderneſs, then in the nineteenth verſe he cometh unto the acts of *Joſua*; which were, that he deſtroyed ſeven Nations in the Land of *Canaan*, and divided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth Verſe it followeth, *Then afterward he gave them Judges about* 450. *years*, &c. and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moſes*, is wide of Saint *Pauls* meaning, ſo far as my weak underſtanding can pierce it. The onely inconvenience of any weight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is, that it ſeems irreconcileable with the account, 1 *Reg.* 6. 11. For if indeed there were ſpent 450. years between the end of *Joſua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there muſt needs be much more than 480. years between the beginning of the *Iſraelites* journeying from *Egypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Solomon*. To this difficulty *Codoman* anſwereth, that theſe 480. years, 1 *Reg.* 6. 1. muſt begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25. years after the beginning of *Othoniels* government; from whence if we caſt the years of the Judges, with the years of ſervitude (which ſums, according to his account, of which we have already ſpoken, make 397. years) and ſo to theſe years add the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *David*, and the 3. of *Solomon*, we ſhall have the juſt ſum of 480. years. Neither is it hard, ſaith he, that the *annus egreſſionis*, 1 *Kings* 6. 1. ſhould be underſtood *egreſſionis non incipientis, ſed finitæ*, the year of their coming out of *Egypt* (for ſo it is in the original) or the year after they came out of *Egypt*, may well be underſtood for the year after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For ſo we find that things which were done forty years after they had ſet foot out of *Egypt*, are ſaid to have been done in their going out of *Egypt*; as *Pſal.* 114. *When Iſrael came out of Egypt, Jordan was driven back*. And *Deut.* 4. 45, *Theſe are the teſtimonies which* Moſes *ſpake when they came out of Egypt*. And thus far

Joſ. 14. 1.

it seems we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exiviſſent*, or *ab exitu finito:* for if *Junius*, *Deut.* 4.45. do well read *quum exiviſſent*, for *in exitu*, as it seems that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to avoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *poſtquam exiviſſent?*

The next point to be cleared, is how their journeying should be said not to have had end until the 25. year after the victory of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end, till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not until this time: at which time the *Danites* at length seated themselves, as it is *Judg.* 18.1 declared, *Judg.* 18. For doubtless to this time the Expedition may most conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Jephta*, and of Saint *Paul*, with that in the first of *Kings*, *c.* 6. Now whereas it is said, that the Expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Israel:* to this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessary that we should suppose that *Othoniel* lived all those 40. years of rest, of which *Judg.* 3.11. so that by the 25. year after his victory, either he might have been dead, or at least, as *Gideon* did, he might have refused all Soveraignty, and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit, the 25. year after *Othoniels* victory) there was no King in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it vvere as consonant to other Chronologers, grounding their opinions on the plain Text, vvhere it is indisputable, as it is in it self round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good: especially considering, that the speeches of S. *Paul* have not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they sound, and are set down. But seeing that he wanteth all help of authority, we may justly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Laish*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth year of *Othoniel?* Or what other probability hath he than his own conjecture, to shew that *Othoniel* did so renounce the office of a Judge after five and twenty years, that it might then be truly said there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes?

Now concerning the rehearsal of the Law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Jordan*, they might indeed be properly said to have been, when *Israel* came out of *Egypt:* like as we say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when he came out of the Holy Land, for so all journies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I think that he can find no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a journey by an accident, or saith by converting the proposition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. Indeed most unproper it were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely, to say, that King *Edward* at his arrival out of *Palæstina* did win *Scotland*, or died at *Carlile*. How may we then believe that enterprize performed so many years after the division of the Land (which followed the conquest at the journies end) should be said to have been at the time of the departure out of *Egypt?* Or who will not think it most strange, that the most notable account of time, serving as the onely guide for certain ages in sacred Chronology, should not take name and beginning from that illustrious deliverance out of *Egypt*, rehearsed often by God himself among the principal of his benefits to *Israel*, whereof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the year and moneth wherein it expired) and the form of the year upon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprizing of a Town by six hundred men, that robbed a Chappel by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to work in Gods Name? For this accident whereupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he supposeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a year, because it best stood with his interpretation so to have it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it self.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirm, that the Apostle S. *Paul* did not herein labour to set down the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but onely to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Judges* and *Prophets* unto the time of *Saul*, did raise up our *Lord Jesus Christ* out of the seed of *David* the King, in whose succession the Crown was established, and promise made of a Kingdom that should have no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have been

been the true *Meſſias*) the Apoſtle was ſo far from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the Hiſtory being ſo well known and beleived of the *Jews* to whom he preached) that he ſpake as it were at large of the 40. years conſumed in the Wilderneſs, whereof no man doubted, ſaying, that God ſuffered their manners in the Wilderneſs about 40. years. In like manner he proceeded, ſaying, that from the diviſion of the Land unto the dayes of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whoſe time they required to have a King, there paſſed about 450. years. Neither did he ſtand to tell them, that an hundred and eleven years of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. years of the *Judges:* for this had been an impertinent digreſſion from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is not a work ſo needful as laborious, to ſearch out of this place that which the Apoſtle did not here intend to teach, when the ſum of 480. years is ſo expreſly and purpoſely ſet down.

Now that the vvords of S. *Paul* (if there be no fault in the copy through error of ſome Scribe) are not ſo curiouſly to be examined in matter of *Chronology*, but muſt be taken, as having reference to the memory and apprehenſion of the vulgar, it is evident by his aſcribing in the ſame place 40. years to the reign of *Saul:* whereas it is manifeſt that thoſe years vvere divided between *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that far the greater part of them vvere ſpent under the government of the Prophet, howſoever they are here included in the reign of the King. As for thoſe that vvith ſo much cunning forſake the general opinion, vvhen it favoureth not ſuch expoſition as they bring out of a good mind, to help vvhere the need is not over-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The vvords of S. *Paul* vvere ſufficiently juſtified by *Beroaldus*, as having reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in thoſe days, that the 111. years of ſervitude vvere to be reckoned apart from the 339. years aſcribed to the *Judges*; vvhich account the Apoſtle vvould not in this place ſtand to contradict, but rather choſe to ſpeak as the vulgar, qualifying it vvith a *quaſi*, where he ſaith, *quaſi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; *As it were four hundred and fifty years.* But *Codoman* being not thus contented, vvould needs have it be ſo indeed, and therefore diſ-joyns the members to make the account even. In ſo doing he daſheth himſelf againſt a notable King. 6. Text, whereupon all Authors have builded, (as well they might and ought) that purpoſely and preciſely doth caſt up the years from the departure out of *Egypt*, unto the building of *Solomons* Temple, not omitting the very moneth it ſelf.

Now (as commonly the firſt apprehenſions are ſtrongeſt) having already given faith to his own interpretation of S. *Paul*, he thinketh it more needful to find ſome new expoſition for that vvhich is of it ſelf moſt plain, and to examine his own conjecture upon a place that is full of controverſie. Thus by expounding after a ſtrange Method, that vvhich is manifeſt by that vvhich is obſcure, he loſeth himſelf in thoſe vvayes vvherein before him never man vvalked. Surely if one ſhould urge him to give reaſon of theſe new opinions, he muſt needs anſwer, that *Othoniel* could not govern above 25. years, becauſe then vvas the taking of *Laiſh*; *at which time there was no King in Iſrael*; That the *Danites* muſt needs have taken *Laiſh* at that time, becauſe elſe we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed the coming of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, vvithout excluding the years of ſervitude; And that the years of ſervitnde muſt needs be included, for that otherwiſe he himſelf ſhould have ſpent his time vainly, in ſeeking to pleaſure S. *Paul* with an expoſition. Whether this ground be ſtrong enough to uphold a Paradox, I leave it to the deciſion of the judicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our ſtory. To the time of *Jephta* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the proviſions which her huſband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenæ*, made for her recovery. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth year of *Ibzan:* from which time, if the war of *Troy* (as they ſuppoſe) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the *Greeks* had ſix years to prepare themſelves: the rule holding not true in this War, *Longa præparatio belli celerem affert victoriam*; *That a long preparation begets a ſpeedy victory:* for the *Greeks* conſumed ten years in the attempt; and *Troy*, as it ſeems, was entred, ſackt, and burnt in the third year of *Habdon*.

Three years after *Troy* taken, which was in the ſixt year of *Habdon*, *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth year of his rule, died, after he had been the Father of 40. ſons, and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is ſuppoſed, that the 40. years of *Iſraels* oppreſſion by the *Philiſtims* (of which *Judg.* 13. *v.* 1.) took beginning from the ninth year

year of *Jair*, and ended with the last of *Habdon*: I see no reason for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrel against *Jephta*, for not calling them to war over *Jordan*, if the *Philistims* had held them in servitude in their own territories; and if *Ephraim* could have brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppress: and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought against the *Philistims* with so powerful an Army for their own deliverance, than against their own brethren the *Israelites*? but *Ammon* being overthrown, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore these 40. years must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Sampson*, and afterward: or else they must be referred to the *Interregnum* between the death of *Habdon*, and the deliverance of *Israel* by *Sampson*, such as it was.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the War of Troy.

§. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, *with a note touching the ancient Poets, how they have observed historical truth.*

THE War at *Troy*, with other stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this City, by most *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Habdon* Judge of *Israel*, whom in the last place I have mentioned) I rather choose here to treat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineal descent of their Princes, than to break the story into peices by rehearsing a-part in divers years, the diversity of occurrents.

The History of the ancient Kings of *Troy* is uncertain, in regard both of their original, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the two Founders of that Kingdom. This is the opinion of *Virgil*: which if he (as *Reineccius* thinks) took from *Berosus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it of him, then it rests upon the authority of *Virgil*, who saith thus:

Æneid. 3.

Creta Jovis *magni medio jacet insula Ponto:*
Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostræ.
Centum Urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:
Maximus unde Pater (si ritè audita recordor)
Teucrus *Rhœteas primum est advectus ad oras:*
Optavitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium & arces.
Pergameæ steterant: habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybaniaque æra,
Idæumque nemus.

In the main Sea the Ile of *Creete* doth lie:
Where *Jove* was born, thence is our progeny.
There, is a mount *Ida:* there in fruitful Land
An hundred great and goodly Cities stand.
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
Teucer the eldest of our grand-sires came
To the *Rhœtean* shores: and reigned there,
Ere yet fair *Ilion* was built, and ere
The Towers of *Troy:* their dwelling place they sought
In lowest Vales. Hence *Cybels* rites were brought:
Hence *Corybantian Cymbals* did remove;
And hence the name of our *Idæan* grove.

Thus it seemeth by *Virgil*, who followed surely good authority, that *Teucer* first gave name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus:* of which *Dardanus* in the same book he speaks thus:

Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ,
Oenotrii coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes: hinc Dardanus *ortus:*
Jasiusque Pater, genus à quo principe nostrum.

Hesperia the *Græcians* call the place:
An ancient fruitful Land, a warlike race,
Oenotrians

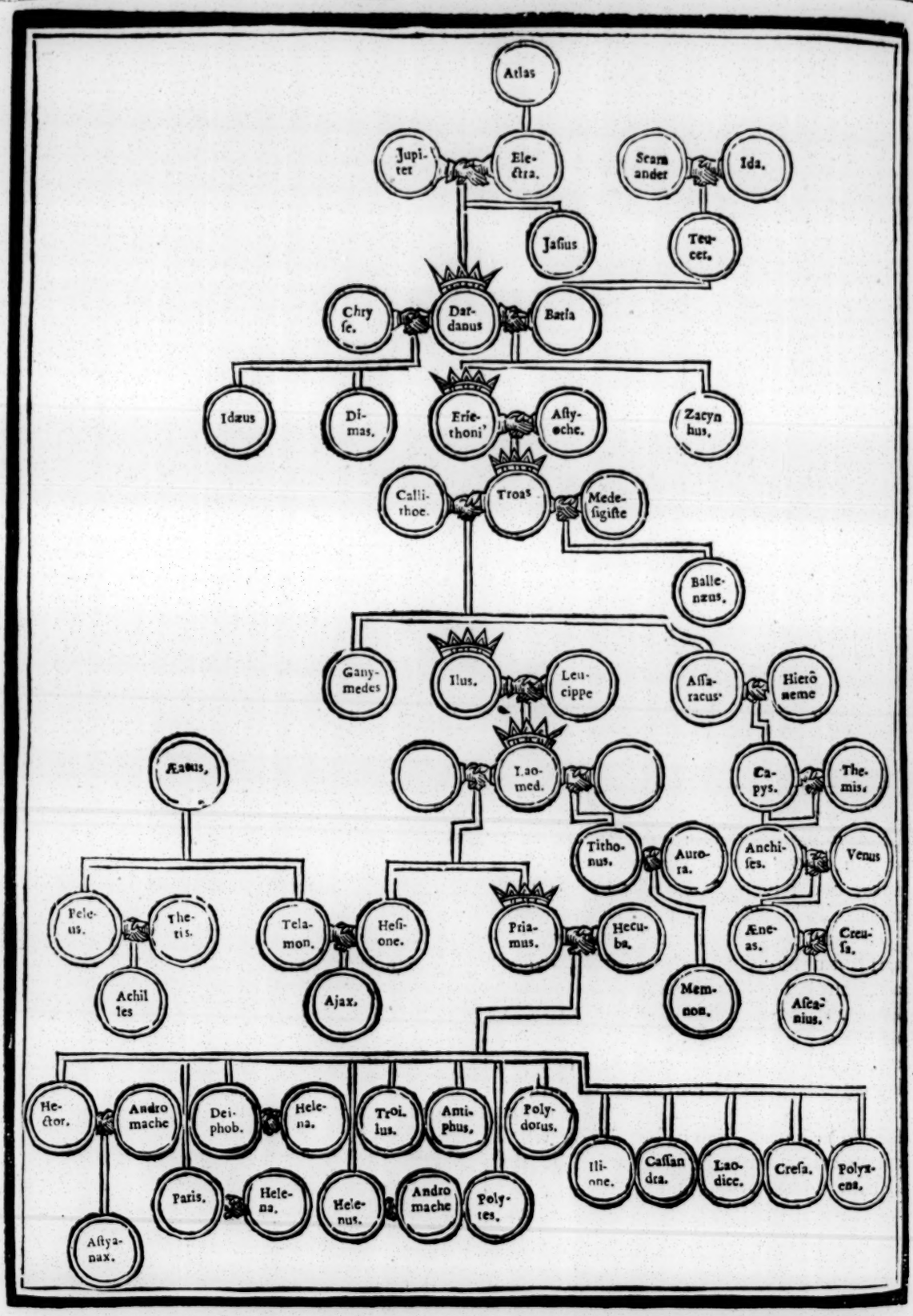
Oenotrians held it: now the later progeny
Gives it their Captains name, & calls it *Italy*;
This seat belongs to us; hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the Author of your stock, *Jasius*.

Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis
Aruncos ita fere senes, hic ortus ad agris
Dardanus *Idæus Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,*
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhena ab sede profectum,
Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia cœli
Accipit, &c.

Some old *Aruncans*, I remember well,
(Though time have made the fame obscure) would tell
Of *Dardanus*, how born in *Italy*,
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.
And leaving *Tuscaine* (where he earst had place)
With *Corytus* did sail to *Samothrace*;
But now inthronized he sits on high,
In golden Palace of the starry Sky.

But contrary to this, and so many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinks that these names, *Troes*, *Teucri*, & *Thraces*, are derived from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the son of *Japhet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Mysians*, and *Ascanians*, mixt with the *Trojans*, were *Germane* Nations, descended from *Ashkenaz*, the son of *Gomer*: of whom the Country, Lake, and River of *Ascanius* in *Asia* took name. That *Ashkenaz* gave name to those places and people, it is not unlikely: neither is it unlikely, that the *Ascanii*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times pass into *Europe*: that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tyras*, the conjecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Halicarnassæus* makes him an *Athenian*, I find none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewed) reported him to be of *Crete*, whose authority is the more to be regarded, because he had good means to find the truth, which it is probable that he carefully sought, and in this did follow, seeing it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus*, & others that think him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Country, not founder of the City; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the second wife of *Dardanus* founder of Troy. *Reineccius* further thinks that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gave his daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*: and that these were parents to *Chryse*, first wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwise; and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the son of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, which *Electra* was the daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* King of *Hetruria*, to whom she bare *Jasius*. *Annius* out of his *Berosus* finds the name of *Camboblascon*, to whom he gives the addition of *Corytus*, as a Title of dignity, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Jasius*; and further telling us very particularly of the faction between these Brethren, which grew to such a heat, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and therefore fled into *Somothrace*. The obscurity of the History gives leave to *Annius* of saying what he list. I, that love not to use such liberty, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Son of *Jupiter*, it must have been of some elder *Jupiter* than the Father of those that lived about the war of *Troy*. So it is likewise probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which also is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often been said) there were many *Jupiters*, and many of almost every name of gods; but it was the custome to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my self with making any narrow search into these fabulous Antiquities, but set down the Pedigree according to the general fame; allowing to *Teucer* such Parents as *Diodorus* gives, because others giving him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

Deor. l. 4. c. 3. Boccace de gen.



Concerning the beginning & continuance of the *Trojan* Kingdom, with the length of every Kings reign, I have choſen good Authors to be my guides, that in a Hiſtory, whereon depends the moſt ancient computation of times among the Greeks, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the conſent of Writers, and general paſſage of things elſewhere done. And firſt for the deſtruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that City whilſt it ſtood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* to be 780. years more ancient then the beginning of the ninty fourth *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore

372. did pass between the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the first year of the 94. it is manifest that the remainder of 780. years, that is, 408. years went between the destruction of *Troy*, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authority of *Diodorus* be good proof, who elsewhere tels us, that the return of the *Heraclidæ*, which was 80. years after the fall of *Troy*, was 328. years before the first *Olympiad*.

Diod. in præf.

Hereunto agrees the authority of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*, that is, four and twenty years after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432. later then the fall of *Troy*. *Solinus* in expres words, makes the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 480. years later than the destruction of *Troy*. The sum is easily collected by necessary inference out of divers other places in the same book. Hereunto doth *Eusebius*, reckoning exclusively agree: and *Eratosthenes* (as is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes up out of many particulars, the same total sum, wanting, but one year, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

Dionys. Halic. Antiq. 1.

Solin. Polyhist. c. 1.

Euseb. de præ Evang. l. 10. c. 3. Cle. Alex. Strom. lib. 1.

The other collections of divers Writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, do neither cohere any way, nor depend upon any collateral History, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of *Troy* being in the year before the *Olympiads* four hundred & eight: we must seek the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of *Eusebius*, who leads us from *Dardanus* on-wards, through the reigns of four Kings, by the space of two hundred and five and twenty years, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed under *Laomedon*, we are fain to do as others have done before us, and take it upon trust from *Annius* his Authors; believing *Manetho* so much the rather, for that in his account of the former Kings reigns, and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may give us leave to think that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no History or account of time depends upon the reign of the former Kings, but only upon the ruins of the City under *Priamus*, it may suffice that we are careful to place that memorable accident in the due year.

True it is, that some objections appearing weighty, may be alledged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answers I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those years, wherein the *Greeks* knew no good form of a year; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of *Troy* was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprise that was undertaken by general consent of all *Greece*, was the last war of *Troy*, which hath been famous even to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there assembled, the great battails fought with variable success; the long endurance of the siege; the destruction of that great City; and the may *Colonies* planted in sundry countries, as well by the remainder of the *Trojans*, as by the victorious *Greeks* after their unfortunate return. All which things, with enumerable circumstances of especial note, have been delivered unto posterity, by the excellent wits of many Writers, especially by the *Poems* of that great *Homer*, whose Verses have given immortality to the action, which might else perhaps have been buried in oblivion; among other worthy deeds, done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotiq; longa
Nocte: carent quia vate sacro.

Many by valour have deserv'd renown
Ere *Agamemnon*; yet lie all oppress
Under long night, unwept for, and unknown:
For with no sacred Poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilst these Writers have with strange fables, or (to speak the best of them) with Allegories far strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers: they have both drawn into suspition that great vertue which they sought to adorn, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the History, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that we seek for the knowledge of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of Poets, in whose works are both profit and delight; yet small profit to those which are delighted otherwise: but such as can interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall finde matter in Poems, not unworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authors, written of this great war. All Writers consent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the son of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking Arms: but how he was hereunto emboldened, it is doubtful.

§. II.

Of the rape of Helen : *and ſtrength of both ſides for the War.*

HErodotus fetcheth the cauſe of this rape from very far; ſaying, That whereas the *Phœnecians* had raviſhed *Io*, and carried her into *Egypt*, the *Greeks*, to be revenged on the *Barbarians*, did firſt raviſh *Europa*, whom they brought out of *Phœnicia* into *Creta*, and afterward *Medæa*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to reſtore her to her father, till ſuch time as they might be ſatisfied for the rape of *Io*. By theſe deeds of the *Greeks*, *Paris* (as the ſame *Herodotus* affirms) was emboldened to do the like; not fearing ſuch revenge as enſued. But all this narration ſeems frivolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to do with the injury of the *Phœnicians*? Or how could the *Greeks*, as in revenge of *Io*, plead any quarrel againſt him, that never had heard the name of *Phœnicians*? *Thucydides*, a writer of unqueſtionable ſincerity, maketh it plain, that the name of *Barbarians* was not uſed at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the War of *Troy*: and that the *Greeks* themſelves were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreaſonable to think, that they ſhould have ſought revenge upon all Nations, as barbarous, for the injury received by one: or that all people elſe ſhould have eſteemed of the *Greeks*, as of a people oppoſed to all the World; and that even then when as the *Greeks* had not yet one common name among themſelves. Others with more probability ſay, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redelivery of *Heſione*, King *Priamus* his ſiſter, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have been true: for *Telamon* (as it ſeems) was a cruel man, ſeeing his own ſon *Teucer* durſt not come in his ſight, after the war of *Troy*, but fled into *Cyprus*, onely becauſe his brother *Ajax* (which *Teucer* could not remedy) had ſlain himſelf. Yet, were it ſo, that *Heſione* was ill entreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely that *Priamus* her brother would ſeek to take her from her husband, with whom ſhe had lived about thirty years, and to whom ſhe had born children which were to ſucceed in his Dominion. Whereupon I think that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medæa*, or *Heſione*, but was meerly incited by *Venus*, that is, by his luſt, to do that which in thoſe daies was very common. For not only *Greeks* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greeks*, as *Herodotus* diſcourſeth; but all people were accuſtomed to ſteal Women and Cattel, if they could by ſtrong hand or power get them: and having ſtoln them, either to ſell them away in ſome far Country, or keep them to their own uſe. So did *Theſeus* and *Pirythons* attempt *Proſerpina*; and ſo did *Theſeus* (long before *Paris*) raviſh *Helen*. And theſe practices, as it appears in *Thucydides*, were ſo common, that none durſt inhabite neer unto the Sea, for fear of pyracy, which was accounted a trade of life no leſs lawful than merchandiſe: wherefore *Tyndareus*, the father of *Helen*, conſidering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theſeus* had made, cauſed all her Wooers, who were moſt of the principal men in *Greece*, to bind themſelves by ſolemn oath, that if ſhe were taken from her husband, they ſhould with all their might help to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a husband to his daughter, who choſe *Menelaus* brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cauſe which drew the *Greeks* unto *Troy* in revenge of *Helens* rape, was partly the oath which ſo many Princes had made unto her Father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping: for *Agamemnon*, beſides his great Dominions in *Peloponneſus*, was Lord of many Iſlands: he was alſo rich in money, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for *Troy* in his own ſhips, which were more than any other of the *Greek* Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or led by reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon*, and *Menelaus*; or deſirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterpriſe; take Arms againſt the *Trojans*. The *Greeks* Fleet was (by *Homers* account) 1200. ſayl, or thereabouts: but the veſſels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ſhips with decks; only they uſed (as *Thucydides* ſaith) ſmall ſhips, meet for robbing on the Sea; the leaſt of which carried fifty men, the greateſt 120. every man (except Captains) being both a Mariner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Grecian* Army conſiſted of 100000. men or thereabout. This was the greateſt Army that ever was raiſed out of *Greece*: and the greatneſs of this Army doth well declare the ſtrength and power of *Troy*, which ten whole years did ſtand out againſt ſuch forces: yet were the *Trojans* which inhabited the City, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* ſaid in the ſecond of *Homers Iliads*; but

but their followers and aids were very many and ſtrong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Miſſia*, and the greateſt part of *Aſia* the leſs, took part with the *Trojans*. The *Amazons* alſo brought them ſuccour. And *Rheſus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Aſſyria* (though ſome think out of *Æthiopia*) came to their defence.

§. III.

Of the Grecians *journey, and Embaſſage to* Troy, *and of* Helena's *being detained in* Egypt, *and of the ſacrificing of* Iphigenia.

WHerefore the *Greeks*, unwilling to come to tryal of arms, if things might be compounded by treaty ſent *Menelaus* and *Ulyſſes* Embaſſadours to *Troy*: who demanded *Helen*, and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his houſe. What anſwer the *Trojans* made hereunto it is uncertain, *Herodotus* from the report of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his return to *Troy*. The ſum of his diſcourſe is this.

Paris in his return with *Helena*, being driven by foul weather unto the coaſt of *Egypt*, was accuſed for the rape of *Helen* by ſome bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Proteus* then King of *Egypt*, finding the accuſation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her huſband ſhould require them: diſmiſſing *Paris* without further puniſhment, becauſe he was a ſtranger. When therefore the *Greeks* demanding *Helen*, had anſwer, that ſhe was in *Egypt*, they thought themſelves deluded, and thereupon made the war, which ended with the ruine of *Troy*. But when after the City taken, they perceived indeed ſhe had not been there, they returned home, ſending *Menelaus* to ask his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer*, and the whole Nation of *Poets* (except *Euripides*) vary from this Hiſtory, thinking it a matter more magnificent, and more graceful to their Poems, for the retaining of a fair Lady, than that they endured all by force, becauſe it lay not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odyſſes*, *Homer* ſpeaks of *Menelaus* his being in *Egypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not eaſily believed that he made for pleaſure, and if he were driven thither by contrary Winds, much more may we think that *Paris* was likely to have been driven thither by foul Weather. For *Paris* immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking ſuch Winds as he could get, and rather enduring any ſtorm, than to commit himſelf to any Haven in the *Greek* Seas: whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any port in *Greece*, and there have remained with good entertainment, until ſuch time as the Wind had come about, and ſerved for his Navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirm the ſaying of the *Egyptian* Prieſts; which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had been utter madneſs for *Priamus* to ſee ſo many miſeries befall him, during the war, and ſo many of his ſons ſlain for the pleaſure of one, who neither was heir to the Kingdom (for *Hector* was elder) nor equal in vertue to many of the reſt. Beſides, it may ſeem that *Lucian* ſpake not more pleaſantly then truly, when he ſaid that *Helen*, at the war of *Troy*, was almoſt as old as Queen *Hecuba*, conſidering that ſhe had been raviſhed by *Theſeus* the companion of *Hercules*, who took *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and conſidering further, that ſhe was ſiſter to *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (ſhe and *Pollux* being ſaid by ſome to have been twins) who ſailed with the *Argonants*, having *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* in their company, before the time that *Heſione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principal commander in the *Trojan* war. But whether it were ſo that the *Trojans* could not, or would not reſtore *Helen*, ſo it was that the Embaſſadours returned ill contented, and not very well entreated, for there wanted not ſome that adviſed to have them ſlain. The *Greeks* hereupon incenſed, made all haſte towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom ſome ſay to have been a Runagate *Trojan*, though no ſuch thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captains, and all the Hoaſt with many troubleſome anſwers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnons* daughter ſacrificed to appeaſe *Diana*, whoſe anger, he ſaid, vvithſtood their paſſage. Whether the young Lady were ſacrifized, or vvhether (as ſome vvrite) the *goddeſs* vvas contented vvith a Hind, it is not needful here to be diſputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the Devil, which vvaits for all opportunities, is never more importunate, then vvhere mens ignorance is moſt. *Calchas* alſo told the *Greeks*, that the taking of *Troy* vvas impoſſible, till ſome fatall impediments vvere removed: and that till ten years vvere paſt, the Town ſhould hold out againſt them. All which notwithſtanding, the *Greeks* proceeded in their enterpriſe, under the command of *Agamemnon*; vvho was accompanied with his Brother *Menelaus*; *Achilles* the moſt valiant of all the *Greeks*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phœnix*, *Ajax* and *Teucer*, the ſons of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Neſtor* and his ſons *Antilochus* and *Thraſymides*; *Ulyſſes*, *Mneſtheus* the ſon of

Petreus, Captain of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the son of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wise and learned *Palamedes*, *Ascalaphus*, and *Jalmenus*, the sons of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonants*; *Philoctetes* also the son of *Pæan*, who had the arrows of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said, that the City could not be taken, *Ajax* the son of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Theas*, *Eumelus*, *Tysandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the son of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machon*, the sons of *Æsculapius*; *Epeus*, who is said to have made the wooden Horse, by which the town was taken; and *Protesilaus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the *Oracle* that threatned death to him that landed first.

§. IV.

Of the Acts of the Græcians *at the siege.*

THese, and many other of less note, arriving at *Troy*, found such sharp entertainment, as might easily perswade them to think that the war would be more than one years work. For in the first encounter, they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, and many others, without any great harm done to the *Trojans*: save only that by their numbers of men, they wan ground enough to incamp themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principal impediment which the *Greeks* found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reason of their multitude, and the smalness of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an Army. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cherroneſs*: others to rob upon the Sea for the relief of the Camp. Thus was the war protracted nine whole years, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the town receive little loss by them, having equal numbers to maintain the field against such *Greeks* as continued the siege, and a more safe retrait if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* saith, That from the first year, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all, and *Heraclide* commends as very credible, the report of *Herodicus*, that the *Greeks* did not lye before *Troy* the first nine years: but onely did bear up and down the Seas, exercising their men, and inriching themselves, and so by wasting the enemies country did block up the Town, unto which they returned not, untill the fatall time drew near when it should be subverted.

This is confirmed by the enquiry which *Priamus* made, when the *Greek* Princes came into the field, the tenth year, for he knew none of them; and therefore sitting, upon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have been supposed that he should be ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the town so many years together. Between these relations of *Thucidides* and *Herodicus*, the difference is not much, the one saying, that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whilest the rest made purveyance by land and by sea: the others that the whole army did spend the time in wasting the Sea-coasts. Neither do the Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many towns and Ilands wasted, and the people carried into Captivity; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the army could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had been to be performed before the City. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by general consent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Camp, and a great pestilence arose among the *Greeks*: which *Homer* saith, that *Apollo* sent in revenge of his Priests daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let go, for any ransome: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, saith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sun, who raised pestilent Fogs, by which the army was infected, being lodged in a mooriſh piece of ground. And it might well be that the camp was over-pestered with those, who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: having also grounded their ships within the fortifications. *Hom. Il. liad. 3.*

About the same time arose much contention between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the booty, whereof *Agamemnon*, as General, having first chosen for his part a captive woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himself another, then *Ajax*, *Ulysses*, and so the rest of the chief Captains in order: when the South-sayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman should be restored to her father *Apollo*'s Priest, that so the pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and say, that he alone would not lose his part of the spoile, but would either take that which had been given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Ulysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was fain to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to revenge her losse otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Captains. But the *Greeks*, encouraged

encouraged by their Captains, preſented themſelves before the City without him and his Troops.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great ſuccours, all the neighbour Countries having ſent them aid: partly drawn to that War by their Commanders who aſſiſted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the War began (as appears by his words in *Homer*,) or for love of himſelf and his ſons, or hope of marriage with ſome of his many and fair Daughters; partly alſo (as we may well gheſſe) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greeks* when they waſted the Countries adjoyning unto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* iſſued out of the Town, he was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of men, or quality of their Leaders. The principal Captains in the *Trojan* Army, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, and the other ſons of *Priamus*: *Æneas*, *Antenor*, and his ſons, *Polydamas*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Aſius*, and the ſons of *Panthus*, beſides *Rheſus*, who was ſlain the firſt night of his arrival; *Memnon*, Queen *Pentheſilea*, and others who came towards the end of the War. Between theſe and the *Greeks* were many battels fought: the greateſt of which were, that at the tomb of King *Ilus* upon the Plain: and another at the very trenches of the Camp, wherein *Hector* brake through the fortifications of the *Greeks*, and began to fire their ſhips; at which time *Ajax*, the ſon of *Telamon*, with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the only men of note that remaining unwounded, made head againſt *Hector*, when the ſtate of the *Greeks* was almoſt deſperate.

Another battel (for ſo Antiquity cals it) or rather the ſame renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who having obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles* Troops, relieving the weary *Greeks* with a freſh ſupply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomædes*, *Ulyſſes*, and the reſt of the Princes though ſore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Trojans* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was loſt, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought back into the Camp: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torn from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of thoſe Wars, having ſlain a man, to ſtrip him, and hale away his body, not reſtoring it without ranſome, if he were one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, ſlightly armed, and commonly followed the ſucceſs of their Captains; who rode not upon horſes, but in Chariots, drawn by two or three horſes, which were guided by ſome truſty followers of theirs, which drave up and down the field, as they were directed by the Captains, who by the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, preſenting themſelves where need required, threw firſt their Javelins, and then alighting, fought on foot, with ſwords and battle-axes, retiring into the ranks of footmen, or elſe returning to their Chariots when they found cauſe, and ſo began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were loſt or broken. Their arms defenſive were helmets, breaſt-plates, boots of braſs, or other mettal, and ſhields commonly of leather plated over. The offenſive were ſwords and battel-axes at hand; and ſtones, arrows or darts when they fought at any diſtance. The uſe of their Chariots (beſides the ſwiftneſs) was to keep them from wearineſs, whereto the leaders were much ſubject, becauſe of their armour, which the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt ware heavieſt, alſo that from them they might throw their Javelins downwards, with the more violence. Of which Weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driven to return to their tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewiſe of armours they had little change or none; every man (ſpeaking of the chief) carried his own compleat, of which if any piece were loſt or broken, he was driven to repair it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from ſome Captain whom he had ſlain, and ſtripped; or elſe to borrow of them that had by ſuch means gotten ſome to ſpare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had loſt his armour which *Hector* (as is ſaid before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was fain to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very deſirous, that he might revenge the death of *Patroclus* his dear friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himſelf unto *Achilles*, not only reſtoring his concubine *Briſeis*, but giving him very great gifts, and excuſing former matters as well as he might. In the next battel *Achilles* did ſo behave himſelf, that he did not only put the *Trojans* to the worſt, but alſo ſlew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be believed) he chaſed three times about the Wals of *Troy*. But great queſtion may be made of *Homer*'s truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would ſtay alone without the City (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Trojans* were fled into it: nor that he could leap over the Rivers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he muſt have done in that flight: nor that the *Trojans*, perceiving *Hector* in ſuch an extremity, would have forborn

born to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace *Achilles*, who having (by what means soever) slain the noble *Hector*, did not only carry away his dead body, as the custome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leathern thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him shamefully about the field, selling the dead body to his father *Priamus* for a very great ransome. But his cruelty and covetousness were not long unrevenged; for he was shortly after slain with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* sayes in the *Scæan* Gate; or as others, in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to have married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too far in love, having slain so many of her brethren; and his body was ransomed (as *Lycophron* saith) at the selfsame rate that *Hectors* was by him sold for. Not long after this, *Penthesilea* Queen of the *Amazons* arrived at *Troy*, who after some proof given of her Valour, was slain by *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles*.

§. V.

Of the taking of Troy, *the wooden Horse, the Book of* Dares *and* Dyctis, *the Colonies of the reliques of* Troy.

FInally, after the death of many Worthy Persons on each side, the City was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the Treason of *Æneas* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden Horse, as the Poets, and common Fame (which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is uncertain. Some write that upon one of the gates of *Troy*, called *Scæa*, was the Image of a Horse, and that the *Greeks* entring by that gate, gave occasion to the report, that the City was taken by an artificial Horse. It may well be that with some wooden Engine, which they called a Horse, they either did batter the Wals as the *Romans* in after-times used to do with the Ram: or scaled the Wals upon the sudden, and so took the City. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a wooden Horse, it had been a desperate adventure, and serving to no purpose. For either the *Trojans* might have perceived the deceit, and slain all those Princes of *Greece*, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintain this report they are said to have thought upon:) or they might have left it a few dayes without the City (for it was unlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude upon the bringing it into the Town, and break down their Wals upon the sudden to do it:) by which means they who were shut into it, must have perished for hunger, if they had not by issuing forth unseasonably discovered the invention. Whereas further it is said, that this Horse was so high and great, that it could not be brought into the Town through any of the gates, and that therefore the *Trojans* were fain to pull down a part of their Wall to make way for it, through which breach the *Greeks* did afterwards enter; it is hereby manifest, that the inclosing of so many principal men was altogether needless, considering that without their help there was way sufficient for the Army, so that the surprising of any gate by them was now to no purpose.

John Baptista Gramay in his History of *Asia*, discourting of this War, saith that the *Greeks* did both batter the Wals with a Wooden Engine, and were also let into the City by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* gate: the Townsmen sleeping and drinking without fear or care, because the fleet of the *Grecians* had hoisted sail, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Trojans* into security. That the City was betrayed, the Books of *Dares* and *Dyctis* must prove, which whether we now have the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who have made mention of these Writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictory in most points to these two Authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they having served in that War made against the common report, had it not been that either those books were even in those times thought frivolous, or else contained no such repugnancy to the other Authors as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slain in this War, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* say to have been above 600000. on the *Trojan* side, and more then 800000. of the *Greeks*, it is a report meerly fabulous; for as much as the whole Fleet of the *Greeks* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their Army and deeds as much as he could, to be somewhat less than 1200. sail, and the Army therein transported over the *Greek* seas, not much above 100000. men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of men to extol the deeds of their Ancients: for which cause both *Homer* magnified the Captains of the *Greeks* that served in the War, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Trojans* and their City, from which the *Romans* descended. Yea the *Athenians* long after

after in the War which *Xerxes* the *Perſian* King made againſt all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Meneſtheus* the ſon of *Peteus* had ſhewed in marſhalling the *Grecian* Army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had been a matter of much conſequence, they were ſo proud, that they refuſed to yeeld unto *Gelon* King of almoſt all *Sicily*, the Admiralty of their Seas, notwithſtanding that he promiſed to bring 200. good fighting ſhips, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanity poſſeſſed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in theſe parts of the World, which have ſtriven to bring their deſcent from ſome of the Princes that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or unlikelihoods in ſuch their Pedegree notwithſtanding. But thoſe Nations which indeed, or in moſt probability, came of the *Trojans*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that Country by *Æneas*: the *Venetians* firſt ſeated in *Padua*, and the Country adjoyning, by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the ſon of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellanicus* addeth, that the Poſterity of *Hector* did aſſemble ſuch of the *Trojans* as were left, and reigned over them about *Troy*.

§. VI.

Of the diſtreſſes and diſperſions of the Greeks *returning from* Troy.

CONcerning the *Greeks*, they taſted as much miſery as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reaſon of their long abode at the ſiege, they found many alterations when they returned: ſo that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient ſeats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: ſome were ſlain anon after their arrival: others were debarred from the Soveraignty among the people, by ſuch as had ſtayed at home. The cauſe of all which may ſeem to have been the diſperſion of the Army, which, weakned much by the calamities of that long War, was of little force to repel injuries, being divided into ſo many pieces under ſeveral Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (beſides other quarrels ariſing upon the diviſion of the booty, and the like occaſions) at the time when they ſhould have ſet ſail, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being deſirous to depart immediatly, the other to ſtay and perform ſome ſacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the Fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the reſt of them ſailed to the Iſle of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themſelves, but ſome returned back to *Agamemnon*; others were diſperſed, each holding his own courſe. But the whole Fleet was ſore vexed with tempeſts: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* ſaith) would not be perſwaded in haſte.

They who returned ſafe were *Neſtor*, and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Oreſtes* afterwards ſlew: alſo *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who nevertheleſs, as *Virgil* tels, were driven ſoon after to ſeek new ſeats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italy*. *Agamemnon* likewiſe returned home, but was forthwith ſlain by his Wife, and by the Adulterer *Ægyſtus*, who for a while after uſurped his Kingdome. *Menelaus* wandring long upon the Seas, came into *Ægypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather ſeem) to fetch her. *Ulyſſes*, after ten years, having loſt all his company, got home in poor eſtate, with much ado recovering the maſterſhip of his own houſe. All the reſt either periſhed by the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to ſeek out new habitations.

Ajax the ſon of *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Daunus*, who was Lord of the *Japiges* in *Apulia*; ſome of the *Locrians* were driven into *Africk*, others into *Italy*, all the Eaſt part whereof was called *Magna Græcia*, by reaſon of ſo many Towns which the *Greeks* were driven to erect upon that Coaſt. Finally, it appears in *Homer*, that the *Græcian* Ladies, whoſe Husbands had been at the War of *Troy*, were wont to call it, The place where the *Greeks* ſuffered miſery, and the unlucky City not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy*, and thoſe that warred there: the overthrow of which City, as hath been ſaid, happened in the time of *Habdon* Judge of *Iſrael*, whom *Sampſon*, after a vacancy or *Inter-regnum* for certain years, ſucceeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of Sampson, Ely, *and* Samuel.

§. I.

Of Sampson.

2970. THE birth and acts of *Sampson* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that Story. First, that the *Angel of God* forbad the Wife of *Manoah* the Mother of *Sampson*, to drink Wine or strong drink, or to eat any unclean meat after she was conceived with child; because those strong liquors hindered the strength, and as it were wither and shrink the child in the mothers womb. Though this were even the counsel of God himself, and delivered by his Angel, yet it seemeth that many Women of this age have not read, or at least will not believe this precept: the most part forbearing nor drinks, nor meats, how strong or unclean soever, filling themselves with all sorts of Wines, and with artificial drinks far more forcible: by reason whereof so many wretched feeble bodies are born into the World, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angel of God* refused the sacrifice which *Manoah* would have offered him, commanding him to present it unto the Lord: and therefore those that profesie divination by the help of Angels, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are devils who accept thereof, and not good Angels, who receive no worship that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this *Sampson* was twice betrayed by his Wives, to wit, by their importunity and deceitful tears: by the first he lost but a part of his goods; by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas evertit: Whom no force could over-master, Voluptuousnes overturned.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliver *Israel* from the oppression of the *Philistims*; though in some sort he revenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slain 30. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corn in harvest time, and given them a great overthrow instantly upon it: yet so much did *Israel* fear the *Philistims*, as they assembled 3000. men out of *Juda*, to besiege *Sampson*, in the rock or mountain of *Etam*, using these Words: *Knowest not thou that the Philistims are Rulers over us? &c.* After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the *Philistims*, for fear of their revenge; though he was no sooner loosened, but he gave them another overthrow, and slew 1000. with the jaw-bone of an Asse.

Lastly, being made blind, and a prisoner by the treason of his Wife, he was content to end his own life, to be avenged of his enemies, when he pulled down the pillars of the house at the Feast whereto they sent for *Sampson*, to deride him; till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of *Seneca*; *Patientia sæpe læsa vertitur in furorem; Patience often wounded is converted into fury:* neither is it at any time so much wounded by pain and loss, as by derision and contumely.

§. II.

Of Eli, *and of the Ark taken; and of* Dagons *fall, and the sending back of the Ark.*

THE Story of *Eli* the Priest, who succeeded *Sampson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickedness of his sons, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whose sins were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Levi Ben Gerson*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the woman by the sons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the *Israelites* under the swords of the *Philistims*; of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000. and in the second battel 30000. footmen; among whom the sons of *Eli* being slain, their father (hearing the lamentable success) by falling from his chair, brake his neck. He was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the stock of *Ithamar* the son of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successively in the

1 Sam. 2. 22.

the race of *Eleazar* the eldeſt brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the firſt, *Eleazar* the ſecond, *Phinees* the ſon of *Eleazar* the third, *Abiſue* the ſon of *Phinees* the fourth, his ſon 1 King 2. *Bocci* the fifth, *Ozi* the ſon of *Bocci* the ſixt, 27. and 1 Chron. 6. and then *Eli*, as *Joſephus* and *Lyranus* out of divers Hebrew Authors have conceived. In the race of *Ithamar* the Prieſthood continued after *Eli*, to the time of *Salomon*, who caſt out *Abiathar*, and eſtabliſhed *Sadock* and *Achimaas* and their ſucceſſors. The *Ark of God* which *Iſrael* brought into the field, was in this battel taken by the *Philiſtims*. For as *David* witneſſeth, *God greatly abhorred Iſrael, ſo that he forſook the habitation of Shilo: even the Tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivity, &c.* Pſal 78.

Now as it pleaſed God at this time, that the Ark whereby himſelf was repreſented ſhould fall in the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Prieſts and people: ſo did he permit the *Chaldæans* to deſtroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the *Romans* to overthrow the ſecond Temple; and the *Turks* to overthrow the Chriſtian Churches in *Aſia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Iſraelites* put more confidence in the ſacrament, or repreſentation, which was the Ark, than in God himſelf, they would have obſerved his Laws, and ſerved him onely: which whenſoever 1 Sam. 5. 6. they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivity they had no Ark at all, nor in the times of the *Macchabees*: and yet for their piety it pleaſed God to make that Family as victorious as any that guarded themſelves by the ſign in ſtead of the ſubſtance. And that the Ark was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an enſign, *David* witneſſed when he fled from *Abſalon*. For when the Prieſts would have carried the Ark with him; he forbad it, and cauſed it to be turned into the City, uſing theſe words: *If I ſhall find favour in the eyes of the* 2 Sam. 15 *Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him do to me as ſeemeth good in his eyes.*

The *Trojans* believed that while their *Palladium* or the image of *Minerva* was kept in *Troy*, the City ſhould never be overturned: ſo did the Chriſtians in the laſt fatal battel againſt *Saladine* carry into the field, as they were made believe, the very Croſs whereon Chriſt died; and yet they loſt the battel, their bodies, and the wood. But *Chryſoſtome* upon Saint *Matthew* (if that be his work) giveth a good judgment, ſpeaking of thoſe that wore a part of Saint *John*'s Goſpel about their necks, for an annulet or preſervative: *Si tibi ea non proſunt in auribus, quomodo proderunt in collo? If thoſe words do not profit men in their ears* (to wit, the hearing of the Goſpel preached) *how ſhould it profit them by hanging it about their necks?* For it was neither the wood of the Ark, nor the wood of the Croſs, but the reverence of the Father, that gave the one for a memory of his Covenant; and the Faith in his Son, which ſhed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and us, either in this life or after it.

The *Philiſtims* returning with the greateſt victory and glory which ever they obtained, carried the *Ark of God* with them to *Azotus*, and ſet it up in the houſe of *Dagon* their Idol: but that night the Idol fell out of his place, from above to the ground, and lay under the Ark. The morning following they took it up, and ſet it again in his place. And it fell the ſecond time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the arms, ſhewing that it had nor power nor underſtanding in the preſence of God; for the head fell off, which is the ſeat of reaſon and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute ſtrength) were ſundred from the arms. For God and the devil inhabit not in one houſe, nor in one heart. And if this Idol could not endure the repreſentation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at ſuch time as it pleaſed him to cover his onely begotten with fleſh, and ſent him into the world, that all the Oracles, wherein the Devil derided and betrayed mortal men, loſt power, ſpeech and operation at the inſtant. For when that true light which never had beginning of brightneſs, brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, ſhining upon the earth which had been long obſcured by Idolatry, all thoſe foul and ſtinking vapours vaniſhed. *Plutarch* rehearſeth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he ſtileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cauſe) he ſearcheth his brains for many reaſons of ſo great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old Devil did then die as he ſuppoſed, but all the reſt, as *Apollo*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became ſpeechleſs.

Now while the *Philiſtims* triumphed after this victory, God ſtrook them with the grievous diſeaſe of the *Hæmorrhoides*, of which they periſhed in great numbers. For it is written, that *the Lord deſtroyed them*. It was therefore by general conſent ordered, that the Ark ſhould be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth*, another of the five great Cities of the *Philiſtims*; to prove, as it ſeemeth, whether this diſeaſe were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediatly:

1 Sam. 5. 9. but when it was brought to *Gath* and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortal. *For the hand of the Lord was against this City with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the City both small and great, &c.* And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* sent the Ark to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third City of the *Philistims*: but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out, that themselves and their people should be slain thereby; *For there was a destruction and death throughout all the City.* In the end, by the advice of their Priests, the Princes of the *Philistims* did not onely resolve to return the Ark, but to offer gifts unto the *God of Israel*, remembring the plague which had fallen on the *Egyptians*, when their hearts were hardned to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his service by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the *God of Israel* to be almighty, and that their own Idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a sin-offering, using these words; *So ye shall give glory to the God of Israel, that he may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approve our cause? according to *Aristotle*; *Pulchrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus.* So did *Pharao* confess the living God, when he was plagued in *Egypt*: and *Nabuchadonosor* and *Darius*, when they had seen his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counsel therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden *Hæmorrhoides*, and the golden *Mice* prepared, they caused two milch Kine to be chosen, such as had not been yoaked, and a new Cart or Carriage to be framed: but they durst not drive or direct it to any place certain, thereby to make tryal whether it were indeed the hand of God that had strucken them. For if the Ark of God were carried towards *Bethshemesh*, and into the territory of *Israel*, then they should resolve that from God onely came their late destruction. For the *Philistims* knew that the milch Kine which drew the Ark, could not be forced from their Calves, but that they would have followed them whersoever; much less when they were left to themselves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world, if calves be removed from their dams, the kine will follow them through woods and desars by the foot, till they find them. But the kine travelled directly towards *Bethshemesh*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Josua* of the same City, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the *Philistims* perceived, they returned to *Ekron*. After which, God spared not his own people the *Bethshemites*, in that they presumed to look in the Ark. And because they knew God and his commandements, and had been taught accordingly; he strook them more grievously than he did the heathen: for there perished of them fifty thousand and seventy. From hence the Ark was carried to *Kiriath-jearim*, and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twenty years in the charge of *Eleazar* his son, until *David* brought it to *Hierusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the mean while the Ark was in *Nob*, *Mispa*, and *Galgala*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time severed from the Ark, or at least, it was for the (*a*) present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to *Kiriath-jearim*. 2 Sam. 6. & 1 Chron. 12. (*a*) See in this book, c. 12. sect. 1. in the margent.

§. III.

Of Samuel, *and of his Government.*

THese Tragedies overpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while he was yet a child, became now Judge and Governour of *Israel*. He was descended of the family of (*b*) *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Levi* had three sons; *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram* and *Izaar*; of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*; and of the family of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Elcana* a Levite, was called an *Ephratæan*; not that the Levites had any proper inheritance, but because he was of (*c*) Mount *Ephraim*, like as *Jesse*, *David*'s father was called an *Ephratæan*, because born at *Ephrata*, or *Bethleem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitless, obtained him of God by prayers and tears: it being an exceeding shame to the Jewish women to be called barren, in respect of the blessing of God, both to *Abraham*, that his seed should multiply as the Stars of Heaven, and the sands of the Sea; as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increase and multiply, &c.* and in *Deuteronomy* the seventh, *There shall be neither male nor female barren among you.* (*b*) 1 Chron. 6. 22. (*c*) Which Region was called *Ephrata*, as appeareth *Jud.* 12. 5. whence for distinction we read *Ruth* 1. *Ephratæi* ? *Bethlechemo Jehuda*, the town *Ephrata*, which is *Bethlehem* in *Juda*. *Gen.* 35. 19. from the region of *Ephrata*, which is in Mount *Ephraim*, whence *Psal.* 132. 6 *Ephrata* is put for *Silo*, which was in the Tribe of *Ephraim*.

Samuel was no sooner born, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his service; to which she delivered him even from the dug. For as the first-born of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were five years old for five sheckles, and between five years and twenty, for twenty sheckles: so was it not required by the Law, that any of the

the race of the Levites should be called to serve about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twenty years old.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Acts* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the Writers of holy Scriptures, to whom usually this name of a Prophet was given, and yet did *Moses* account himself such a one; as in the 18. of *Deuteronomie*, *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto me, &c.* But he is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as *before time in Israel, when a man went to seek an answer of God, thus he spake; Come and let us go to the Seer: for he that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer.* And although it pleased God to appear by his Angels to *Moses*, as before to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether withdrawn his grace from *Israel:* but as the *Chaldæan* Paraphrast hath it, those revelations before *Samuel*'s time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein *Samuel* judged were *Matspa* or *Mitspa*, seated on a hill in *Benjamin* near *Juda:* also *Gilgal* and *Bethel*, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

Ver 17.

1 Sam. 9.

1 Sam. 13. See in this book c. 11. fol. 1.

The *Philistims* taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation of War at *Mitspa*, in the beginning of *Samuel*'s government, gathered their Army, and marched towards the City: at whose approach the *Israelites* stricken with fear, and with the memory of their former slaughters and servitude; besought *Samuel* to pray to God for them; who was * then performing his sacrifice when the *Philistims* were in view. But God being moved with *Samuel*'s prayers (as he was by those of *Moses*, when *Israel* fought against the *Amalekites* at the first entrance into *Arabia:*) it pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beat down the Army of the *Philistims*, according to the prophecie of *Hanna*, *Samuel*'s Mother, *The Lords adversaries shall be destroyed, and out of Heaven shall he thunder upon them, &c.* *Josephus* affirms, that a part of the *Philistims* were swallowed with an earthquake: and that *Samuel* himself led the *Israelites* in the prosecution of their victory. After which *Samuel* erected a Monument in memory of this happy success, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Josephus* called *Lapidem fortem: Samuel*, *Ebenezer*, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunity and advantage of the victory, the *Israelites* recovered divers Cities of their own formerly lost, and held long in the possession of the *Philistims*, who for a long time after did not offer any invasion or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the *Israelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be assaulted from divers parts at once; having the *Philistims* towards the West and Sea-coast, the *Canaanite* toward the North and East, and the *Idumite* on the South. The estate being thus settled, *Samuel* for the ease of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turns, as hath been elsewhere said.

* Plutarch reports of Numa the second King of Rome, that when as he was sacrificing, it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing dismaied, answered, *Ego autem sacrifico.* 1 Sam. 2. 10.

CHAP. XVI.

Of SAUL.

§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the Government into a Kingdom.

BUt when age now began to overtake *Samuel*, and that he was not able to undergo the burthen of so careful a government, he put off from himself the weight of the affairs on his sons, *Joel* and *Abijah*, who judged the people at *Beersheba*, a City, the very utmost towards the South of *Judæa*. And as the place was inconvenient and far away, so were themselves no less removed from the justice and vertue of their Father: For the thirst of coveteousness, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gain; to recover which, they set the Law at a price, and sold Justice and Judgment to the best Chapmen. Which when the Elders of *Israael* observed, and saw that *Samuel* as a natural man (though a Prophet) could not so well discern the errours of his own, they prayed him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be judged as other Nations were;

who might also lead them to the War, and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable success which followed the rule of *Eli* his sons, when those of *Samuel* by their first blossomes promised to yield fruit no less bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they so much reverenced, but by the choice of a King.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsel from God: which surely he did not for the establishing of his own Sons; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, he used his best arguments to dehort them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from Gods revelation, the inconveniences and miseries which should befal them. And yet, all which he fore-shewed was not intolerable, but such as hath been born, and is so still, by free consent of the subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know that the King will use their sons in his own service to make them his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; which is not onely not grievous, but by the Vassals of all Kings, according to their birth and condition, desired: it being very agreeable to subjects of the best quality to command for the King in his Wars; and to till the ground no less proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought up: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dress meat, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned, *He will take your Fields and your Vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and give them to his servants*; with other oppressions: this hath given, and gives daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their own discretion, to affirm that *Samuel* describeth here unto them the power of a King governed by his own affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others upon further examination construe this Text far otherwise, as teaching us what Subjects ought with patience to bear at their Soveraigns hand. The former opinion is grounded first upon that
Deut. 1. place of *Deuteronomy*, where God fore-sheweth this change of government from Judges to Kings; and after he had forbidden many things unto the Kings, as many wives, covetousnes, and the like, he commandeth that the Kings which were to raign over *Israel*, should write the Law of *Deuteronomie*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the dayes of his life; that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this Law, and these ordinances for to do them: that he may prolong his dayes in his Kingdom, he and his Sons.* But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrary to the Laws of God, in the same book written. For it is said, *That which is just and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayst live.* Deut. 6.
Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canst eat out of another mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much less lawful to take the vine- Deut. 23. 24.
yard it self from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (say they) such as do warrant the Kings of *Is-* Lopse.
rael, or make it proper unto them, to take at will any thing from their vassals. For it is not said that it shall be lawful for the King, or the King may do this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your sons: and again, This shall be the manner of the King that shall raign over you. God thereby fore-shewing what power, severed from piety (because it is accountable to God onely) will do in the future. And hereof we find the first example in *Achab*, who took from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should be judged with righte-* Deut. 16.
ous judgment. Wherefore, though the King had offered unto *Naboth* composition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refused: yet because he was falsly accused, and unjustly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell us. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a living Law, even as *David* testifieth of himself: *Posuisti me in caput gentium:* For this of S. *Augustine* is very true: *Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata æquitas non est æquitas: sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio; Feigned innocence, and feigned equity, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled in which there is both iniquity and dissimulation.* Such in effect is their disputation, who think this place to contain the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well known to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchies:* which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much less

leſs here to inſert. Only thus much I will ſay, that if practice do ſhew the greatneſs of authority, even the beſt Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael* were not ſo tyed by any laws, but that they did whatſoever they pleaſed in the greateſt things; and commanded ſome of their own Princes, and of their own brethren to be ſlain without any trial of law, being ſometime by Prophets reprehended, ſometime not. For though *David* confeſſed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Solomon* killing his elder brother and others, the ſame was not imputed to him as any offence.

That the ſtate of *Iſrael* ſhould receive this change of government, it was not onely foretold by *Moſes* in *Deuteronomie*, but perceived by *Jacob* in this Scripture; *The Scepter* Gen. 49. *ſhall not depart from Juda, &c.* It was alſo Gen. 15. promiſed by God to *Abraham* for a bleſſing: Gen. 17. For it was not onely aſſured that his iſſues ſhould in number equal the ſtars in heaven, but that Kings ſhould proceed of him: Which ſtate ſeeing it is framed from the pattern of his ſole rule, who is Lord of the Univerſal; and the excellencie thereof in reſpect of all other governments, hath been by many judicious men handled and proved, I ſhall not need to over-paint that which is garniſhed with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Judges every man hath obſerved what civil war *Iſrael* had: what outragious ſlaughters they committed upon each other: in what miſerable ſervitude they lived for many years: and when it fared beſt with them, they did but defend their own territories, or recover ſome parts thereof formerly loſt. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the beſt vallies of the Country. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*; the *Philiſtims* the Sea-coaſts; and the *Jebuſites Hieruſalem* it ſelf, till *Davids* time: all which that King did not onely conquer and eſtabliſh, but he maſtered and ſubjected all the neighbour Nations and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vaſſals. But whether it were for that the *Iſraelites* were moved by thoſe reaſons, which allure the moſt of all Nations to live under a Monarch, or whether by this means they ſought to be cleared 1 Sam. 8. from the ſons of *Samuel*, they became deaf to all the perſwaſions and threats which *Samuel* uſed, inſiſting upon this point, that they would have a King both to judge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to conſent, he ſent every man to his own City and abiding.

§. II.

Of the election of Saul.

AFter that *Samuel* had diſmiſſed the aſſembly at *Mizpah*, he forbare the election of a King, till ſuch time as he was therein directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would preſent unto him a man of the Land of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath Sophim*, to make a feaſt for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promiſes) and *Saul* alſo having wandred divers dayes to ſeek his fathers Aſſes, at length, by the advice of his ſervant, travelled towards *Ramath* to find a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to find his beaſts. In which journey it pleaſed God (who doth many times order the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt paſſages and perſons) to elect *Saul*, who ſought an Aſs and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleaſed him to call *Moſes*, while he fed the ſheep of *Jethro*; and after to make choice of *David* the youngeſt of eight ſons, and by the Scri- 1 Sam. 16. ptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beaſts; and changed his ſheep-hook into a Scepter, making him of all other the moſt victorious King of *Juda* and *Iſrael*. So *John* and *James* were taken from caſting their nets, to become fiſhers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apoſtles: a dignity that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours do; but permanent and everlaſting in Gods everlaſting Kingdom.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected, and ſtayed his arrival at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God ſhewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the ſame whom he had foretold him of, that he ſhould rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of *Iſrael*, much leſs knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the City the *Seer* dwelt; *Samuel* anſwered, that himſelf was the man he ſought, and prayed *Saul* to go before him to the high place, where *Samuel* ſetting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affairs of the kingdom, and of Gods graces to be beſtowed on him, and the morning following annointed him King of *Iſrael*.

After this he told him all that ſhould happen him in the way homeward, that two men ſhould

should encounter him by *Rahels* Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Asses were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the fear of losing his beasts, to doubt the loss of his son: that he should then meet three other men in the plain of *Tabor*; then a company of Prophets: and that he should be partaker of Gods Spirit, and prophecy with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and favoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spiritual gifts, were not of the first and most reverenced number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, reprehended without fear the errors of their Kings and wrought miracles, of which number were *Moses*, *Josua*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Ahias*, *Elias*, *Elisæus*, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and the rest; for these Prophets, saith S. *Chrysostome*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, præterita, præsentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom S. *Paul* speaketh 1 *Cor.* 14. 14. who inriched with spiritual gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

Chrys. in Ps. 43.

At *Mizpeth Samuel* assembled the people, that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his own Uncle therewith, when he asked him what had past between him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were confirmed by general consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Mizpeth*, the general opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. *Chimki* thinks by the answer of * *Urim* and *Thummim*: that is, by the answer of the Priest, wearing that mistery upon his breast when he asked the counsel of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much used among the *Jews*, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promise was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goats, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliverance, for whose garments the *Jews* also cast lots. *Cicero*, *Plautus*, *Pausanius*, and others, have remembred divers sorts of lots, used by the *Romans*, *Grecians*, and other Nations: as in the division of grounds or honours; and in things to be undertaken: the two first kinds were called Divisory; the Third, Divinatory, and unto one of these three all may be reduced, all which kinds, howsoever they may seem chanceful, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*: *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And in like sort fell the Kingdom of Israel on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gave *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himself in modesty, as both *Josephus* construe it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himself the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* inlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the chosen King of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and prayed for him; yet some there were that envied his glory (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents, as the manner was, of whom *Saul*, to avoyd sedition, took no notice.

* The *Urim* and *Thummim* in the ornaments of the High Priest, were inserted within the pectoral, which therefore was *duplicatum*: they were placed in the pectoral over against the heart of the High Priest. It is plain that they were not the precious stones, nor any thing made by the Artificers. See *Exo.* 38. 1. *Cic de divin Pausan in Mes.* 1 *Sam.* 10.

§. III.

Of the establishing of Saul *by his first victory.*

NO sooner was *Saul* placed in the Kingdom, but that he received knowledge that *Nahas* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to besiege *Jabes Gilead*: which nation since the great overthrow given them by *Jephta*, never durst attempt any thing upon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did always attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the *Amorite*, and then *Israel* dispossest them of; which they made the ground of their invasion in *Jephta's* time, yet they never perswaded themselves of more advantage then at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly, they were remembred that the *Philistims* had not long before slain 34000. of their men of War: and besides had used great care and policy that they should have no Smiths to make them swords or spears: neither was it long before, that of the *Bethshemesites*, and places adjoyning, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000. and therefore in these respects, even occasion it self invited them to inlarge their Dominions upon their borderers: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the neareſt. Besides it may further be conjectured, that the *Ammonites* were imboldened against *Jabes Gilead*, in respect of their weakness: since the *Israelites* destroyed a great part of them, for not joyning with them against the *Benjamites*: at which time they did not only slaughter the *Jud.* 11.

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men and male children, but took from them their young women, and gave them to the *Benjamites:* and therefore they were not likely to have been increaſed to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themſelves of this great calamity, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himſelf with the opinion, that *Iſrael*, having for long time been diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, was not apt to ſuccour thoſe whom they had ſo deeply wounded and deſtroyed. But contrariwiſe, when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would give them no other condition to ranſome themſelves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they ſhould be utterly diſabled for the War, as elſewhere hath been ſpoken: *Saul*, both to value himſelf in his firſt years reign, and becauſe perchance he was deſcended of one of thoſe 400. Maids taken from the *Gileadites*, and given to the *Benjamites*, gave order to aſſemble the forces of *Iſrael*, hewing a yoak of Oxen into pieces, and ſending them by meſſengers over all the coaſts, proteſting thus: *That whoſoever came not forth after* Saul, *and after* Samuel; *ſo ſhould his Oxen be ſerved:* threatning the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the firſt. Seven days had *Saul* to aſſemble an Armie, by reaſon that the *Gileadites* had obtained the reſpite of theſe ſeven days to give *Nahas* the *Ammonite* an anſwer: who, could they have obtained any reaſonable condition, were contented to have ſevered themſelves from *Iſrael*, and to become Vaſſals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the mean while *Saul* aſſembled the forces which repaired unto him at *Bezec*, near *Jordan*, that he might readily paſs the river; which done, he might in one day with a ſpeedy march arrive at *Jabes*, under the Hills of *Gilead*. 1 Sam 11. 8.

The army by *Saul* led, conſiſting of three hundred and thirty thouſand, he returned an anſwer to thoſe of *Jabes*, that they ſhould aſſure themſelves of ſuccour by the next day at noon. For, as it ſeemeth, *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, & went on all night; for in the morning watch he ſurprized the army of *Nahas* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might ſet on them on all ſides, he divided his forces into three parts, putting them to the ſword untill the heat of the day, and the wearineſs of *Sauls* troop inforced them to give over the purſuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careleſs and ſecure, in that thoſe of *Jabes* promiſed the next morning to render themſelves and their City to their mercy. After this happy ſucceſs, the people were ſo far in love with their new King, that they would have ſlain all thoſe *Iſraelites* that murmured againſt his election, had not himſelf forbidden and reſiſted their reſolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent lovers of the proſperous, and baſe Vaſſals of the time that flouriſheth; and as deſpightful and cruel without cauſe againſt thoſe, whom any miſadventure, or other worldly accident hath thrown down.

After the Army removed, *Samuel* ſummoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and, as ſome Commenters affirm, anointed King: and here *Samuel* uſed an exhortation to all the aſſembly, containing precepts, and a rehearſal of his own Juſtice, during the beginning of his government to that day, after *Saul* had now reigned one year before he was eſtabliſhed in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, he ſtrengthned himſelf with a good guard of 3000. choſen men, of which he aſſigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his ſon at *Gibeah*, the City of his nativity: the reſt he kept about his own perſon in *Micmas*, and in the Hill of *Bethel*. 1 Sam. 13. 1 Sam 13.

§. IV.

Of Sauls *diſobedience in his proceedings in the Wars with the Philiſtims and Amalekites, which cauſed his final rejection.*

JOnathan with his ſmall Army or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, ſurprized a Gartiſon of *Philiſtims*: the ſame, as ſome think, which *Saul* paſt by, when he came from *Rama*, when he was firſt anointed by *Samuel*, which they think to have been *Cariath-jearim*: becauſe a place where the *Philiſtims* had a Garriſon. 1 *Sam:* 10. is called the hill of God, which they underſtand of *Cariath-jearim*: but *Junius* underſtands this Garriſon to have been at *Gebah* in *Benjamin* near *Gibha*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thouſand followers. Howſoever, by this it appeareth that the *Philiſtims* held ſome ſtrong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territory of *Iſrael:* and now being greatly inraged by this ſurprize, they aſſembled thirty thouſand armed Chariots, and ſix thouſand Horſe, wherewith they invaded *Judæa*, and incamped at *Machmas* or *Michmas*, a City of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Hieruſalem*, and in the middeſt of the Land between the Sea and *Jordan*. With this ſudden invaſion the *Iſraelites* were ſtrucken in ſo great a fear, as ſome of them hid themſelves in the caves of the Mountains; others fled over *Jordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himſelf with ſome 2000. men of ordinary, and many other peo- 1 Sam. 13. 5.

ple,

ple, ſtaid at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not far from the paſſage of *Joſhua* when he led *Iſrael* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the comming of *Samuel* ſeven days: but when the laſt day was in part ſpent, and that *Saul* percieved his forces to diminiſh greatly, he preſumed (as ſome expound the place, 1 *Sam.* 13. 9.) to exerciſe the office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt offering, and a peace offering unto God, contrary to the *Eccleſiaſtical* Laws of the *Hebrews*, and *Gods* Commandments: others expound the word *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per Sacerdotem*, and ſo make the ſin of *Saul* not to have been any intruſion into the Prieſts office, but firſt a diſobedience to Gods Commandment, in not ſtaying according to the appointment, 1 *Sam.* 10. 8. ſecondly, a deffidence or miſtruſt in Gods help, and too great relying upon the ſtrength of the people, whoſe departing from him he could not bear patiently; and laſtly, a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the help which the prayers of ſo godly a man might procure him. But whatſoever was his ſin, notwithſtanding his excuſes, he was by *Samuel* reprehended moſt ſharply, in terms unfitting his eſtate, had not extraordinary warrant been given to *Samuel* ſo to do, from God himſelf; at which time alſo *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdom ſhould be conferred to another (a man after Gods own heart) both from *Saul* and his poſterity.

1 Sam 13.

Perſ 14.

After this, *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when he had taken view of his army, found it to conſiſt of 600. men: for the moſt were fled from him and ſcattered, yea and among thoſe that ſtaid, there was not any that had either ſword or ſpear, but *Saul* and his ſon *Jonathan* onely. For the *Philiſtims* had not left them any *Smith* in all *Iſrael*, that made weapons; beſides, they that came to *Saul*, came haſtily, and left ſuch weapons and armour as they had behind them in their garriſons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* ſhould be able the year before, or in ſome part of this very year, to ſuccour *Jabes Gilead* with 300. and thirty thouſand men, if there had not now been any iron weapon to defend themſelves withall, ſave onely in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his ſon. But howſoever, all the reſt of the people were formerly diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, and all thoſe crafts-men carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Iſraelites* onely files to ſharpen & amend ſuch ſtuff as ſerved for the Plough, and for nought elſe: yet that they had ſome kind of arms, it is manifeſt, or elſe they durſt not have attempted upon the *Philiſtims* as they did. And it is not ſaid in the Text that there was not any ſword in all *Iſrael*, but onely that there was not any found amongſt thoſe 600. ſouldiers which ſtayed with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it ſeemeth that when *Samuel* had ſharply reprehended *Saul*, that his own guards forſook him, having but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinary ſouldiers, and of all the reſt that repaired unto him, of which many were fled from him before *Samuel* arrived.

1 Sam 13. 21.

1 Sam. 13. 19.

With this ſmall troop he held himſelf to his own City of *Gibeah*, as a place of more ſtrength, and better aſſured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obſcure how it ſhould come to paſs that the *Philiſtims* ſhould thus diſarm the moſt part of the *Iſraelites*, howſoever in the time of *Samuel* much had been done againſt them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by ſword or ſpear, but by thunder from Heaven: and when theſe craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Iſrael*, no marvel if they could not in a ſhort peace under *Samuel* be replanted again. For this tyranny of the *Philiſtims* is to be underſtood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Samuel*: and yet under him is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not ſuffering their Artificers to teach the *Iſraelites*, and ſo even to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any ſtore of armour. The ſame policy did *Nebuchodonoſor* uſe after his Conqueſt in *Judæa*: *Dioniſius* in *Sicily*, & many other Princes elſe-where in all ages. But theſe loſt weapons in part the *Iſraelites* might repair in *Gilead*, for over *Jordan* the *Philiſtims* had not invaded. The reſt of their defences were ſuch as antiquity uſed, and their preſent neceſſity miniſtred unto them, to wit, clubs, bows, and ſlings. For the *Benjamites* exceeded in caſting ſtones in ſlings: and that theſe were the natural weapons, and the firſt of all nations, it is manifeſt; and ſo in the firſt of *Chronicles* the 12. Chapter, it is written of thoſe that came to ſuccour *David* againſt *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, *That they were weaponed with bowes, and could uſe the right and the left hand with ſtones*, and with a ſling it was that *David* himſelf ſlew the Gyant *Goliah*.

While the State of *Iſrael* ſtood in theſe hard terms, the *Philiſtims* having parted their army into three troops, that they might ſpoil and deſtroy many parts at once, *Jonathan*, ſtrengthened by *God*, and followed with his Eſquire only, ſcaled a mountain, whereon a company of *Philiſtims* were lodged: the reſt of their army (as may be gathered by the

1 Sam. 14. 12.

the success) being encamped in the plain adjoyning. And though he were discovered before he came to the hill top, and in a kind of derision, called up by his enemies: yet he so behaved himself, as with the assistance of God he slew 20. of the first *Philistims* that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarm, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, fear, and jealousie, they slaughtered one another in stead of enemies: whereupon those *Hebrews* which became of their party, because they feared to be spoiled by them, took the advantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly, *Saul* himself taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Israelites* that shrouded themselves in Mount *Ephraim*, set upon them, and
1 Sam. 14. obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that propheſie in *Deuteronomy* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, *That one of those which feared God, should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand.*

This done, the small Army of *Israel* made retreat from the pursuit. And although *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the evening, yet his son *Jonathan*, being infeebled with extream labour and emptiness, tasted a drop of honey in his passage: for which *Saul* his father would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty.

The late miraculous victory of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, seems to have reduced unto the *Philistims* remembrance their former overthrow, likewise miraculous in the daies of *Samuel*; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the mean while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, under-
1 Sam. 14. took by turns all his bordering enemies; namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, against all which he prevailed. He then assembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000. men, and receiving the commandement of God by *Samuel*, he invaded *Amalec*, wasting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desart* belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Havilah* towards *Tigris* unto *Shur*, which bordereth *Egypt*; in which war he took *Agag* their King prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all attempted *Israel*, when they left *Ægypt* in
Exod. 17. *Moses* time: he notwithstanding did not only spare the life of *Agag*, but reserved the best of the beasts, and spoil of the Country, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the living God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know that God would cast him from his royal estate, to which he was raised when he was of base condition, and, as the Text hath it, *little in his own eyes.* And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Samuel*, had there been no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how severely it pleased God to enjoyn the *Israelites* to revenge themselves upon that Nation, he was in all unexcusable. For God had commanded that the *Israelites* Deut. 25. 15. *should put out the remembrance of Amalec from under heaven.* For the cruelty which the predecessors of this *Agag* used against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were overwearied, faint, sick, and aged people, was now to be revenged on him, and his Nation, above 400. years afterward; and now he was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himself having also sinned in the same kind, as these words of *Samuel* witness: *As thy sword hath made other women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among other women*; at which time 1 Sam. 15. 33. *Samuel* himself (after he had been by many bootless intreaties perswaded to stay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and soon after he departed to *Ramath, and came no more to see* Saul *until the day of his death.*

§. V.

Of the occurrents between the rejection of Saul *and his death.*

NOw while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to choose a King for *Israel*, among the sons of *Ishai*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to perform, till it pleased God to direct him, how he might avoid both the suspition, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wisdom he sought to avoid the inconveniences or dangers of this life: then do these men mistake the nature of his divine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath given them, do no otherwise avoid the perils and dangers thereof, than as men stupified in the opinion of fate or destiny, neglecting either to beg counsel at Gods hands by prayer, or to exercise that wisdom or foresight, wherewith God hath enriched the mind of man for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerful God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant)

disdain here to instruct *Samuel*, to avoid the fury of *Saul*, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the sons of *Ishai*, *Samuel*, by God directed, made choice of *David*, the youngest, having refused *Eliab*, the first born: who though he were a man of a comely person & great strength; yet unto such outward appearance, the Lord had no respect. For as it
1 Sam. 10. is written, *God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* He also refusing the other six brethren, made choice of one whom his father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock; for of him the *Lord said to* Samuel, *Arise and anoint him, for this is he:* which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this that *Saul* began to seek the life of *David:* in which bloody mind he continued till he died, overcome in battel by the *Philistims*.

The *Philistims* having well considered (as it seems) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilst they had sitten still and forborn to give impediment to his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new trial of their fortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs, which they had done to *Israel*, might be repaied with advantage, if ever opportunity should serve their often injured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the quality of their Souldiers, and all warlike provisions, the *Philistims* had reason to think themselves equal, if not superiour to *Israel*. The success of their former wars had, for the most part, been agreeable to their own wishes: as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisdom, impute them to second causes; as to a tempest happning by chance, and to a mistaken alarm, whereby their Army, possessed with a needless fear, had fallen to rout. Having therefore mustered their forces, and taken the field, encamping so neer to the Army, which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the trial of a battel, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joyning in gross, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to pass the Valley that lay between their Camps. Just causes of fear they had on both sides; especially the *Philistims*, whose late attempts had been confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any stroak from heaven were to be feared. *Goliah* of *Gath*, a strong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man, undertook to defie the whole Hoste of *Israel*, provoking them with despightful words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the party vanquished in Champion, should hold it self as overcome in gross, and become vassal unto the other. This gave occasion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had annointed, to make a famous entrance into publique notice of the people. For no man durst expose himself to encounter the great strength of *Goliah*, until *David* (sent by his father of an errand to the Camp) accepted the combat, and obtained the victory, without other arms, offensive or defensive, than a sling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty Giant, and after with his own Sword strook off his head. Hereupon the *Philistims*, who should have yielded themselves as subjects to the Conquerour, according to the covenant on their own side propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered even to their own gates. By this victory the *Philistims* were not so broken, that either any of their Towns were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the Territories of *Israel*. But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victory, fell into the grievous indignation of his Master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well-deserving. For after such time as the spirit of God departed from *Saul*, and came upon *David*, he then became a cruel Tyrant, 1 Sam. 16. 13.
faithless, and irreligious. Because the High Priest *Abimelech* fed *David* in his necessity with hallowed bread, and armed him with a sword of his own conquest, taken from *Goliah*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murthered this *Abimelech* and 85. Priests of *Nob*, but also he destroyed the City, *and smote with the edge of the sword both man and* 1 Sam. 22. 18.
woman, both child and suckling, both Ox and Ass, and Sheep. And he that had compassion on *Agag* the Amalekite, who was an enemy to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his Cattel, contrary to the Commandement and Ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercy in store for the innocent, for the Lords servants, the Priests
1 Sam. 14. 23. of *Israel*. Yea, he would have slain his own son *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *Davids* innocency; as also once before for tasting the honey, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers unreasonable commination. The companions of cruelty are breach of faith towards men, and impiety towards God. The former he shewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had promised

promiſed him; and again in taking her away from him to whom he had given her: alſo in that when as *David* had twice ſpared his life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice ſworn to do him no hurt, and confeſſed his errours, yet he ſought ſtill to deſtroy him by all the means he could. His impiety towards God he ſhewed, in that he ſought counſel of the Witch of *Endor*, which was the laſt preparative for his deſtruction. For whereas when he ſought counſel from God, he had been alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Devil this ſucceſs followed, that both himſelf, and his three ſons, with his neareſt and faithful ſervants, were all ſlaughtered by the *Philiſtims*: his body vvith the bodies of his ſons (as a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour) were hung over the vvalls of *Bethſan*; and there had remained till they had found burial in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the grateful *Gileadites* of *Jabes* ſtoln their carcaſſes thence, and interred them. This vvas the end of *Saul*, after he had governed *Iſrael*, together vvith *Samuel*, 40. years, and by himſelf after *Samuel* 20. years, according to *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, and *Joſephus*. But yet it ſeemeth to me, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long: For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is vvritten, that *Samuel* died; and in the reſt of the ſame chapter, the paſſages are written of *David*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after vvhich the death of *Saul* quickly enſued.

Act 13. 21. *Cedren. pa.* 69. *Theoph. l.* 3 *p.* 2. *Joſeph. l.* 28.

An exceeding valiant man he vvas, and gave a fair entrance to all thoſe victories vvhich *David* afterward obtained: for he had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring Nations; cruſht the *Syrians*, and their adherents; broken the ſtrength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly vvaſted the power and pride of the *Philiſtims*.

§. VI.

Of ſuch as lived with Samuel *and* Saul; *of* Hellen, *and* Hercules, *and of their iſſues: upon occaſion of the* Dores, *with the* Heraclidæ, *entring* Peloponneſus *about this time.*

IN the ſecond year of *Samuel*, according to *Euſebius*, was *David* born: after *Codoman*, later, and in the ninth year: after *Bunting*, in the tenth. For *David*, ſaith he, vvas thirty years old vvhen he began to reign: vvhence it followeth, that he vvas born in the tenth of the forty years, which are given to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleventh year of *Samuel*, *Æneas Silvius* the ſon of *Poſthumus* began his reign over the Latines in *Alba*, who governed that State one and thirty years. There are who place before him *Latinus Silvius*, as brother to *Poſthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Æneas*, and fourth King of *Alba*, whereof I will not ſtand to diſpute. In the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Dercilas* ſate in the Throne of *Aſſyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire forty years. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponneſus*, and at once with the *Heraclidæ*, who then led and commanded the Nation, poſſeſt a great part thereof, 328. years before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratoſthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently poſſeſſed by three Tribes or Kindreds, *viz.* the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes*, of *Hellen* the ſon of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Country of *Pthiotis* in *Theſſaly*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea, and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the Inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till ſuch time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the Plantation of many *Colonies*, and ſundry great victories obtained, the iſſues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Country under their obedience, calling themſelves generally by one name, and yet every ſeveral Nation after ſome one of the poſterity of *Hellen*, who had raigned over it. And becauſe this is the fartheſt antiquity of *Greece*, it will not be amiſs to recount the Pedegree of her firſt planters.

Japetus (as the Poets fable) was the ſon of Heaven and Earth, ſo accounted, either becauſe the names of his Parents had in the Greek tongue ſuch ſignification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Aſtronomy* & *Philoſophy*.

Japetus begat *Prometheus*, and *Ephimetheus*: of whom all men have read that have read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*; and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*; *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* reigned in *Theſſaly*, which was then called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretenſis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the Queen. In *Deucalions* time was that great floud, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whoſe ſons were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Æolus*: of *Dorus* and *Æolus* the *Dores* and *Æolians* had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bœotia*. The *Dores* having firſt inhabited ſundry parts of *Theſſaly*, did afterward ſeat themſelves about *Parnaſſus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedæmon*: *Xuthus* the eldeſt ſon of *Hellen*, being baniſhed by his brethren, for having diverted from them to his own uſe ſome part of their Fathers goods, came to *Athens*: where marrying the Daughter of King *Erictheus*, he begat on her two ſons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of theſe two, *Achæus*, for a ſlaughter by him committed, fled into *Peloponneſus*:

ponneſus: and ſeating himſelf in *Laconia*, gave name to that region: from whence (as ſome write) he afterwards departed; and levying an Army, recovered the Kingdom of his Grand-father in *Theſſalie*.

Ion being General for the *Athenians* when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtain a great Victory, and thereby ſuch love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He divided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing every one to ſome occupation, or good courſe of life. When the people multiplied, he planted *Colonies* in *Sycionia*, then called *Ægialos* or *Ægialia:* In which Country *Solinus* then reigning, thought it ſafer to give his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heir, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Town called by his Wives name in *Ægialia*, where he and his poſterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gave to that Land denomination. But in after times the *Dores* aſſiſting the Nephews of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponneſus*, and overcomming the *Achæans*, poſſeſſed *Laconia*, and all thoſe parts which the *Achæi*, had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achæi* driven to ſeek a new ſeat, came unto the *Ionες*, deſiring to inhabit *Ægialia* with them, and alleged in vain, that *Ion* and *Achæus* had been brethren. When this requeſt could not be obtained, they ſought by force to expel the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they loſt their King *Tiſamenes*, the ſon of *Oreſtes*, in that War.

Thus were the *Ionες* driven out of *Peloponneſus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they ſailed into *Aſia*, and peopled the Weſtern coaſt thereof; on which they built twelve Cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the leaſt without any univerſal or memorable tranſmigration. This expedition of the *Ionες* into *Aſia* hath been mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. years after the War of *Troy*, and 60. years after the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*. Theſe *Heraclidæ* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* iſſued; which race held that Kingdom about 700. years. Of their Father *Hercules* many ſtrange things are delivered unto us by the Poets, of which ſome are like to have been true, others perhaps muſt be allegorically underſtood. But the moſt approved Writers think that there were many called *Hercules*, all whoſe exploits were by the *Greeks* aſcribed to the ſon of *Alcmena*, who is ſaid to have performed theſe 12. great labours.

Firſt he ſlew the *Nemæan* Lyon: ſecondly, he ſlew the ſerpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: the third was the overtaking a very ſwift Hart: the fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which hanted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadia:* the fifth was the cleanſing of *Augias* his Oxe-ſtall in one day, which he performed by turning the River *Alpheus* into it: the ſixt was the chaſing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalis* the ſeventh was the fetching a Bull from *Crete:* the eighth was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane fleſh: the ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queen* of the *Amazons:* the three laſt were, to fetch *Gerion*'s Beeves from *Gades*; the golden Apples of the *Heſperides*; and *Cerberus* from Hell. The *Mythological* interpretation of theſe I purpoſely omit, as both over-long to be here ſet down, and no leſs perplexed than the labours themſelves. For ſome by *Hercules* underſtand Fortitude, Prudence, and Conſtancy, interpreting the Monſters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the *Sun*, and his travels to be the twelve ſignes of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his Works hiſtorically to their own conceits; as well aſſured, that the expoſition cannot have more unlikelihood, than the fables. That he took *Elis*, *Pylus*, *Oechalia*, and other Towns, being aſſiſted by ſuch as either admired his vertues, or were beholding unto him; Alſo that he ſlew many Theeves and Tyrants, I take to be truely written, without addition of Poetical vanity. His travels through moſt part of the World, are, or may ſeem, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But ſure it is that many Cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that he (bending all his endeavours to the common good) delivered the Land from much oppreſſion. But after his death, no City of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the vertue and deſerts of *Hercules*, with conſtant protection of his Children, perſecuted by the King *Euryſtheus*. This *Euryſtheus* was Son of *Sthenelus*, and grand-child of *Perſeus*; he reigned in *Mycenæ*, the mightieſt City then in *Greece*. He it was that impoſed thoſe hard tasks upon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madneſs he had committed upon his own children; but as others ſay, becauſe he was his Subject and Servant: wherefore there are who commend *Euryſtheus* for employing the ſtrength of *Hercules* to ſo good a purpoſe. But it is ſo generally agreed by the beſt Writers, that *Hercules* was alſo of the

the ſtock of *Perſeus*, and holden in great jealouſie by *Euryſtheus* becauſe of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous ſervices, wherein he was imployed, ſo that he grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many Wives and Concubines above threeſcore Children. Theſe Children *Euryſtheus* would fain have got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled unto *Ceyx* King of *Thracinia*, and from him (for he durſt not withſtand *Euryſtheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not only gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they encountred *Euryſteus*. *Idolaus* the brothers ſon of *Hercules*, who had aſſiſted him in many of his travels, was Captain of the *Heraclidæ*. It is ſaid of him, that being dead he obtained leave of *Pluto* to live again till he might revenge the injuries done by *Euryſtheus:* whom when he had ſlain in battel, he died again. It ſeems to me, that whereas he had led Colonies into *Sicily*, and abode there a long time forgotten: he came again into *Greece* to aſſiſt his Couſins, and afterwards returned back. When the *Peloponneſians* underſtood that *Euryſtheus* was ſlain, they took *Atreus* the Son of *Pelops* to their King: for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the People. Againſt him the *Heraclidæ* marched under *Hyllus*, the ſon of *Hercules*. But to avoid effuſion of bloud, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* ſhould fight with *Echenus* King of the *Tegeatæ*, a people of *Arcadia*, who aſſiſted *Atreus*; with condition, that if *Hyllus* were Victor, he ſhould peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwiſe the *Heraclidæ* ſhould not enter *Peloponneſus* in an hundred years. In that combat *Hyllus* was ſlain, and the *Heraclidæ* compelled to forbear their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under *Ariſtodemus* (as the beſt authority doth ſhew, though ſome have ſaid, that they came under the conduct of his Children) and brought with them the *Dores* whom they planted in that Country, as is before ſhewed, having expelled the *Achæi*, over whom the iſſue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Euryſtheus* four generations.

§. VII.

Of Homer *and* Heſiod, *and many changes in the World, that happened about this Age.*

ABout this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* lived, as many of the beſt *Chronologers* affirm. He was by race of the *Æoles*, deſcended (as *Funcius* imagineth) of *Beroſus* his *Anamæon*, who gave name to that people. But this *Funcius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to have been long after theſe times, raſhly framing his *Æra* according to (a) *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes ſeven more of this name to have flouriſhed in divers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, ſprang the diverſity of opinions, both of the time, and of the native City of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Funcius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manaſſe* King of *Juda*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Meleſigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, becauſe blind men follow a guide, which ſignification among others, is in the Verb ὁμηρεῖν: for this *Homer* in his later time was blind. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the queſtion of the time when *Homer* lived. So alſo (b) *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Aſſyrius* in his Oration *ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flouriſhed 950. years before the *Conſulſhip* of *Marcus Vinutius:* which *Mercator* caſteth up in the Worlds year 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260. years: and about 250. years before the building of *Rome*; making him to have flouriſhed about the time of *Jehoſaphat* King of *Juda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* & *Tatianus* above named, mention Authors that make him much antienter. The difference of which Authors in this point is not unworthy the Readers conſideration, that by this one inſtance he may gheſſe of the difficulty, and ſo pardon the errours in the computations of ancient time: ſeeing in ſuch diverſity of opinions a man may hardly find out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gave being to *Homer* about 80. years after *Troy* taken, near the time that the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponneſus:* and * *Eratoſtenes* after *Troy* 100. years. *Theopompus* 500. years after the Army of *Greece* ſailed into *Phrygia* for the War of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporary with *Gyges*, who began to reign in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. years after *Rome* was built) and *Soſibius* ſaith, that he was 90. years before the firſt *Olympiad:* which he ſeeks to prove by the times of *Charillus* and his ſon *Nicander*. *Philechorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy:* *Ariſtarchus* 140. in the time of the ſeating of the *Colonies* in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirms that he lived while *Ageſilaus* governed *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young years, about 100. years after the *Ionian* plantations, came to viſit him, near 240. years after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* finds *Homer* flouriſhing 622. years before *Xerxes* enterpriſe

Funcii Chro fol. 11 col. D.

(a) This Author ſet out with *Beroſus* and others, firſt at *Baſil*, and after with *Fryer Annius* his Comment at *Antwerp*, is *incertæ fidei*.

Nuncler. f. 147. placeth *Homer* in the 32. generation in the time of *Samuel*.

* *Seromatum, l. 5.*

(b) *Noc. Attic. l. 3. c. 11. item. l. 17. c. 21.*

* As both *Cle. Alex.* and *Tatian Aſſyr.* report his opinion *Rerum Phil. 43. Roſ. in diſc. temporum. Phil. in com. in Archilog.*

Her. in vita Ho.

terprise against the *Grecians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168. years after the *Trojan* War. *Eusebius* seems to make him to have been about the time of *Joas* King of *Juda*, 124. years before *Rome* built: though elsewhere in his *Chronology* he notes that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other Ages. In his *Evangelical* Preparation, where out of *Tatianus Assyrius* he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* lived, he reckoneth many other *Greek* Writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Phemius*, *Aristæus*, *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Thamyras*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. *Aulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirm, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the Historian, make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaves it uncertain which of these learned Fablers was first born: but he finds that they lived together some certain years, wherein he confirms himself by an *Epigram*, written upon a Trevit, and left by *Hesiod* in *Helicon*.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both lived 160. years before *Rome* built: while the *Silvii* reigned in *Alba*, about (a) 140. years after the fall of *Troy*. (b) *Euthymenes* finds them both 200. years after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acastus* the son of *Pelias*, King of *Thessaly*. For my self, I am not much troubled when this Poet lived; neither would I offend the Reader with these opinions, but only to shew the uncertainty, and disagreement of Historians, aswel in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For, the curiosity of this mans age is no less ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his *Iliads* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing some great mystery. In derision whereof *Lucian* feigning himself to have been in Hell, and to have spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he began his book with that word: who answered, That he began in that sort, because it came in his head so to do.

Not. Arric. l. 3. c. 11

Var. de imag. l. 1. Nep. in Chron. Cass l. 1. annal.

(a) This number *Mercator* corrects and reads 240. for it. (b) *Euthy. in Clr. apud. Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.*

It seemeth that *Senyes*, or, after *Macrobius*, *Senemires* ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tanephersobris* was his Successour, who preceded *Vaphres*, Father in law to *Solomon*.

About the end of *Sauls* government, or in the beginning of *Davids* time, according to *Cassiodorus*, the *Amazones* with the *Cymerians* invaded *Asia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italy*. And besides the overthrow of that Famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103. years before *David*'s time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the World, not only by reason of those Northern Nations: but there sprung up somewhat nearly together, six Kingdoms into greatness, not before erected. In *Italy* that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*, those of *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achæi*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Soba*, and *Damascus*, the *Adads* made themselves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the Kings of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the State of the *Israelites* having now altered the Form of Government, began to flourish under Kings, of which *David*, in a few years, became master of all those neighbouring Nations, who by enterchange of times had subjected the *Judæans*, corrupted their Religion, and held them under in a most abject and grievous slavery; to wit, the *Edumæans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Ituræans*, and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistims*, *Jebusites*, *Geshurites*, *Macathites*; all which acknowledged *David* for their Soveraign Lord, and paid him tribute.

Euseb & Cass. in Chron.

CHAP. XVII.
Of DAVID.

§. I.
Of Davids *estate in the time of* Saul.

THE hazzards which *David* ran into while he was yet only designed King, and lived as a private man, expecting the Empire, were very many. The first personal act of Fame, was his killing of *Goliah* in the view of both Armies, whereby he became known to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Jonathan* the son of *Saul*, that he loved him as his own soul: Insomuch as when *Saul* sought to perswade his son that *David* would assuredly be the ruine of his house, and

and estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause; *Jonathan* could never be perswaded, never forc'd, nor ever wearied from the care of *David*'s life, and well doing. It was not long after this signal act of *David*, but that *Saul* became exceeding jealous of him, though he were become as his houshold servant, and his Esquire, or Armour-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an evil spirit, was advised to procure some cunning Musician to play before him upon the Harp; whereby it was thought that he might find ease; which came to pass accordingly. He entertained *David* for this purpose, and began to favour him, giving him a place of command among the men of War. But the jealous Tyrant soon waxed weary of his good affection, and sought to kill *David*, being thereunto moved only through envy of his Vertue. This passion, first brake forth in the midst of his raving fit, at which time he threw a spear at *David* that was then playing on his Harp to do him ease.

Cens. c. 12. & 14. *Censorinus* remembreth one *Asclepius* a Physician, who practised the curing of the Frenzy, by the like Musick: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a kind of harmony, *Seneca*, in his third book of Anger witnesseth. But the madness of *Saul* came from the cause of causes: and was thereby incurable, howsoever it sometimes left him, and yielded unto that Musick, which God had ordained to be a mean of more good to the Musician than to the King.

Saul having failed in such open attempts, gave unto *David* the command over 1000. Souldiers to confront the *Philistims* withall. For he durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, he promised him his Daughter *Merab* to Wife: but having married her to *Adriel*, he gave to *David* his younger Daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philistims*: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that Nation) that the *Philistims* would take *David*'s head, than he their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now *David*'s Victories begat new fears and jealousies in *Saul*, he practised with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his own hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murther him in his own house, but *Michol* his Wife delivered him. So *David* sought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being *1 Sam. 19.* pursued by *Saul*, fled thence unto *Nob* in *Benjamin*, to *Abimeleck*, then to *Achis* the *Philistim*, Prince of *Geth*: where to obscure himself, he was forc'd to counterfeit both simplicity and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistims*, he covered himself in the *Cave of Adullam*: and after conveying such of his Kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himself in the *1 Sam. 24.* *desarts of Ziph*, *Maon*, and the Hils of *Engaddi*, where he cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the *desart of Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired *1 Sam 29.* to *Achis of Geth* the second time, and was kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred *Jansen. in psal.* with which his Master *Saul* was known to prosecute him.

Of *Achis David* obtained * *Siglag* in *Simeon*, pretending to invade *Judæa*: but he bent his forces another way, and strook the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israel*, letting none live to complain upon him. *Achis* supposing that *David* had drawn bloud of his own Nation, thought himself assured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Israel*, summoneth *David* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himself to *Siglag*. At his return he found the Town burnt, his two Wives, with the Wives and Children of his people, taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his followers mutined, but God gave him comfort, and assurance to recover all again: which he did.

* It seemeth that *Simeon* never obtained *Siglag* till this time, for it is said in the 1 of *Sam.* c. 27. v. 6. therefore *Siglag* pertaineth unto the King of *Juda* unto this day.

This Army of the *Philistims* commanded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three sons were slain. The newes, with *Saul*'s Crown and Bracelets, were brought to *David* at *Siglag*, in his return from being victorious over *Amaleck*, by a *2 Sam. 1.* man of the same Nation, who avowed (though falsly) that himself at *Saul*'s request had slain him. *David*, because he had accused himself, made no scruple to cause him to be slain at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gave strong evidence withal. Otherwise it followeth not that every man ought to be believed of himself to his own prejudice. For it is held in the law; *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscentis. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unless some other proof inform the conscience of the Judge.* For a man may confess those things of himself, that the Judge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the *In F. de quæst. l. 1.*

title

title *de custodia reorum l. si confessus*, & *in cap. de pœnis l. qui sententiam*, therefore doth the Glos reconcile these two places in this sort: *Si quis in judicio sponte de seipso confiteatur*, & *postea maneat in confessione, id est satis. If any man in judgement do confess of himself, of his own accord, and after doth persevere in his confession, it is enough.* That *David* greatly bewailed *Saul*, it is not improbable; for death cutteth asunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befel him being a King, with whom in effect the strength of *Israel* also fell, could not but stir up sorrow, and move compassion in the heart of *David*.

The victory which the *Philistims* had gotten, was so great, that some Towns of the *Israelites*, even beyond the river of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and left unto the enemy, who took possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seem strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious as were the *Philistims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seek to make the Conquest entire. Most like it seems, that the civil war immediately breaking out between *David* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Juda* was divided from the rest of *Isreal*, gave them hope of an easie victory over both; and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present, lest by so doing they should enforce their disegreeing enemies to a necessary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which means both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

§. II.

Of the beginning of Davids *reign, and the war made by* Abner *for* Isboseth.

After the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the War, sought to advance *Isboseth* (or *Jebostus*, according to *Josephus*) though he had no right to the Kingdom of *Israel*: for *Mephiboseth* the first son of *Jonathan* lived. Against this *Abner* and *Isboseth*, *David* made a defensive war, till *Abner* past *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Juda*; at which time he sent *Joab* with such forces as he had, to resist *Abner*: *Isboseth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *David* in *Hebron*. The armies encountred each other near *Gibeon*, where it seemeth that *Abner* made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that combate between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Argives*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were only left unslain. The like tryal by a far less number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliah* the *Philistim* made, whom *David* slew: a custom very antient. *Edward* the third offered the like tryal in his own person to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelve chosen of each part, in this war of *David* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, so many of *Benjamin*, and as many of *Juda*: whose force and valour was so equal, as there survived not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrel staid not here, for the Army of *Juda* prest *Abner* in gross, and brake him. Three hundred and sixty men of *Abners* companions were slain, and but twenty of *Juda*; whereof *Asahel* the brother of *Joab* was one: who when he would needs pursue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perswasions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turn upon him, wounded him to death with the stroak of his spear. For though *Asahel* were an excellent foot-man, and, as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild *Roe*, and as *Josephus* reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horses; and hoped to have gotten great fame if he could have mastered *Abner* (who, as *Asahel* perswaded himself, had by being overthrown, and flying away, lost his courage) yet here it fell out true, *That the race is not to the swift.* 2 Sam. 2. Eccles. 9.

That this civil war lasted two years, we find it written in the second of *Samuel*, the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is again made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbines* conceive that *Isboseth* had then reigned two years, when this was written, the War as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Isboseth* after this, and till such time as there grew jealousie between him and *Isboseth* for *Sauls* Concubine: neither did the death of *Isboseth* instantly follow; but how long after the murther of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appear. Verse 10.

§. III.

Of the death of Abner *slain by* Joab, *and of* Isboseth *by* Rechab *and* Baanah.

Abner, reconciled to *David*, was anon by *Joab* murdered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *Davids* Favour, and in the commandment of his forces; by which 2 Sam. 3. 27

which he was grown ſo powerfull, as *David* forbare to call him to account: for thus much he confeſſeth of himſelf; *I am this day weak, and theſe men, the Sons of* Zerviah, *be too hard for me.* In this ſort *David* complained after *Abners* death; and to make it clear that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publike imprecation; *Let the blood fall on the head of* Joab, *and on all his fathers houſe: and let them be ſubject to ulcers, to the leproſie, to lameneſs, to the ſword, and to poverty, &c.* For could any thing have withſtood the ordinance of God, this murther committed by *Joab* might greatly have indangered *Davids* eſtate, *Abner* being the mouth and truſt of all the reſt of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This miſchance therefore *David* openly bewailed, ſo that all *Iſrael* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being general of the men of war, was of ſuch importance, that the Kings themſelves were fain to give them great reſpect, as hath been already ſhewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the army of *Juda*, and thought himſelf worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtain the whole Kingdom. For he was near to *David* in kindred, and had been partaker of all his adverſity; wherefore he did not think it meet, that an old enemy ſhould in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature ſo jealous of his dignity and place, that he afterward ſlew *Amaſa* his own kinſman, and the Kings, upon the ſame quarrel, taking it in high diſdain to ſee him joyned with himſelf as captain of the hoſt of *Juda*; much leſs could he brook a ſuperiour; and ſuch a one as had ſlain his brother, and been beaten himſelf, in battel. But howſoever *Joab* did hate or deſpiſe *Abner*, *David* eſteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in *Iſrael*, excuſing the overſight by which he might ſeem to have periſhed, by affirming that he dyed not like a fool, nor a man vanquiſhed, *But as a man falleth before wicked men, ſo* (ſaith he) *dideſt thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him, whom a ſtronger hand deſtroyed unawares, or whom ſubtilty in free truſt bringeth to confuſion. For all under the *Sun* are ſubject to worldly miſeries and miſadventures. Howſoever *Iſboſeth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he deſpaired greatly of his eſtate, and with him all *Iſrael* were poſſeſt with great fear: in ſo much as two of *Iſboſeths* own Captains, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murthered *Iſboſeth*, and preſenting his head to *David*, received the ſame reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to have ſlain *Saul*. *Iſboſeth*, being dead, all the Elders of *Iſrael* repaired to *David* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and laſt time anointed by general conſent.

2 Sam. 3. 39.

Verſe 29.

2 Sam. 3. verſe 34.

2 Sam 4.

§. IV.

Of the flouriſhing time of Davids *Kingdom, the taking of Jeruſalem, with two overthrows given to the Philiſtims, and the conduction of the Ark to the City of* David.

WHen *David* was now eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, his firſt enterpriſe was upon the *Jebuſites*, who in deriſion of his force, and confident in the ſtrength of the place (as is thought) manned their walls with the blind and lame of their City; which *David* ſoon after entred, all their other forces notwithſtanding. For having maſtered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the City of *David*) he became Lord of *Hieruſalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebuſites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, and after them almoſt 400. years. There are who expound this place, otherwiſe: *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou ſhalt not come in hither.* For ſome think that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Jebuſites*: others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*: the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by vvreſtling vvith the Angel, and that therefore till thoſe (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to moleſt them. But for my ſelf, I take it, vvith *Joſephus*, that they armed their walls with certain impotent people at firſt, in ſcorn of *Davids* attempt. For they that had held their City about 400. years againſt all the children of Iſrael, *Joſhua*, the *Judges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it alſo againſt *David*.

2 Sam. 5.

When he had now poſſeſt himſelf of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatory Embaſſadours and preſents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained divers other concubines, and married moe wives, by whom he had ten ſons in *Jeruſalem*, and by his former wives, he had ſix in *Hebron* where he reigned 7. years.

The *Philiſtims* hearing that *David* was now anointed King, as well of *Juda* as of *Iſrael*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his ſeat. And being encountred by *David* at two ſeveral times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they were at both times overthrown. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

2 Sam. 5.

Then *David* assembled 30000. choice *Israelites* to conduct the *Ark of God* from the house of *Abinadab* in *Gibea* to the City of *David*; which business was interrupted by the death of *Uzzah* the son of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the *Ark*, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harm, when it was shaken. But after three years it was with great solemnity brought into the City with sacrifices, musick, dances, and all signs of joyfulness, in which *David* himself gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Ark*, and afterward told him in scorn, *That he was uncovered as a fool in the eys of the maidens his servants*, namely, that he forgat his regal dignity both, in apparel and behaviour, and mixed himself among the base multitude, dancing as fools do in the ways and streets: not that she disliked *Davids* behaviour (as I take it) though she made it the colour of her derision; but rather the abundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her husband to whom she was delivered lastly by force, and remembring the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruines she conceived that the son of *Ishai* had built this his greatness: together with the many new wives and concubines imbraced since his possession of *Jerusalem*, made her break out in those despiteful tearms, for which she remained barren to her death.

2 Chr. c 3. This done, *David* consulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or house of *God*, but was forbidden it, because he was a man of war, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; having threatned, not in vain, that he would require the blood of a man, at the hand of man and beast. The wars which *David* had made were just, and the bloud therein shed was of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy temple, hereby it appears how greatly those Princes deceive themselves, who think by bloud-shed & terror of their wars, to make themselves in greatness like to the *Almighty*, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodness, or seek the blessedness promised by our *Saviour* unto the peace-makers.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *Davids* founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happy promise of the everlasting Throne that should be established in his seed.

§. V.

The overthrow of the Philistims and Moabites.

SOon after this *David* overthrew the *Philistims*, which made them altogether powerless, and unable to make any invasion upon *Israel* in hast. For it is written, *Accepit frænum Amgaris è manu Philisthæorum*; which place our *English Geneva* converts in these words, And *David took the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philistims*. The Latin of *Junius* giveth another and a better sence; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong City of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Geneva* hath it in the marginal note. This City of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Cæsarea*, set on the frontier of *Palæstina*, at the entrance into *Judæa* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retreat in all their invasions, which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such frontier town of equal strength to the *Philistims* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood, the *Hebrews* call *Ammæ*, whereof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Pliny* in his first book, and chap. 13. This exposition is made plain, and confirmed in the first of *Chro.* the 18.

2 Sam. 8. v. 1.

Junius in c. 8. of the 2. of Sam.

There was no nation bordering the *Jews* that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistims* did, who before the time of *Saul* (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kind, but inforc'd them to come down into their territory, for all iron work whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *David*, were seldom free from paying tribute to the *Philistims*.

1 Sam. 13.

After this he gave them four other overthrows: but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came between. In the first of which he was indangered by *Ishbi-benob*, the head of whose spear weighed 300. shekles of brass which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abishai* succoured *David*, and slew the *Philistim*, whereupon the Counsellours and Captains of *David* (lest the light of *Israel* might by his loss be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazzard himself in any battell. The second and third encounter and overthrow of the *Philistims* was at *Gob*, a place neer *Gesar*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistims* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his adversity he sought succour, and left his parents with him

2 Sam. 21. v. 17.

in

in truſt. But whether it were the ſame King or no, it is not known.

The *Rabbines* feign that *Moab* ſlew thoſe kinſfolks of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Sauls* time; but queſtionleſs *David* well knew how that Nation had been alwaies enemies to *Iſrael*, and took all the occaſions to vex them that were offered. And he alſo remembred that in the 23. of *Deut.* God commanded *Iſrael*, not to ſeek the peace or proſperity of the *Moabites*; which *David* well obſerved, for he deſtroyed two parts of the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his Army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Hadadezer* the ſon of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is ſet down in the deſcription of the holy Land: to which I refer the Reader.

§. VI.

The war which David *made upon the Syrians.*

IT is written in the Text: David *ſmote alſo* Hadadezer, *&c. as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates.* Now whether the words (*as he went to recover his border*) be referred to *David* or *Hadadezer*, it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinks that the article (*he*) hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tohu* oppreſt by *Hadadezer*, overthrew the one, and ſuccoured the other. But the ancient and moſt received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any ſuch enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in far better caſe to have proceeded after his victory than before: ſeeing that (*Hadadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back, either to purſue him, to take victuals and ſupplies from him, or to the paſſages of the mountains upon him at his return.

Again, ſeeing *David* was either to paſs through a part of *Arabia* the deſart, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his Army conſiſting of footmen, for the moſt, if not all: He had now both Horſe and Chariots good ſtore to carry his proviſions through thoſe uncultived places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached *Euphrates*, or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Jeruſalem*, after he had twice overthrown the *Syrian* Army, not bending his courſe towards the river *Euphrates*, but ſeeking to eſtabliſh his purchaſes already made. Whereby it may appear, that it was the *Syrian*, and not King *David*, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is ſaid.

The King of *Syria*, *Damaſcena*, and of *Damaſcus*, whereof that region is ſo called, hearing that *Hadadezer* was overthrown by the *Iſraelites*, fearing his own eſtate, and the loſs of his own countrey which adjoyned to *Syria Zoba* of *Hadadezer*, ſent for an Army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his ſuccour: but theſe, as it appeareth, came too late for *Hadadezer*, and too ſoon for themſelves: for there periſhed of thoſe ſupplies 22000. This King of *Damaſcus*, *Joſephus* (out of *Nicholaus* an antient Hiſtorian) calleth *Adad*, who was alſo of the ſame name and family as alſo thoſe other *Adads* were: which now began to grow up in greatneſs, and ſo continued for ten deſcents, till they were extinguiſhed by the *Aſſyrians*, as is ſhewed heretofore. *David* having now reduced *Damaſcus* under his obedience, left a garriſon therein, as he did in *Edom*: having alſo ſackt the adjoyning Cities of *Betah*, and *Berathi*, belonging to *Hadadezer*, of which Cities *Ptolomy* calleth *Betah*, *Tauba*: and *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*, *Tohu* or *Thoi*, whoſe country of *Hamath* joyned to *Adadezer* (as in the deſcription of the holy Land the Reader may perceive) ſent his ſon *Joram* to congratulate this ſucceſs of *David*: partly becauſe he had war with *Hadadezer*, & partly becauſe he feared *David* now victorious. He alſo preſented *David* with veſſels of gold, ſilver, and braſs; all which, together with the golden ſhields of the *Aramites*, and the beſt of all the ſpoiles of other Nations, *David* dedicated unto God at his return. *Junius* tranſlated the words (*Clypeos aureos*) by *Umbones*, as if all the parts of the Targets were not of gold, but the boſſes only. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But becauſe *Roboam* made ſhields of braſs in place of theſe of *Hadadezer*, at ſuch time as *Shicah* the *Egyptian* ſack'd the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, it may be gathered thereby that thoſe of *Hadadezer* were golden ſhields. 2 Sam. 8.

This done, *David* ſent Embaſſadours to *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites*, to congratulate his eſtabliſhment in his fathers Kingdom: for *David*, in the time of his affliction under *Saul*, had been relieved by *Nahaſh*, the father of *Hanum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill adviſed, and over jealous of his eſtate, uſed *Davids* Meſſengers ſo barbarouſly, and contemptuouſly (by curtailing their beards, and their garments) as he thereby drew a War upon himſelf, which neither his own ſtrength, nor all the ayds purchaſed, could put off or ſuſtain. For notwithſtanding that he had waged three and thirty thouſand Souldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their confederates; to wit, of the vaſſals of *Hadadezer* twenty thouſand, 2 Sam. 7.

and of *Maachah* and *Istob* thirteen thousand (for which he disbursed a thousand talents of silver) yet all these great Armies, together with the strength of the *Ammonites* were by *Joab* and his brother *Abishai* easily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great loss or slaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* also retraited into their Cities, the one holding themselves within the walls, the other in their desarts adjoyning, till *Joab* was returned to *Hierusalem*.

Aphek the North part of *Traco* remembred in *Deut.* 3. 14.

Ishob or *Tob* a country near Gad under the rocks of Argon. 2 *Sam.* 10.

Hadadezer hearing that *Joab* had dismissed his Army, assembled his forces again, and sent all the Companies that he could levy out of *Mesopotamia*; who under the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of *Israel*, and marched toward the *Syrian* Army in *Palmyrena*, not yet entred into *Arabia*; to wit, at *Helam*, a place no less distant from *Damascus*, towards the North-east, than *Jerusalem* was towards the South-west. Now *David* (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence go on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest-off journey that ever he had) because he was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the midway. He also possest himself of **Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salomon* afterward strongly fortified; and this City was but one dayes journey from *Helam*, and the river *Euphrates*. So had he two safe retraits, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter between *David* and the *Syrians*, they lost 40000. horsemen, and 700. chariots, together with *Shobach* General of their Army. The Chronicles call these 40000. Souldiers, footmen, and so *Junius* converts it, and so is it very probable. For the Army of *Israel* consisting of footmen, could hardly have slaughtered 40000. horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foot. So are the chariots taken in this battel, numbred at 7000. in the first of *Chronicles* the ninth; in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that served in them, with the conductors, are included: so as there dyed of the *Syrians* in this war against *David*, before he forc't them to tribute, 100000. footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that *Joab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabbah*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered strength again, and afflicted the Kings of *Juda* often: but the Kings of *Israel* they impoverished, even to the last end of that State.

Helam or *Chelam* which Ptolomy calleth *Alemaka* near the toords of *Euphrates*. 2 *Sam.* 10.

* See c. 18. sect. 2.

David having now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mesopotamians*, from the party and confederacy of *Ammon*: He sent out *Joab* the Lievtenant of his Armies to forrage and destroy their territory, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Israelites* mastered and possest. The Kings Crown which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *David* set on his own head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoil of the City. And though *David* stayed at *Jerusalem*, following the war of *Uriah* his wife, till such time as the City was brought to extremity, and ready to be entred: yet *Joab* in honour of *David* forbare the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his masters arrival. To the people he used extream rigour (if we may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters,) for some of them he tare with harrows, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning kills, in which he baked tyle and brick.

§. VII.

Of Davids *troubles in his reign, and of his forces.*

BUt as victory begetteth security, and our present worldly felicity a forgetfulnes of our former miseries, and many times of God himself the giver of all goodnes; so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise observation of his Laws and Commandements: For having now no dangerous apparent enemy (against whom he was wont to ask counsel from the Lord) he began to be advised by his own humane affections and vain desires: For he was not onely satisfied to take *Uriah*'s wife from him, and to use her by stealth; but he imbrodered his adultery with *Uriah*'s slaughter, giving order to his trusty servant *Joab* to marshal him in the front or point of those *Israelites*, which gave an assault upon the suburbs of *Rabba*, when there was not as yet any possibility of prevailing. And that which could no less displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best servants and souldiers should perish together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happines, and his dayes then to come were filled

2 *Sam.* 11. 15.

filled with joyes and woes interchangeable, his troden-down sorrows began again to spring, and those perils which he had pulled up by the roots (as he hoped) gave him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased GOD to take the witness of *Davids* own mouth against him, as *David* himself did against the *Amalekite*, which pretended to have slain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded unto him his own errour in the person of another, to wit, of him that took the poor mans sheep that had none else, the bereaver being Lord of many; He then vowed it to the living Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *David* for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced; yet he delivered him Gods justice together with his mercy in the tenour following; *Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thy house, &c. because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain* Uriah *with the sword of the children of Ammon.* Soon after this, *David* lost the child of adultery which he begot on *Bersheba*. Secondly, his own son *Ammon*, being in love with his half sister *Thamar*, by the advice of his cousin-german the son of *Shimeah Davids* brother, possest her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careless and despiteful manner. Two years after which foul and incestuous act, *Absalom* caused him to be murthered at the feast of his sheep-shearing: not perchance in revenge of *Thamars* ravishment alone; but having it in his heart to usurp the Kingdom, in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of *Ammon*, he thought his affairs greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one brother having ravished his own sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice first made his own brother drunken, and then slaughtered him, which done, he fled away, and lived under the safeguard of *Talmai* King of *Gessur*, near *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Absalom* by the invention of *Joab* (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his son) was brought again, first to the Kings favour, and then to his presence; he began instantly to practise against *David* his father, seeking by the pretence of common justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equity, to win unto himself a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction threatned by the Lord as a punishment of *Davids* sin.

2 Sam. 12. 9, 10.

2 Sam. 13.

2 Sam. 14.

The company which *Absalom* gathered at the first were but 200. men: which he carried with him from *Jerusalem* to *Hebron*, pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired unto him, and many troops of people from all places, he proclaimed himself King, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawful Prince) accepted so readily, that *David* doubting to be set upon on the sudden, durst not trust himself in his own City of *Jerusalem*, nor in any other walled town for fear of surprise: but incamped in the fields and desarts with some 600. of his guard, and few else. The Priests he left in *Jerusalem* with the Ark of God, from whom he desired to be advertised of those things that chanced; to whom he directed *Hushai* his trusty friend, and servant, praying him to make himself in all his outward actions and counsels of *Absaloms* party and confederacy, thereby the better to discover unto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a revolting Counsellour, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Mephiboseth* the son of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire of whose hatred *Davids* prosperity had smothered, but his adversity illightned) holding himself upon the advantage of a mountain side, cast stones at *David*, and most despightfully cursed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forbad *Abishai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his son *Salomon*. *Absalom* being now possest of *Jerusalem*, was advised by *Achitophel* to use his fathers concubines in some such publick place, as all *Israel* might assure themselves, that he was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being perswaded, they would then resolvedly adhere to *Absalom* and his cause, without fear of being given up upon a reconciliation between them. This salvage and impious (though crafty counsel) *Achitophel* indeed urged for his own respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction, who most of all other inflamed *Absalom* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: *I will raise up evill against thee out of thine own house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he shall lye with thy wives in the sight of the Sun: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the Sun.* He also gave advice to *Absalom*,

2 Sam. 15.

2 Sam. 15.

2 Sam. 16.

2 Sam. 17.

2 Sam. c. 12. v. 11.

Abſalom, that himſelf with an Army of
2 Sam 17. v. 14. 12000. men might be employed at the inſtant for the ſurprizing of *David*; which had willingly been imbraced by *Abſalom*, had not *Huſhai Davids* faithful ſervant given counter-advice, and ſwayed it: perſwading *Abſalom* that it was fitter and more ſafe for him with all the ſtrength of *Iſrael* to purſue his father, than by ſuch a troop, which *Davids* valour and thoſe of his attendants might either indanger or reſiſt. This delay in *Abſalom*, and advantage of time gained by *David*, was indeed, after God, the loſs of the one, and delivery of the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occaſion fore-ſhewed) the ſucceſs which followed, diſpoſed of his own eſtate, and then forſook both the party and the care of *Abſalom*, and of his own life.
2 Sam 17. 23.

David being advertiſed of this enterprize againſt him, marched away all night, and paſt *Jordan*, poſſeſſing himſelf of *Mahanaim* in the Tribe of *Gad*: the ſame wherein *Iſboſeth* himſelf in the war againſt *David* after *Sauls* death ſeated himſelf. To which place there repaired unto him *Shobi* the ſon of *Nahaſh* the *Ammonite*, whom *David* loved, the ſame which *Joſephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it be greatly diſputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the moſt general and probable opinion makes him a ſecond brother to *Hanum*, whom *David* for his fathers ſake eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, after *Hanums* overthrow: in thankfulneſs whereof he relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came alſo to *Davids* aſſiſtance *Machir* of *Lodobar*, Guardian in former times to *Mephiboſeth*, and among others *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *David* and all his company.

In the mean time both the King and *Abſalom* prepared to fight; *Abſalom* made *Amaſa* Commander of the Army of *Iſrael*, the ſame place which *Joab* held with *David*; an office next the King himſelf, like unto that of the Maiors of the Palace anciently in *France*. *David*, perſwaded by his company, ſtayed in *Mahanaim*, and diſpoſed the forces he had to *Joab*, *Abiſhai*, and *Ittai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that iſſued out of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they ſhould ſpare the life of *Abſalom*. But *Joab*, beſides that he was very cruel by nature, remembred that *Abſalom* had lately diſpoſed of his government to *Amaſa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news brought him
2 Sam. 18. 14. that *Abſalom* hung by the hair of his head on a tree, when he could not perſwade the meſſenger to return and kill him, he himſelf with his own ſervants diſpatcht him. It appeared alſo by the ſequel that *Joab* affected *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living; and fearing the diſpoſition of *Abſalom*, he imbraced the preſent advantage offered.
2 Sam. 18.

Hereof, together with news of the victory, when knowledge was brought to *David*, he mourned and ſorrowed, not onely as a man that had loſt a ſon, but as one that had out-lived all his worldly joys, and ſeen every delight of life interred. For he ſo hid himſelf from his people, as thoſe which hoped for honour and reward after ſo great a victory, covered themſelves alſo in the City, as if they had committed the greateſt offences, and had rather deſerved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* preſenting himſelf before *David*, perſwaded him to diſſemble his ſorrow for the preſent, and to ſhew himſelf to the Army. For firſt, he told him that he had diſcountenanced his faithful ſervants, who had that day preſerved his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not onely not to acknowledge ſo great a love and conſtancy in his people, who being but few in number, did yet reſolvedly expoſe themſelves to great perils for his ſake: but on the contrary, grieve and lament at their good ſucceſs. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Abſalom* at an eaſie rate. Secondly, he urged, that it was generally believed, that he loved his enemies, and hated his friends; and that he witneſſed by this his mourning, that he had not any reſpect of his Princes, and others his faithful ſervants, but would more have joyed if they had all periſhed, and *Abſalom* lived, than in the victory by their faithfulneſs and approved valour gotten.

Laſtly, he uſed this prevalent argument, That if the King came not out and ſhewed himſelf publickly to his men of war, that they would all that very night abandon him, and return: concluding with this fearful threatning, *And that will be worſe unto thee than all the evil that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By theſe over-bold and arrogant ſpeeches (though perchance uttered with a good intent) *Joab* raiſed *David* from his bed of ſorrow, and brought him to the gates of the City among the people, whom he aſſured of his love and affection, eſpecially *Amaſa*, who commanded the Army of *Abſalom*, to whom he promiſed the office of Lievtenantſhip; the ſame which *Abſalom* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amaſa* were not ſatisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, now under his commandment. This
2 Sam. 19.

This done, the King marched towards *Jordan* homeward, vvhere in his paſſage he pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reviled him to his face: but this remiſſion vvas but external, as appeared afterward. He alſo accepted of *Mephiboſheth* his excuſe, whom *Ziba* had falſly accuſed and betrayed.

He alſo intreated *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberal hoſt, to follow him to *Jeruſalem*, that he might reward his ſervice done him; who excuſing himſelf by his age, appointed his ſon *Chimham* to attend the King.

At *Gilgal* on this ſide *Jordan*, all the Tribes aſſembled, and after ſome contention which of them ought to have moſt intereſt in *David*, the Army brake, and *David* returned to *Jeruſalem*. But *Sheba* the ſon of *Bichri*, a *Benjamite*, of the faction of the houſe of *Saul*; finding ſome diſcontent among the *Iſraelites*, withdrew them from *David*, as from a ſtranger in whom they had no intereſt, and it ſeemeth that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare ſtill a good affection to the iſſues of their firſt King. *David* imployed his reconciled Captain *Amaſa*, to give him contentment, and to witneſs his truſt, as alſo becauſe he conceived that *Amaſa* had intereſt in thoſe revolts of *Iſrael* more than *Joab* had. He received commandement from *David* to aſſemble the Army within three dayes, which he foreſlowed: but being onward on his way, *Abiſhai*, *Joabs* brother, was ſent after him, with *Davids* guard and beſt Souldiers, whom alſo *Joab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amaſa* near *Gibeon*, pretending to imbrace him, gave him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no leſs jealous of *Amaſa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the ſame manner, and out of the ſame impatient ambition. This done, he purſued *Sheba*; and finding him incloſed in *Abel*, aſſaulted the City with that fury, that the Citizens by the perſwaſions of a wiſe woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his head, and flung it to *Joab* over the walls: which done, he retreated his Army to *Jeruſalem*, and commanded, as before, all the Hoaſt of *Iſrael*.

The next act of *David*, was the delivery of *Sauls* ſons or kinſmen to the *Gibeonites*, whom thoſe Citizens hung up in revenge of their fathers cruelty. *David* had knowledge from the *Oracle of God*, that a famine which had continued on the land three years, came by reaſon of *Saul* and his houſe, to wit, for the ſlaughter of the *Gibeonites*: and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this ſatisfaction, both becauſe he had warrant from God himſelf, as alſo, if we may judge humanely, to rid himſelf of *Sauls* line, by whom he and his might, aſwell in the preſent as in the future, be greatly moleſted and indangered; onely he ſpared *Miphiboſheth* the ſon of *Jonathan*, both for the love he bare to his father, and for his oath and vow to God.

Now whereas it is written in the Text, *The King took the two ſons of* Riſpah, *whom ſhe bare unto* Saul, *and the five ſons of* Michol *the daughter of* Saul, *whom ſhe bare to* Adriel, *and delivered them to the Gibeonites*: *Junius* calls this *Michol* the ſiſter of her that was *Davids* wife, ſhe whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*: but *Michol* here named, had *Adriel* to her huſband; the ſame which is named *Merab* in the firſt of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was firſt promiſed to *David* when he ſlew *Goliah* in the Valley *Raphaim*: and becauſe it is written that *Michol* loved *David*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *David* had any humane reſpect in the delivery of her children, it is onely known to God. 2 Sam. 21.

Now where the *Geneva* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better tranſlation were out of the Hebrew word here uſed, having an eclipſis or defect, and ſignifieth, as I am informed, one of the ſame kindred, as in the 19. verſe of the ſame one and twentieth chapter it is ſaid of *Goliah*, *whoſe ſpear was weighty as a Weavers beam*, when as by the ſame eclipſis it muſt be underſtood by the brother of *Goliah*; *Goliah* himſelf being formerly ſlain.

As by the death of *Sauls* children God ſecured the houſe of *David*, leaving no head unto rebellion: ſo did he ſtrengthen both the King and Nation againſt forreign enemies by the valour of many brave Commanders, the like of whom, for number and quality, that people of *Iſrael* is not known to have had at any time before or after. Thirty Captains of thouſands there were, all men of mark, and great reputation in war. Over theſe vvere ſix Collonels, vvhoſe valour vvas ſo extraordinary, that it might be vvell held as miraculous. Theſe Collonels had ſome difference of place and honour, vvhich ſeemeth to have been given upon meer conſideration of their vertue. For *Abiſhai* the brother of *Joab*, vvho in the vvar againſt the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lievtenant, and commanded half the army, could not attain to the honour of the firſt rank, but was fain to reſt contented with being principal of the three Collonels of the ſecond order, notwithſtanding his nearneſs of blood unto the King, the flouriſhing eſtate of his own houſe, and his vvell approved ſervices.

All

All theſe Colloncls and Captains, with the Companies belonging to them, may ſeem to have been ſuch as were continually retained, or at the leaſt kept in readineſs for any occaſion, conſidering that the numbers which were muſtered and drawn out, if need required, into the field, very far exceeded thirty thouſand, yea, or thirty times as many. They were moſt of them ſuch as had followed the King in *Saul*'s time, and been hardned with his adverſities. Others there were very many, and principal men in their ſeveral Tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of *Saul*; but theſe Captains and Collonels (who with *Joab*, that was Gene-
2 Sam. 23. 39. ral of all the Kings Forces, make up the number of 37.) were the ſpecial men of War, and reckoned as *David*'s Worthies. The long reign of *David*, as it is known to have conſumed many of theſe excellent men of War, ſo may it probably be gheſſed to have waſted the moſt of thoſe whoſe deaths we find no where mentioned. For the ſons of *Zervia*, who had been too hard for *David*, were worn away, and only *Joab* left in the beginning of *Salomon*, who wanted his brother *Abiſhai* to ſtand by his ſide in his laſt extremity.

By the actions forepaſſed in the time of *David*, it is gathered, that he had reigned now 33. years or thereabouts, when the poſterity of *Saul* was rooted out, ſo that he enjoyed about ſeven years of entire quiet and ſecurity, wherein it pleaſed God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the ſucceſſion of *Salomon* in his Fathers Throne. In this time alſo *David* having eſtabliſhed all things in *Juda* and *Iſrael*, and the borders thereof, he again diſpleaſed God by numbring the people, as in oſtentation of his power: in which he employed *Joab*, with other Captains of his Army, who after nine moneths and twenty dayes travel, returned with the account and regiſter of all the people, able and fit to bear Arms, and they amounted to the number of thirteen hundred thouſand, beſides *Levi* and *Benjamin*, where-
2 Sam. 24. 1 Chro. 21. of in *Juda* and the Cities thereof, five hundred thouſand, and in *Iſrael* eight hundred thouſand.

For this, when by the Prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three puniſhments, whereof he might ſubmit himſelf to which he pleaſed; to wit, ſeven years Famine; three moneths War, wherein he ſhould be unproſperous in all attempts, and be chaſed by his enemies; or a general peſtilence to laſt three dayes: *David* made choice to bow himſelf under the hand of God only, and left himſelf ſubject to that cruel diſeaſe, which hath no compaſſion or reſpect of perſons, of which there periſhed 70. thouſand. And hereby he hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth this divine reaſon, *For his mercies are great.* 2 Sam. 14.

§. VIII.

Of the laſt acts of David; Adonijahs *faction*; *the revenge upon* Joab *and* Shimei.

LAſtly, when he grew weak and feeble, and paſt the acts and knowledge of Women, he was yet adviſed to lie in the arms of a young and well-complexioned Maiden, to keep him warm. In this his weak eſtate of body, when he was in a manner bed-rid, *Adonijah* his eldeſt ſon (*Ammon* and *Abſalom* being now dead) having drawn unto his party that invincible, renowned and feared *Joab*, with *Abiathar* the Prieſt, began manifeſtly to prepare for his eſtabliſhment in the Kingdom after his Father. For being the eldeſt now living of *David*'s ſons, and a man of goodly perſonage, *Salomon* yet young, and born of a Mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by Saint *Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others ſuppoſe) he preſumed to carry the matter without reſiſtance. Hereof when *David* had knowledge by *Berſabe* the Mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in mind of his faithful promiſe, that *Salomon*, her ſon ſhould reign after him (*Nathan* the Prophet affirming the ſame thing unto the King, and ſeconding her report of *Adonijah* his preſumption) the King calling unto him *Zadoc* the Prieſt, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benajah* the Captain of his Guard, gave charge and commiſſion to anoint *Salomon*, and to ſet him on the Mule whereon himſelf uſed to ride in his greateſt ſtate: which done, *Salomon* attended, and ſtrongly guarded by the ordinary and choice men of War, the *Cherethites*, and *Pelethites*, ſhewed himſelf to the people. Theſe tidings being reported to *Adonijah*, he preſently abandoned his aſſiſtants, and for the ſafety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the preſent *Salomon* pardoned. After this, *Da-* 1 Reg. 3.
vid had remaining two eſpecial cares, whereof he was deſirous to diſcharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the Land, which might be diſturbed by ſome Rebellion againſt *Salomon*; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he ſought by all means to advance, and make the buſineſs publick. To bring theſe intentions to good effect, he ſummoned a Parliament;

Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of *Israel*, the Princes of the several Tribes, all
1 Chron. 28. 1. the Captains and Officers, with all the mighty, and men of power; who did repair unto *Jerusalem*.

In this Assembly the King stood up, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his own title to the Crown, shewing that the Kingdom was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Juda* (as *Jacob* in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himself was pleased to make choice of him among all his Fathers sons. In like manner he said that God himself had appointed *Salomon* by name to be his Successour; whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his son to conform themselves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to go forward in this Work of the Lords house, which *Salomon* was chosen to build.
1 Chron. 29. 9. Then produced he the pattern of the Work, according to the form which God himself had appointed; and so laying open his own preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The Kings proposition was so well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas he himself had given three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand of silver, they added unto it seven thousand of gold, and ten thousand of silver, besides brass, iron, and Jewels, heartily rejoycing in the advancement of so religious a Work. This business being so well dispatched, a solemn Feast with great sacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was again anointed King, and received fealty of all the Princes and people of the Land, and of all the Princes his brethren, the sons of King *David*. *Salomon* being thus established King, his Father *David* finding himself even in the hands of death, first exhorted his son to exercise the same courage and strength of mind, which himself had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he uttered
1 King. 2. 3. these mighty words; *Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his wayes, and keep his statutes, and his commandements, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of* Moses, *&c.* to the performance of which GOD fastned the succession, and prosperity of his issues. For this
1 King. 1. 48. done (saith GOD himself) *Thou shalt not want one of thy Posterity to sit upon the Throne of* Israel.

Secondly, he advised him concerning *Joab*; who out of doubt had served *David* from the first assault of *Jerusalem* to the last of his Wars, with incomparable valour and fidelity, saving that he fastened himself to *Adonijah* (his master yet living) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenged, so was it his will that *Joab* should drink of the same cup, whereof he hath enforced other men to taste, and suffer the same violence which himself had unjustly strooken others withal. *Qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit:* for he had bereaved *Abner* and *Amasa* of their lives, having against the one the pretence only of his brothers slaughter, whom *Abner* had slain in the time of War, and could not avoid him: against the other but a meer jealousie of his growing great in the favour of *David*. And though *Joab* assured himself that *Abner* and *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him, or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raised up *Benhajah* the son of *Jehojadah*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For *David* giveth this cause to *Salomon* against *Joab*, that he slew the Captains of the 1 King. 2. Hoast of *Israel*, and shed bloud of battel in peace; and to this apparent and just cause, it is not improbable but that *David* remembred the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Salomon*, which *Joab* made manifest by the untimely setting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed against *David*, of which in these words he put his son *Salomon* in mind; *Thou knowest also what* Joab *the son of* Serviah *did to me, &c.* 1 King. 2. Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Absalom*, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words used to him when he mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Absalom*; or whether it were the publishing of *Davids* letter unto him for the killing of *Uriah*, thereby to disgrace *Salomon* as descended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is, that those great men of War do oftentimes behave themselves exceeding insolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their service done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their masters cannot miss them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kind of pride hath overthrown many a worthy man otherwise deserving great honour and respect.

He also gave order to *Salomon* to rid himself of *Shimei*, who not long before had cast stones at *David*, and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise *David* spared *Shimei* all the time him- 1 King. 2. self lived, yet being dust and in the grave, he slew him by the hand of *Salomon* his son. Hence it seemeth that King *Henry* the se-

venth of *England* had his pattern, when he gave order to *Henry* the Eighth to execute *Pool* as soon as himself was buried, having made promise to the King of *Spain*, when he delivered *Pool* unto him, that while he lived he would never put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to be laid upon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Joab* yeeld unto *Salomon* any such great profit or assurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of *Idumæa*, and *Resin* of *Damascus* to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witness, were emboldened to enterprize upon
1 King 11 *Salomon*, hearing that *David* slept with his Fathers, and that *Joab* the Captain of the Hoast was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in all forty years, to wit, in *Hebron* 7. years, and in *Jerusalem* three and thirty, he died.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces, he so far exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailty apart, he was said by God himself to be a man according to his own heart. The Psalms which he wrote, witness his piety, and his excellent learning: of whom *Hierome* to *Paulinus*: David Simonides *noster*, Pindarus, & Alcæus, Flaccus, *quoque* Catullus, & Serenus, *Christum lyra personat, & in decachordo Psalterio ab inferis suscitat resurgentem*; David (saith he) *our* Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus *and* Serenus, *he playeth Christ on his Harp, and on a ten-stringed Psalter he raiseth him up rising from the dead.* And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth Christ more lightsomly and lively than all the rest.

The book of the Psalms, saith *Glycas*, was divided, ordered and distinguished by *Ezekias*: but whether all the Psalms were written by *David*, it is diversly disputed. For
Athan. in Synop. Hier. Epist. 134 Lyran. in exp. 1 Psal. *Athanasius*, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceive divers Authors answering the titles of the several Psalms, as *Moses*, *Salomon*, and the rest hereafter named; and that only 73. Psalms were composed by *David* himself, namely, those which are intituled *ipsius David*. For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are bestowed on *Asaph* the son of *Barachia*, eleven other on the sons of *Korath*; and eleven are ascribed to *Moses*, to wit, the 89. and the ten following, and so they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies, though the Vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) stile them otherwise. The supposed nine Authors of these Psalms which *David* wrote not, *Sixt. Senensis* nameth as followeth; *Salomon*, *Aman Ezra*, (whom *Alen Ezra*, contrary to *Hierome*, maketh one of *David*'s singers) *Asaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman-Eziaira*, *Idithum*, and the three sons of *Chore*. But S. *Chrysostome* makes *David* the sole Author of all the Psalms, and so doth S. *Augustine*, reasoning in this manner: Although (saith he) some there are that ascribe those Psalms only to *David*, which are over-written *ipsius David*, and the rest intituled *ipsi David*, to others, this opinion (saith he) *Voce Evangelica Salvatoris ipsius refutatur, ubi ait quod ipse* David *in spiritu Christum dixerit esse suum Dominum, quoniam Psalmus* 109. *sic incipit, Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede à dextris meis, &c.* The voyce of the Gospel refutes this opinion, where it saith, that *David* himself in the spirit called Christ his Lord; because the 109. Psalm begins thus: *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Lastly, his Testimonies are used both by Christ and the Apostles, and he was as a pattern to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

Vide Sixt. Senen. Bib. sanct. l. 2. fol. 10. & 11. Aug. de Civit. Dei l. 17. c. 14.

His Story, and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Gad*, as it is in the first of *Chron.* 29. *vers.* 19. For the several parts of the books of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *David*, were, as it seems, written by these three holy men.

Constantine Manasses hath an opinion, that the *Trojans* during the time of the siege sought for succour from *David*, and that he stayed Neuter in that War. But it seemeth that *Manasses* did miscast the time 'twixt *David* and the *Trojan* War. For it is generally received that *Troy* fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Sampson* Judges of *Israel*, about the Worlds year 2848. and *David* died in the year 2991.

Cap. 7. 7. In his Annals translated out of Greek into Latine by Joannes Leunclains

§. IX.

Of the treasures of David *and* Salomon.

HIs treasures were exceeding great. For *Vers.* 14. it is written in the 22. of the first of *Chronicles*, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brass and iron passing all weight, which is more than any King in the World possest besides himself, and his son, to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirty and three cart-load, and a third of a cart-load of silver, allowing two thousand weight of silver, or six thousand pound sterling to every cart-load, besides threescore and seventeen millions of French Crowns, or of our money twenty three millions and a thousand pound:

pound: a matter, but for the teſtimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all beliefe. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appear, ſeeing that the Judges had not any treaſure, nor any ſoveraign power to make levies: but when they went to the wars they were followed by ſuch voluntaries as the ſeveral tribes by turns gave them: ſeeing alſo that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the *Philiſtims*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part poſſeſt by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiſs to conſider how *David* within the ſpace of not very many years, might amaſs up ſuch mighty treaſures. For though parſimony be it ſelf a great revenue, yet needs there muſt have been ſome other great means. It ſeems that he made the uttermoſt profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Euſebius* in his 9. book and laſt chapter *de Præparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *David*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a Navy in *Melanis* (or, as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achanis*) a city of *Arabia*, and from thence ſent men to dig for gold in the Iland *Orphe*, which *Ortelius* thinks was *Ophir*, though *Eupolemus* in this place of *Euſebius* (erring perhaps in this circumſtance) ſaith that this Iland was in the red Sea: from whence, ſaith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into *Jury*, *Pineda l.4. de Rebus Salomonis, c.1.* thinks that *David* did this way alſo enrich himſelf, and citeth this teſtimony of *Eupolemus:* and yet certainly *David* had many other ways to gather riches. Much land doubtleſs he gained by conqueſt from the *Canaanites* and *Philiſtims*, beſides thoſe fruitful vallies near *Jordan* in *Trachonitis* and *Baſan*, and the beſt of *Syria*, and other countries bordering the *Iſraelites*. Theſe demains belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he took in his wars, which were not able to redeem themſelves, husbanded thoſe grounds for his greateſt advantage. For it is written 1 *Chro.* 17. that *Jahonathan* was over his treaſures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, in the towns; that *Ezri* was over the labourers that tilled his ground, *Simei* over the vineyards, and *Sabdi* over the ſtore of the wine; *Baal Hanan* over the olive trees, and *Joaſh* over the ſtore of the oyle: alſo that he had herdſ-men that had charge over his cattel, both in the high lands and in the plains, over his Sheep, Camels and Aſſes. And this cuſtom of enriching themſelves by husbandry and cattel, the ancient Kings every where held, both before and after *Davids* time. For we read of *Pharaoh*, that he ſpake to *Joſeph* to appoint ſome of his brethren, or of their ſervants, to be rulers over his cattel. *Gen. 47.* We read of *Uzzia*, that he loved husbandry, had much cattel, and plough-men, and dreſſers of Vines: likewiſe we read it in all Greek Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did ſpecially conſiſt in their Herds and Flocks; whereof it were needleſs to cite *Augeas* and *Admetus*, or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *David* it is not unlikely, but that thoſe captives which were not imployed in husbandry, were many of them uſed by him in all ſorts of gainful profeſſions, as the ancient Romans in like manner uſed their ſlaves. *2 Chro. 26.*

To theſe profits (beſides the tributes and impoſitions, which doubtleſs were great, and beſides the innumerable preſents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily ſent him, by *Iohn* and others) we may add the great ſpoiles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which he conquered: alſo the head money which was gathered *per legem capitationis*; *By the law of capitation, or head money*, every man rich or poor paying half a ſicle of the Sanctuary, which is about as much as fourteen pence, and ſo in all it amounted to a wondrous ſum in that Kingdom: wherein one thouſand thouſand five hundred and ſeventy thouſand fighting men were numbred by *Joab.* Now although this law of capitation be thought by ſome very learned, not to have been perpetual (which opinion of theirs nevertheleſs they confeſs is againſt the Hebrew expoſitions) yet *David* upon this occaſion is not unlikely to have put it in practiſe. And by theſe means might hee be able to leave thoſe huge treaſures to *Salomon.* Yet it may ſeem that of this great maſs of gold and ſilver left by *David*, the leaſt part was his own in private; and ſo will it appear the leſs wonderfull that he left ſo much. Of his own liberality we find, that hee gave to the building of the Temple three thouſand talents of gold, and ſeven thouſand talents of ſilver: a great ſum, but holding a very ſmall proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to conſider, that the treaſures of the Sanctuary it ſelf were exceeding great, as needs they muſt have been having received continual encreaſe, without any loſs or diminution ever ſince the time of *Moſes* and *Joſhuah.* The revenues of the Sanctuary (beſides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the dayly expences, & maintained the Prieſts & Levites) *1 Chro 21.*

were partly raised out of the head mony before mentioned; partly out of the spoils
Numb 31. 27. gotten in War. For all the booty was divided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other half; whereby all the Country received benefit of the Victory, yet so, that the Souldiers had a far greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every single share.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fifty, of that which the people received, and one in five hundred, of that which was given to the Souldiers; namely, one hundred and one thousand part of the whole booty. So in the spoil of *Midian*, thirty two thousand Women being taken, the Army had sixteen
Num 31. 40. thousand of them for slaves, and the Congregation had other sixteen thousand; but out of the sixteen thousand given to the Army, were exempted two and thirty for the Lords tribute; Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this means, the lesser that the Army was which had exposed it self to danger, the greater profit had every Souldier: but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were fain to undergo more than ordinary travel in domestical affairs, did receive by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwayes certain, yea many times it was increased, either by some special commandement, as when all the gold, and silver, and other mettals found in *Jerico*,
Jos 6. 19. were consecrated unto God; or by thankfulness of the Rulers and people, as when after the Victory obtained against the *Midi-*
Num 31. 50. *anites* without the loss of one man, all Jewels, Bracelets, Earerings, and the like, were offered up, as voluntary presents.

Now howsoever the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, and trodden down by other Nations, yet were not their treasures robbed or spoiled: for the enemies never gat possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuary must have been exceeding great; as containing above one hundredth part of all the mony and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purcha-
1 Chron. 26. v. 27. & 28. sed by so many Victories, as they obtained against the bordering Nations. For that this treasury was not defrauded of the due portion, it is evident; seeing that before the time of *David* and his Lievtenant *Joab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had used to dedicate of the spoils obtained in War, to maintain the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Judges and Captains of other Ages. Certain it is, that the Conquest of *David* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former Victories had purchased, those of *Joshua* perhaps excepted: but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of silver, may seem rather to have been made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberality, to the treasures laid up in many former Ages, than to have been the meer fruits of his own industry.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he received of yearly revenues with his tributes 666. Talents of gold, besides the Customes of Spices. He had also six rich Returns from the East *India*, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that Voyage every three years, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth year of his reign, and ruled forty years. Besides this, all *Judæa* and *Israel* were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, of *Damascena*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Ituræa*; all of *Idumæa*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizites*, *Hivites*, *Jebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguished though subjected.

A Talent of gold is 77 l. French Crowns 1 King. 10. 14.

1 King. 9. v. 10. & 10. v. 15.

Into this flourishing estate was the King-
1 Chro. 29. 28. dom of *Israel* reduced by *David*, who after 40. years reign, and 70. years of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the City of *David*. It is written by *Josephus* that there was hid in *David*'s Tomb a marvellous quantity of treasures, insomuch as *Hyrcanus* (who first of the *Chasmanæi*, or race of *Macchabees*, called himself King) one thousand and three hun-
Joseph. Ant lib. 7. dred years after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus* then besieging *Jerusalem*; and afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had also an exceeding mass of gold and silver therein. And it was an antient custome to bury treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they inriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did bury so much treasure in his Fathers grave, it would hardly be believed, in regard of the great exactions with which he was fain to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left unto him: were it notwithal considered that his want

of

of mony grew from ſuch magnificent imployments. Particularly of the Sepulchre of *David* the Scriptures have no mention, but only the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of burial. Yet the Monuments of theſe Kings, as (by relation of the Duke of *Ulica*) they remained within theſe thirty years, and are like to remain ſtill, are able to make report credible of the coſt beſtowed upon them.

Fregoſius. Arnoſd. D. Sc. Radz. Pol. 2.

§. X.

Of the Philiſtims, whom David *abſolutely maſtered: and of ſundry other contemporaries with* David.

OF the *Philiſtims*, whoſe pride *David* was the firſt that abſolutely maſtered, in this concluſion of *David*'s time ſomewhat here may be ſpoken.

They deſcended of *Caſloim*, who, according to *Iſidor* and *Joſephus*, was one of the ſons of *Miſraim*, and was ſurnamed *Philiſtim*, as *Eſau* was ſurnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob Iſrael*. There were of them five Cities or petty Principalities, namely, *Azotus* or *Aſdod*, *Gaza* or *Aczaph*, *Aſcalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It ſeemeth that *Caſloim* was the firſt founder of this Nation, becauſe of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Egyptians*.

Gen. 9. 19. Joſ. l. 1. Ant. 17.

1 Sam. 6.

The firſt King of theſe *Philiſtims*, which the Scriptures have named, was that *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abraham*'s Wife.

Gen. 20.

The ſecond *Abimelech* lived at once with *Iſaac*, to whom *Iſaac* repaired in the time of Famine, *Abimilech* then reſiding at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa*; which *Abimelech* fancied *Iſaac* his Wife, as his Father had done *Sara*.

Gen. 26.

After *Abimelech* the ſecond, the *Philiſtims* Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till *David*'s time: perhaps the government was turned into *Ariſtocratical*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philiſtims*, how ſoever *Achis* be named King of *Gath*, the ſame to whom *David* fled, and who again gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul*'s time.

Jud. 16. 1 Sam. 18. 29. 1 Sam 21. 11.

After him we read of another *Achis* who lived with *Salomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch back his fugitive ſervant, what time the ſeeking of his ſervant was the loſs of his life. *Jeremy* the Prophet ſpeaketh of the Kings of *Paleſtin* or *Philiſtim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Aſcalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The reſt of the Wars of the *Philiſtims* are remembred in the Catalogue of the *Judges*, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I ſhall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

1 King. 2.

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silvii* King of *Alba*, called *Latinus Silvius*, who is ſaid to have ruled that part of *Italy* fifty years. And about his fourteenth year *Codrus* the laſt King of the *Athenians* died, to whom ſucceeded the firſt Prince of thoſe, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontidæ*, without regal name governed *Athens* during their life.

The reaſons which moved the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of ſoveraingty, but in honour of *Codrus* only. For when the *Græcians* of *Doris*, a region between *Phocis*, and the mountain of *Oeta*, ſought counſel from the Oracle, for their ſucceſs in the Wars againſt the *Athenians*, it was anſwered, that then undoubtedly they ſhould prevail and become Lords of that State, when they could obtain any Victory againſt the Nation, and yet preſerve the *Athenian* King living. *Codrus* by ſome intelligence being informed of this anſwer, withdrew himſelf from his own Forces, and putting on the habit of a common ſouldier, entred the Camp of the *Dorians*, and killing the firſt he encountred, was himſelf forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31. King of *Aſſyria*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire, about the 13. year of *David*, and held it 38. years.

Near the ſame time began *Ixion* the ſecond King of the *Heraclidæ*, the ſon of *Euriſthenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the ſecond of the *Heraclidæ* in *Lacedæmon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his ſucceſſours were called *Agidæ*, for many years after. He reſtored the *Laconians* to their former liberty: he overcame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refuſed to pay him tribute: he condemned them and theirs to perpetual ſlavery; whereof it came, that all the *Meſſenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helots*.

In like ſort from the *Sclavi* came the World *Slave*. For when that Nation iſſuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Ruſſia*, had ſeized upon the Country of *Illyria*, and made it their own by conqueſt, their victory pleaſed them ſo highly, that thereupon they called themſelves by a new name, *Slavos*, which is in their language *Glorious*. But in after times (that warmer Climate having thawed their Northern hardineſs, and not ripened their Wits) when they were trodden down, and made ſervants with their neighbours, the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *Slaves*, uſing the word as a name of reproach: in which ſence it is now current through many Countries.

Other

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and somewhat later about the 23. year of *David*, and say that *Acheſtratus* was the fourth King of this race, the same whom *Euſebius* calls *Labotes*, and ſets him in the 13. year of *Salomon*.

Euſeb. in Chro.

In the tenth year of *Acheſtratus*, *Androclus* the third ſon of *Codrus*, aſſiſted by the *Iones*, built *Epheſus* in *Caria*, who after the adjoyning of the Ile of *Samos* to his Territory, was ſlain by the *Carians*, whoſe Country he uſurped. He was buried (ſaith *Pauſanias*) in one of the gates of *Epheſus* called *Magnetes*, his armed Statua being ſet over him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had ſubdued the *Ionians* (the next Province to *Epheſus* on the ſeacoaſt of *Aſia* the leſs) he enlarged his Dominions upon the *Æoles*, which joyneth to *Ionia*: and that his poſterity governed the Cities of *Epheſus* and *Erythræ* by the name of *Baſilidæ* in *Strabo* his own time. Of the expedition of the *Ones* how they came hither out of *Peloponneſus*, I have* ſpoken already upon occaſion of the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*, wherein, with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achæi*, and inhabited their places in that Land: though this of the *Ones* ſucceeded that of the *Heraclidæ* 100. years.

The Eaſt gate of Epheſus toward Magneſia upon the river Mæander.

Ariſt. l. 5. pol. c. 8.

* See *Ch.* in this 17. *Ch.* 9. *toſt medium.*

The City of *Epheſus* became exceeding famous: firſt, for the Temple of *Diana* therein built, which had in length 425. foot, and 220. in breadth, ſuſtained with 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foot high: whereof 27. were moſt curiouſly graven, and all the reſt of choice marble poliſht, the work being firſt ſet out by *Cteſiphon* of *Gnoſſos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the firſt that received the Chriſtian faith, of which *Timothy* was Biſhop; to whom, and to the *Epheſians*, Saint *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle ſo entituled. The other City poſſeſt by *Androclus* in *Æolis*, was alſo univerſally ſpoken of by reaſon of *Sybilla*, ſurnamed *Erythræa*, who lived 740. years before Chriſt was born. S. *Auguſtine* avoweth that a Roman Proconſul ſhewed him in an ancient *Greek* copy certain verſes of this Propheteſs, which began (as S. *Auguſtine* changed them into Latine) in theſe words: *Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius, Salvator; Jeſus Chriſt Son of God, the Saviour.*

Plin. l. 2. c. 8. & l. 7. c. 37.

About the time that *Joab* beſieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to govern in *Ægypt*, the ſame that was father in law to *Salomon* whoſe Epiſtles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Euſebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *David*, was the City of *Magneſia* in *Aſia* the leſs founded, the ſame which is ſeated upon the river *Mæander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this Territory are the beſt horſes of the leſſer *Aſia* bred, whereof *Lucan*:

Et Magnetis equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis.

About the ſame time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, according to *Servius*, with whom *Strabo* joyneth the *Cumæans* of *Æolis*, ſaying, that to the one of theſe people the government was given, with condition that the other ſhould give name to the City. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephores* the famous ſcholar of *Iſocrates*.

Serv. in Æneid. 3. Strabo l. 13.

Euſebius and *Caſſiodor* find the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. year of *David*, but much miſtaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metinos* the ſon of *Badezor*, brother to *Jezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Iſrael*; and between the death of *David*, and the firſt of *Achab*, there were waſted about 45. years.

In this time alſo *Acaſtus* lived, the ſecond of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in deſcent before the State changed into a Magiſtracy of ten years. Some writers make it probable, that the *Æolians*, led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Oreſtes*, poſſeſt the City and Iſland of *Thebes* about this time. In the 32. year of *David*, *Hiram* began to reign in *Tyre*, according to *Joſephus*, who ſaith in his twelfth year *Solomon* began the work of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in *Joſephus*, to miſreckon times, which in this point he doth ſo ſtrangely, as if he knew not how at all to to caſt any accompt. For it is manifeſt, that *Hiram* ſent Meſſengers, and Cedars unto *David*, ſoon after his taking of *Jeruſalem*, which was in the beginning of *David's* reign over *Iſrael*, when as yet he had reigeed onely ſeven years in *Hebron* over the houſe of *Juda*. Wherefore it muſt neees be that *Hiram* had reigned above 30. years before *Salomon*; unleſs more credit ſhould be given to thoſe *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Joſephus*, than to the plain words of Scripture contradicting them. For, that it was the ſame *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifeſt.

Euſeb. in Chron. Rom. in reg. Rom. Strab. l. 13.

Ann. 3. ante Chr. ap. Joſ. l. 1.

2 Sam. 5.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of SALOMON.

§. I.

Of the establishing of Salomon: *of birth-right, and the cause of* Adonijah's *death, and of* Salomons *wisdom.*

SALOMON, who was brought up under the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reign over *Juda* and *Israel*, in the year of the world 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: he was also called *Jediddia*, or *Theophilus* by *Nathan*, because the Lord loved him.

Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Salomons* anointing, dispatched Embassadors towards him, congratulating his establishment: a custom between Princes very ancient. Whence we read that *David* did in like sort salute *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the Kingdom. 2 Sam. 10.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in blood, though his reign were peaceable. For soon after *David*'s death, he caused his brother *Adonijah* to be slain by *Benaiah* the son of *Jehojada*, taking occasion from *Adonijah* his desiring by *Bersheba*, that the young maid *Abishag* (which lay in *David*'s bosome in his later daies, to keep him warm) might be given to him. Whatsoever he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and sought the Kingdom contrary to the will of *David*, whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is said that a word is enough to the wise, and he that sees but the claw may know whether it be a Lion or no: so it may seem that to the quick-sighted wisdom of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijahs*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had been Concubines to a King, might not after be touched but by a King: whence *Achitophel* wished *Absolom* to take his fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. 2 Sam 16. 21. And *David* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but shut them up, and they remained widowed until their death. And this it seems was the depth of *Isbosheths* quarrel against *Abner*, for having his fathers Concubine. 2 Sam 2. 3 And some signification of this custom may seem too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David*; *I have given thee thy Masters house, and thy Masters wives.* And in the words of *Saul* upbraiding *Jonathan*, that he had chosen *David* to the shame of the nakedness of his Mother. 1 Sam. 20. 30. Hereupon perhaps was some reference to this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marry with her that was alwaies present with *David* in his later daies, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conveying of the Kingdom to *Salomon*. There may be divers further occasions; as either that he would learn such things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perswade her to forge some strange tale about *David's* last Testament, or any thing else that might prejudice the title of *Salomon*.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, and with the customs of the Jews: yet the Kings of the Jews were so absolute, as they did therein, & in all else what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to use this paternal authority in transferring the birth-right to a younger son: namely, of *Jacobs* disheriting *Reuben*, and giving the birth-right (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Joseph*: of whom he made two Tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appeareth by the words of *Bersabe* and *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For, as for popular election, that it was necessary to confirm, or that the refusal of the people had authority to frustrate the elder brothers right to the Kingdom, it no where appears in the stories of the *Jews*. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Galgal*: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that he was King long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of choosing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said, *Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall chuse.* 1 *Kings* 2. 15. *Deut.* 21. 15. *Filium exosæ agnoscito, dando ei portionem duorum: nam ipsius est jus primogenitorum.* 1 Reg. 1. 17 & 20. 29. & 34. 1 *Kings* 1. 1. v. 20. & 27. 1 Sam 11. 14. *Deut.* 17. 30.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the same time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himself also of *Joab*, and three years after of *Shimei*, as *David* had advised him: he displaced also the Priest *Abiathar*, who took part with *Adonijah* against him: but

1 King 2. but in respect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and because he had born the *Ark of God* before his Father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdom, he took the daughter of *Vaphres* King of *Egypt* to Wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* calls him. He offered a thousand sacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing unto him in a dream, bad him ask what he would at his hands: *Salomon chooseth Wisdom, which pleased God. And God said unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy self long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy self, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words:* by which we may inform our selves, what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life in respect of our selves, cannot but proceed of self-love, which is the root of all impiety: the desire of private riches is an affection of covetousness, which God abhorreth; to affect revenge, is as much as to take the sword out of Gods hand, and to distrust his justice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brothers slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from the Law of God; but because *Salomon* desired Wisdom onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to give him with all that which he desired not. *And I have also given thee* (saith God) *that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour.* This gift of Wisdom our Commentators stretch to almost all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures, the Scripture testifieth; though no doubt the chief excellency of *Salomons* wisdom, 1 King 4. 33. was in the knowledge of governing his Kingdom: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, 1 King 3. 9 the Scripture telleth how soon he judged the controversie between the two harlots.

§. II.
Of Salomons *building and glory.*

HE then entred into league with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from whom he had much of his materials for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father *David*, and another from God. For 1 Chro. 22. 6. like as it is written of *David*, that *He called Salomon his son, and charged him to build a house for the Lord of Israel:* so doth *Tostatus* give the force of a divine precept to these words, *Behold, a son is born unto thee, &c. He shall build an house for my Name.* Tost. q. 16. in 1 Cir.

He began the work of the Temple in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at which time also he prepared his fleet at *Esiongabar* to trade for gold in the East *Indies*, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a work. For, that the Temple was in building, while his fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the Almaggim trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the form and example was given by God himself) many learned men have written; as *Salmeron, Montanus, Ribera, Barradas, Azorius, Villalpandus, Pineda*, & others, to whom I refer the Reader. 1 King 6. 1 Chro. 28. 29.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which served that building, *Salomon* employed 30. thousand Carpenters, 10. thousand every month by course: he also used 80. thousand Masons in the Mountain, and 70. thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceived, he selected out of the Proselites, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his work; so as he paid and employed in all, one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men; in which number the *Sidonians*, which were far more skilful in hewing timber than the *Israelites*, may (as I think) be included. For *Hiram* caused his servants to bring down the Cedars and Firres from *Libanon* to the sea, and thence sent them in raffs to *Joppe*, or the next port to *Jerusalem*. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plain, that all but the thirty thousand Carpenters, and the over-seers, were strangers, and as it seemeth the vassals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*. In recompence of this Timber and Stone, *Salomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thousand measures of Wheat, & twenty measures of pure Oyl yearly. *Eusebius* out of *Eupalemus* in the ninth book of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath left us a Copy of *Salomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Haram* and *Hiram*) King of *Tyre*, in these words: 1 King 5. 1 King 5. 9 1 King 5. 11.

REx Salomon Suroni, *Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœniciæ regi, Amico paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno* David *patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creavit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.*

King

King Salomon *to King* Suron, *of Tyre, Sydon, and Phœnicia King, and my fathers friend, sendeth greeting. You may understand that I have received of the great God of my father* David, *the Kingdom: and when my father commanded me to build a Temple to God which created heaven and earth, he commanded also that I should write to you: I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.*

To which the King *Suron made this answer.*

SUron, *Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœnicia Rex*, Salomoni *Regi salutem. Lectis literis, gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros, ministrosq; ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te millia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Judæa, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessariis non egeant, & Templo Dei condito, ad nos redeant.*

SUron *of Tyre, Sydon and Phœnicia King, to King* Salomon *greeting: When I read your Letters, I gave God thanks who hath installed you in your fathers kingdom. And because you write that Carpenters and Workmen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I have sent you fourscore thousand men, and a Master-builder, a Tyrian, born of a Jewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be careful that all necessaries be provided for them; and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to us.*

1 *Kings* 5. 2.

The Copies of these Letters were extant in *Josephus* time, as himself affirmeth, and to be seen (saith he) *Tam in nostris quàm in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our own, as in the Tyrian annals.* But he delivereth them somewhat in different terms, as the Reader may find in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse between *Salomon* and *Hiram* either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the Scriptures, than either *Eupolemus* or *Josephus* set it down, but so, that in substance there is little difference between the one and the other.

1 *Kings* 5. 10. to the 13.

The like Letter in effect *Salomon* is said to have written to *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some Commenters upon *Salomon*, find that *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, and *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, gave *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Eusebius*, I do not find any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius*, in the last chapter of that ninth book; neither is it in *Josephus* in the eighth book and second chapter of the same Antiquities: it being a vain title used by some of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* kings, and used likewise by the *Parthians*, and many other after them, insomuch as in later time it grew common, and was usurped by mean persons in respect of the great *Empire* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightiness.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord *Salomon* fortified *Jerusalem* with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had been the chief Metropolis of the *Canaanites*, before *Joshua*'s time: so did he *Gaza* of the *Philistims*: he built *Berothon, Gerar*, and the *Palace* or mansion of *Jerusalem*. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth in favour of *Salomon*) came up into the edge of *Ephraim*, and took *Gerar* which place the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their City. The place and Territory he gave *Salomons* Wife for a dowry. And it is probable, that because *Salomon* was then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, therefore entreated his father in law to rid him of these neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But he thereby taught the *Egyptians* to visit those parts again before they were sent for; and in his son *Rehoboams* time *Shishak* this mans successor did sack *Jerusalem* it self.

Salomon also built *Megiddo* in *Manasse*, on this side *Jordan*, and *Balah* in *Dan*: also *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolomies Thamoron* in the desart of *Juda*, or (as *Josephus* thinks) *Palmira* in the desart of *Syria*; which *Palmyra*, because it stood on the utmost border of *Salomons* dominion to the Northeast of *Libanus*, and was of *Davids* conquest when he wan *Damascus*, it may seem that *Salomon* therefore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best Art that that age had. *Josephus* calls this place *Thadamora*, by which name (saith he) given by *Salomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Hierom* in his book of Hebrew places, calls it *Thermeth*. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In respect of this great charge of building, *Salomon* raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from *Hirams* servants; *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty towns in or near the upper *Galilee*, but because they stood in an unfruitful and marish ground, *Hiram* refused them, and therefore was the territory called *Chabul*.

Joseph. l. 8. Antiq. c. 2.

Joseph. l. 8. Antiq. c. 2.

These towns, as it is supposed, lay in *Galilee* of the Gentiles. *Non quod Gentes ibi habitarent: sed quia sub ditione regis Gentilis erat. Not that it was possest by the Gentiles* (saith *Nauclerus*) *but because it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile.* However it were, it is true that *Salomon* in the 21 year fortified those places which *Hiram* refused. Further, he made a journey into *Syria Zobah*, and established his tributes; the first and last war (if in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his Dominions, passing from *Thadmor* to the North of *Palmyrena*, and so to the Desarts of *Idumæa*, from whence he visited *Eziongaber* and *Floth* the uttermost place of the South of all his Territories, bordering to the Red sea: which Cities I have described in the Story of *Moses*.

§. III.

Of Salomons *sending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about* Salomons *riches, and of* Pineda's *conceit of two strange passages about Affrick.*

HEre *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of ships for *India*, with whom *Hiram* joyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all other the most expert seamen. From this part of *Arabia* which at this time belonged to *Edom*, and was conquered by *David*, did the Fleet pass to the *East-India*, which was not far off, namely, to *Ophir*, one of the Ilands of the *Molucca's*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witness the *Spaniards*, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in *Peru*, do yet plant in those Ilands of the East at *Manilia*, and recover a great quantity from thence, and with less labour than they do in any one part of *Peru*, or new *Spain*.

The return which was made by these Ships amounted to four hundred and twenty talents, but in the second of *Chronicles* the eighth, it is written 450. talents: whereof 30. talents went in expence for the charge of the Fleet, and wages of men; and 420. talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thousand Crowns, came clear. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1 *Reg.* 10. 14. which speaketh of six hundred sixty and six talents of gold; that sum, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Salomons* which were yearly, and which came to him besides those profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Peru* in *America* (as divers have thought) but a Countrey in the *East-Indies*; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedy return to *Jerusalem* from the *East-Indies*, than in three years; and that *Tharsis* in Scripture is divers times taken for the Ocean, hath been already declared in the first book. *C. 8. sect. 9. & 13. Lib. 4. de rebus Salomonicis. c. 9. & 15.*

Only it remaineth that I should speak somewhat of *Pineda* his strange conceits, who being a Spaniard of *Bætica*, would fain have *Gades* or *Calis-malis*, in old times called *Tartessus*, which is the Southwest corner of that Province, to be the *Tharsis* from whence *Salomon* fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it seems, but for love of his own Countrey, and because of some affinity of sound between *Tharsis* and *Tartessus*. For whereas it may seem strange that it should be three years ere they that took ship in the Red sea, should return from the *East-Indies* to *Jerusalem*, this hath been in part answered already. And further the intelligent may conceive of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metal, and in their other traffick, and in their land-carriages between *Jerusalem* and the Red sea, and perhaps also elsewhere: so that we have no need to make *Salomons* men to go many thousand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africk*, that so they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Salomon* and the *Israelites* knew not, the *Tyrians* which went with them could not have been ignorant of) was along the Mediterran sea, and so (besides many wonderful inconveniences, and terrible navigation in rounding *Africa*) they should have escaped the troublesome land-carriage between *Jerusalem* and the Red sea, through dry, desart, and the thievish Countreys: and within 30. miles of *Jerusalem* at *Joppe*, or some other haven in *Salomons* own Country, have laden and unladen their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith *Pineda*) because the huge Island of *Atlantis*, in largeness greater than all *Africk* and *Asia*, being swallowed up in the *Atlantick* Ocean, hindred *Salomons* ships from passing through the straits of *Gibraltar*: for this he alledgeth *Plato* in *Timæo*. But that this calamity happened about *Salomons* time, or that thereby the straits of *Gades* were filled with mud, and made unpassable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the Mediterran sea; or that this indraught where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channel, should be filled

filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Iland is supposed to have stood; or that *Salomons* ships being in the Red sea, should neglect the golden Mines in the *East Indies* (which were infinitely better and nearer to the Red sea, than any in *Spain*) to seek gold at *Cadyz* by the way of compassing *Africa*; it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himself that hath also the rich *Peru* in the West, fortifieth in the *East-Indies*, and inhabites some part thereof, as in *Manilia*, finding in those parts no less quantity of gold (the small territory which he there possesseth considered) than in *Peru*.

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elsewhere he dreams of: supposing whereas *Jonas* sailing to *Tharsis* the City of *Cilicia*, was cast out in the Mediterran sea, and taken up there by a Whale, that this Whale in three dayes swimming above twelve thousand English miles along the Mediterran seas, and so through the straights of *Gades*, and along all the huge seas round about *Africa*, cast up *Jonas* upon the shore of the Red sea, that so he might have perhaps some six miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to *Ninive*. This conceit he grounds onely upon the ambiguity of the word *Suph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum, the sea full of weeds*) for the Red sea. But in *Jonas* c. 2. 5. it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have it, who in this place against his own rule (which elsewhere he giveth us) supposeth strange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale, finished in three dayes, is a greater miracle, than the very preservation of *Jonas* in the belly of the Whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessity of this miracle, we send it back unto him, keeping his own rule, which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda.* And again, *Non sunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda. Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessity, nor delivered without cause, nor feigned at pleasure.* Therefore we leave this man in his dreams, which (were he not otherwise very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our story of *Salomon*.

The Queen of *Saba*'s coming from far to *Salomon* (as seems, from *Arabia Fœlix*, and not, as some think, from *Ethiopia*) and her rich presents, and *Salomons* reciprocal magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult questions; those are set down at large in the Text. But herein *Josephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queen of *Saba Nicaules*, the successor (saith he out of *Herodotus*) of those thirty and eight *Egyptian* Kings which succeeded *Meneus* the Founder of *Memphis*; adding, that after this *Egyptian*, and the father in law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Egypt*. For as it is elsewhere proved that the Queen was of *Arabia*, not of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; so were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in law of *Salomon*. Yea, above three hundred years after *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Necho* slew *Josias* King of *Juda*.

Joseph. ant. 8. 1, 2.

1 King. c. 23. 2 Chron. c. 25. Jer. c. 46. v. 2.

It is also written of *Salomon*, that he kept in garrisons fourteen thousand Chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen; that he spent in Court every day thirty measures of fine flower, threescore measures of wheat, one hundred sheep, besides stags and fallow Deer, bugles and fowl; four thousand stalls of horses he had for his Chariots and other uses, and for the twelve thousand horsemen of his guard. For, the ten thousand stalls in the first of *Kings* the fourth, are to be taken but for so many horses, whence in the second of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but four thousand stalls or teems, and in every teem ten horses, as *Junius* and the *Geneva* understand it. He was said to be wiser than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*; to which *Junius* addeth a fift, to wit, *Ezrack*. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by Nation. *Josephus* writes them, *Athan*, *Æman*, *Chalceus* and *Donan* the sons of *Hemon*. He spake three thousand Proverbs, and his Songs were one thousand and five, whereof either the most part perished in the Captivity of *Babylon*, or else because many acts of *Salomons* were written and kept among the publick Records of Civil causes, and not Ecclesiastical, therefore they were not thought necessary to be inserted into Gods Book.

1 King. 4. 31.

§. IV.

Of the fall of Salomon, *and how long he lived.*

NOw as he had plenty of all other things, so had he no scarcity of women. For besides his seven hundred Wives, he kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people should accompany the daughters of Idolaters) he took Wives out of *Egypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heth*: and when he fell a doting, his Wives turned his heart after other gods, as *Asteroth*

of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemosh* of *Moab*.

These things God punished by *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and by *Jeroboam* his own servant, and one of the masters of his works, who by the ordinance of God tare from his son *Roboam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the territory he had. *Deus dum in peccatores animadvertit, aliorum peccatis utitur, quæ ipse non fecit:* God punishing sinners, useth the sins of others, which he himself wrought not.

P. Mart. in reg.

In the reign of *Salomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other works of magnificence, and that great *Indian* voyage already mentioned. Forty years he reigned; how many he lived, it is not written, and must therefore be found only by conjecture. The most likely way to ghess at the truth in this case is, by considering the actions of *David* before and after *Salomons* birth, whereby we may best make estimation of the years which they consumed, and consequently learn the true, or most likely year of his nativity. Seven years *David* reigned in *Hebron:* in his eighth year he took *Jerusalem*, and warred with the *Philistims*, who also troubled him in the year following. The bringing home of the Ark seems to have been in the tenth year of *David*, and his intention to build the Temple in the year ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leisure, living in rest. After this he had wars with the *Philistims*, *Moabites*, *Aramites*, and *Edomites*, which must needs have held him five years, considering the *Aramites* of *Damasco* raised war against him, after such time as he had beaten *Hadadezer*; and that in every of these wars, he had the entire victory. Neither is it likely, that these services occupied any longer time, because in those dayes and places there were no wintering camps in use, but at convenient seasons of the year Kings went forth to war, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their Armies, partly upon the spoil of the enemies country, partly upon the private provision which every souldier made for himself. The 17. year of *David*, in which he took *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan* into his Court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the year following to have begun the war with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to tryal of a battel (for *Joab* after the victory, returned immediately to *Jerusalem*) the causes and preparations for that war, taking up all the Summer. *Davids* personal expedition against the *Aramites*, wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Hadadezer* under his own allegeance, appears manifestly to have been the next years work, wherein he did cut off all means of succour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab*, and *Idumæa* being now at his own devotion. By this reckoning it must have been the 20. year of *Davids* reign, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he sent forth *Joab* to besiege *Rabba*, and finished the war of *Ammon:* wherein also fell out the matter of *Uriahs* wife. So one half of *Davids* reign was very prosperous: in the other half he felt great sorrow, by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heavy judgment laid upon him by God for his foul and bloody offence.

2 King. 7. v. 1.

2 Sam. 11. v. 1.

1 Sam. 8. 17. v. 17. & 18.

Now very manifest it is, that in the year after the death of that child which was begotten in adultery, *Salomon* was born, who must needs therefore have been nineteen years old or thereabout when he began to reign at the decease of his father, as being begotten in the 21. year of his fathers reign, who reigned in all forty.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *David*, as may be collected out of ensuing Actions: for two years passed ere *Absalom* slew his brother *Ammon*; three years ere his father pardoned him, and two years more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seems to have been one years work. So the rebellion it self, with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa*, and the rest, may well seem to have been in the 30. year of *Davids* reign.

Whether the three years of famine should be reckoned apart from the last years of war with the *Philistims*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needful to conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the ten remaining years of *David* there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for the three years of famine, for four years of war, and for numbring the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his own last infirmity, and disposing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed it seems that the war with the *Philistims* was but one years work, and ended in three or four fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* near unto *Gezer*, and the last at *Gath*. This war the *Philistims* undertook, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Israel*, and perhaps emboldened by *Davids* old age: for he fainted now in the battel, and was afterwards hindered by his men from exposing himself

himſelf unto danger any more. So *David* had ſix or ſeven years of reſt, in which time it is likely that many of his great men of War dyed (being of his own age) whereby the ſtirring ſpirit of *Adonijah* found little ſuccour in the broken party of *Joab* the ſon of *Zervia*.

At this time it might both truly be ſaid by *David* to *Salomon*, *Thou art a wiſe man*; and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a young child*; for nineteen years of age might well agree with either of theſe two ſpeeches.

Nevertheleſs there are ſome that gather out of *Salomons* profeſſing himſelf a child, that he was but eleven years old when he began to reign. Of theſe *Rabbi Salomon* ſeems the firſt Author, whom other of great learning and judgment have herein followed: grounding themſelves perhaps upon that which is ſaid of *Abſaloms* rebellion, that it was after forty years, which they underſtood as years of *Davids* reign. But whereas *Rehoboam* the ſon of *Salomon* was 41. years old when he began to reign, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himſelf but a child of nine or ten years old; the difference between their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who reigned 40. years) were but eleven years old when his reign began. To avoid this inconvenience, *Joſephus* allows 80. years of reign to *Salomon*; a report ſo diſagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this opinion, conſtrued the words of *Joſephus*, as if they included all the years of *Salomon's* life. But by ſuch reckoning he ſhould have been 40. years old at his Fathers death; and conſequently ſhould have been born long before his Father had won *Jeruſalem*; which is a manifeſt untruth. Wherefore the 40. years remembred in *Abſaloms* rebellion, may either ſeem to have reference to the ſpace between *Davids* firſt anointment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickedneſs, or perhaps be read (according to *Joſephus*, *Theodoret*, and the Latine tranſlation) four years; which paſſed between the return of *Abſalom* to *Jeruſalem*, and his breaking out.

1 Kings 3. 9. c. 3. 7.

2 Sam. 15. 7.

§. V.

Of Salomons *Writings*.

THere remain of *Salomons* Works, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the Song of *Salomon*. In the firſt he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the ſecond, the vanity of humane nature; in the third, he ſingeth as it were the Epithalamion of Chriſt and his Church. For the Book intituled, The Wiſdom of *Salomon* (which ſome give unto *Salomon*, and ſome make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof) *Hierome* and many others of the beſt learned make us think it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri ſapientiæ* (ſaith *Hierome*) *qui* Salomonis *inſcribitur*, *Græcam redolet eloquentiam*; *The Stile of the Book of wiſdom, which is aſcribed to* Salomon, *favoureth of the Græcian eloquence*; and of the ſame opinion was S. *Auguſtine*, and yet he confeſſeth in the nineteenth Book, and twentieth Chapter of the City of God, that the Author of that Book hath a direct foretelling of the paſſion of Chriſt in theſe words: *Circumveniamus juſtum, quoniam inſuavis eſt nobis, &c. Let us circumvent the righteous, for he is unpleaſing to us, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh us for offending againſt the Law, he makes his boaſt to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himſelf the ſon of the Lord, &c.* and ſo doth the courſe of all the following words point directly at Chriſt. The Books of *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Proverbs* and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moſes Kimchi* aſcribeth to *Iſay* the Prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report, that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diſeaſes, and graved the ſame on the ſides of the Porch of the Temple, which (they ſay) *Ezechias* pulled down, becauſe the people, neglecting help from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Hier. ad Cromaſium.

S. See fol. 62.

Reinecc. in Jul. Hiſt.

Of *Salomons* Books of Invocations, and Inchantments to cure diſeaſes, and expel evil ſpirits, *Joſephus* hath written at large, though (as I conceive) rather out of his own invention, or from ſome uncertain report, than truly.

He alſo ſpeaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the root in *Salomon's* ring diſpoſſeſt divers perſons of evil ſpirits in the preſence of *Veſpaſian*, and many others, which I will not ſtand to examine.

Certainly, ſo ſtrange an example of humane frailty hath never been read of as this King: who having received Wiſdom from God himſelf, in honour of whom, and for his onely ſervice, he built the firſt and moſt glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of *Iſrael* and *Judæa*, not by the law of Nature, but by the love of God, and became the wiſeſt, richeſt, and happieſt of all Kings, did in the end, by the perſwaſion of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forſake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodneſs, of which he was more liberal to this King, than

to any that ever the world had. Of whom *Syracides* writeth in this manner: *Salomon reigned in a peaceable time, and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house to his Name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever; How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a flood? Thy mind covered the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c.* but thus he concludeth: *Thou didst bow thy loyns to Women, and wast overcome by thy body; thou didst stain thine honour, and hast defiled thy posterity, and hast brought wrath upon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly*, cap. 27.

§. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

NEar the beginning of *Salomons* reign, *Agesilaus* the third of the *Heraclidæ* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedæmon*; and soon after *Silvius Alba*, the fourth of the *Silvii*, swayed those Kingdoms: *Laosthenes* then governing *Assyria*, *Agastus* and *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the six and twentieth of *Salomons* reign, *Hiram* of *Tyre* dyed, to whom *Baliastrus* succeeded, and reigned seventeen years, after *Mercators* account; who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sons. *Josephus* gives him fewer years. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Antolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some Kings omitted between the death of *Hiram* and the reign of *Bozorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sesac* or *Shishak* (as our English *Geneva* terms him) began to govern in *Egypt*, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sosachis*; *Josephus*, *Susac*; *Cedrenus*, *Susesinus*; *Eusebius* in the colume of the *Egyptian* Kings, *Smendes*; and in that of the *Hebrews*, *Susac*. *Josephus* in the eighth of his Antiquities, reproveth it as an errour in *Herodotus*, that he ascribeth the Acts of *Susac* to *Sesostris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might have done by comparison, accounting *Sesac* another *Sesostris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Sesostris*, I have spoken already in the story of the *Egyptian* Princes: onely in this he was reproved, that he caused four of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was disposed to be seen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sesostris* was carried out to take the air, cast his head continually back upon the two foremost wheels next him; which *Sesostris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captive King answered, That in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheel was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the upmost part was as suddenly turned downward, and under all: which when *Sesostris* had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like servitude in the future. Of this *Sesostris*, and that he could not be taken for *Sesac*, I have spoken at large in that part of the *Egyptian* Kings preceding. *Hist. Miscel. l. 17.*

CHAP. XIX.

Of Salomons *Successors until the end of* Jehosaphat.

§. I.

Of Rehoboam *his beginnings; the defection of the ten Tribes, and* Jeroboams *Idolatry.*

REhoboam the Son of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an *Ammonitess*, now forty years old, succeeded his Father *Salomon*, and was annointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended a while the return of *Jeroboam* as yet in *Egypt*, since he fled thither, fearing *Salomon*. After his arrival the people presented a Petition to *Rekoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet quam metui*; *So should his Empire* (saith *Josephus*) *be more assured, if he desired rather to be beloved than feared:* whereof he took three dayes to deliberate before his answer; of whom therefore it could not be said as of *David*, *Ant. l. 8. c. 3.*

that

that he was wiſer than all his Teachers. For as of himſelf he knew not how to reſolve, ſo had he not the judgement to diſcern of Counſels; which is the very teſt of wiſdom in Princes, and in all men elſe. But notwithſtanding that he had conſulted with thoſe grave and adviſed men, that ſerved his Father, who perſwaded him by all means to ſatisfie the multitude: he was tranſported by his familiars and favourites, not onely to continue on the backs of his ſubjects thoſe burdens which greatly cruſht them; but (vaunting falſly of greatneſs exceeding his fathers) he threatned in ſharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and more unſupportable loads on them. But as it appeared in the ſucceſs, thoſe younger adviſers greatly miſtook the nature of ſeverity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it ſelf: they alſo were ignorant that it ought to be uſed for the help, and not for the harm of ſubjects. For what is the ſtrength of a King left by his people? and what cords or fetters have ever laſted long, but thoſe which have been twiſted and forged by love onely? His witleſs paraſites could well judge of the Kings diſpoſition: and being well learned therein though ignorant in all things elſe, it ſufficed and enabled them ſufficiently for the places they held. But this anſwer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboams* deſigns. For being foretold by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future advancement, theſe the Kings threats (changing the peoples love into fury) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes, For he was no ſooner arrived, than elected King of *Iſrael*: the people cryed out, 2 Sam. 1. What portion have we in *David*? wee have no inheritance in the Son of *Iſhai*. Now though themſelves, even all the Tribes of *Iſrael*, had conſented to *Davids* anointing at *Hebron* the ſecond time, acknowledgeing that they were his bones and his fleſh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgat both the bands of nature, and their duty to God; and, as all alienate reſolved hearts do, they ſerved themſelves for the preſent, with impudent excuſes. And now over-late, and after-time, *Rehoboam* ſent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man moſt hateful to all his Subjects, to pacify them: whom they inſtantly beat to death with ſtones. Whereupon the King affrighted, 1 King. 12. 21. got him from *Sichem* with all ſpeed, and recovered *Jeruſalem*, where preparing to invade *Iſrael*, with an hundred and fourſcore thouſand choſen men, *Shimei* in the perſon of God commanding to the contrary, all was ſtayed for the preſent. In the mean time *Jeroboam* the new King fortified *Sechem* on this ſide, and *Penuel* on the other ſide of *Jordan*; and fearing that the Union and exerciſe of one Religion would alſo joyn the peoples hearts again to the Houſe of *David*, and having in all likelihood alſo promiſed the *Egyptians* to follow their Idolatry, he ſet up two Calves of gold for the children of *Iſrael* to worſhip, impiouſly perſwading them that thoſe were the Gods, or at leaſt by theſe he repreſented thoſe Gods which delivered them out of *Egypt*, and refuſing the ſervice of the Levites, he made Prieſts fit for ſuch gods. It muſt needs be that by baniſhing the Levites which ſerved *David* and *Solomon* through all *Iſrael*, *Jeroboam* greatly enriched himſelf: as taking into his hands all thoſe Cities which were given them by *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, for as it is written, *The Levites left their ſuburbs, and their poſſeſſion, and came to Juda. &c.* This irreligious policy of *Jeroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that never could be rooted out, untill *Iſrael* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by Prophecy and Miracles impugned ſufficiently when it firſt began; but the affections maintaining it, were ſo ſtrong, that neither Prophecy nor Miracle could make them yeild. *Jeroboam* could not 1 King. 13. 4. be moved now by the Authority of *Ahia*, who from the Lord had firſt promiſed unto him the Kingdom; nor by the withering of his own hand as he ſtretched it over the Altar, which alſo clave aſunder according to the ſign, which the man of God had given him by the commandment of God, who again recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obſtinate *Verſe 5.* an Idolater as before, for he held it the ſafeſt *Verſe 6.* courſe in policy to proceed as he had begun. 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to any that ever the world had. Of whom *Syracides* writeth in this manner: *Salomon reigned in a peaceable time, and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house to his Name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever; How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a flood? Thy mind covered the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c.* but thus he concludeth: *Thou didst bow thy loyns to Women, and wast overcome by thy body; thou didst stain thine honour, and hast defiled thy posterity, and hast brought wrath upon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly*, cap. 27.

§. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

NEar the beginning of *Salomons* reign, *Agesilaus* the third of the *Heraclidæ* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedæmon*; and soon after *Silvius Alba*, the fourth of the *Silvii*, swayed those Kingdoms: *Laosthenes* then governing *Assyria*, *Agastus* and *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the six and twentieth of *Salomons* reign, *Hiram* of *Tyre* dyed, to whom *Baliastrus* succeeded, and reigned seventeen years, after *Mercators* account; who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sons. *Josephus* gives him fewer years. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Antolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some Kings omitted between the death of *Hiram* and the reign of *Bozorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sesac* or *Shishak* (as our English *Geneva* terms him) began to govern in *Egypt*, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sosachis*; *Josephus*, *Susac*; *Cedrenus*, *Susesinus*; *Eusebius* in the colume of the *Egyptian* Kings, *Smendes*; and in that of the *Hebrews*, *Susac*. *Josephus* in the eighth of his Antiquities, reproveth it as an errour in *Herodotus*, that he ascribeth the Acts of *Susac* to *Sesostris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might have done by comparison, accounting *Sesac* another *Sesostris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Sesostris*, I have spoken already in the story of the *Egyptian* Princes: onely in this he was reproved, that he caused four of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was disposed to be seen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sesostris* was carried out to take the air, cast his head continually back upon the two foremost wheels next him; which *Sesostris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captive King answered, That in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheel was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the upmost part was as suddenly turned downward, and under all: which when *Sesostris* had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like servitude in the future. Of this *Sesostris*, and that he could not be taken for *Sesac*, I have spoken at large in that part of the *Egyptian* Kings preceding. *Hist. Misc. l. 17.*

CHAP. XIX.

Of Salomons *Successors until the end of* Jehosaphat.

§. I.

Of Rehoboam *his beginnings; the defection of the ten Tribes, and* Jeroboams *Idolatry.*

REhoboam the Son of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an *Ammonitess*, now forty years old, succeeded his Father *Salomon*, and was annointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended a while the return of *Jeroboam* as yet in *Egypt*, since he fled thither, fearing *Salomon*. After his arrival the people presented a Petition to *Rekoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet quam metui*; *So should his Empire* (saith *Josephus*) *be more assured, if he desired rather to be beloved than feared*: whereof he took three dayes to deliberate before his answer; of whom therefore it could not be said as of *David*, that *Ant. l. 8. c. 3.*

that he was wiſer than all his Teachers. For as of himſelf he knew not how to reſolve, ſo had he not the judgement to diſcern of Counſels; which is the very teſt of wiſdom in Princes, and in all men elſe. But notwithſtanding that he had conſulted with thoſe grave and adviſed men, that ſerved his Father, who perſwaded him by all means to ſatisfie the multitude: he was tranſported by his familiars and favourites, not onely to continue on the backs of his ſubjects thoſe burdens which greatly cruſht them; but (vaunting falſly of greatneſs exceeding his fathers) he threatned in ſharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and more unſupportable loads on them. But as it appeared in the ſucceſs, thoſe younger adviſers greatly miſtook the nature of ſeverity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it ſelf: they alſo were ignorant that it ought to be uſed for the help, and not for the harm of ſubjects. For what is the ſtrength of a King left by his people? and what cords or fetters have ever laſted long, but thoſe which have been twiſted and forged by love onely? His witleſs paraſites could well judge of the Kings diſpoſition: and being well learned therein though ignorant in all things elſe, it ſufficed and enabled them ſufficiently for the places they held. But this anſwer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboams* deſigns. For being foretold by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future advancement, theſe the Kings threats (changing the peoples love into fury) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes, For he was no ſooner arrived, than elected King of *Iſrael*: the people cryed out, 2 Sam 5. 1. What portion have we in *David*? wee have no inheritance in the Son of *Iſhai*. Now though themſelves, even all the Tribes of *Iſrael*, had conſented to *Davids* anointing at *Hebron* the ſecond time, acknowledgeing that they were his bones and his fleſh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgat both the bands of nature, and their duty to God; and, as all alienate reſolved hearts do, they ſerved themſelves for the preſent, with impudent excuſes. And now over-late, and after-time, *Rehoboam* ſent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man moſt hateful to all his Subjects, to pacify them: whom they inſtantly beat to death with ſtones. Whereupon the King affrighted, 1 King. 12. 21. got him from *Sichem* with all ſpeed, and recovered *Jeruſalem*, where preparing to invade *Iſrael*, with an hundred and fourſcore thouſand choſen men, *Shimei* in the perſon of God commanding to the contrary, all was ſtayed for the preſent. In the mean time *Jeroboam* the new King fortified *Sechem* on this ſide, and *Penuel* on the other ſide of *Jordan*; and fearing that the Union and exerciſe of one Religion would alſo joyn the peoples hearts again to the Houſe of *David*, and having in all likelihood alſo promiſed the *Egyptians* to follow their Idolatry, he ſet up two Calves of gold for the children of *Iſrael* to worſhip, impiouſly perſwading them that thoſe were the Gods, or at leaſt by theſe he repreſented thoſe Gods which delivered them out of *Egypt*, and refuſing the ſervice of the Levites, he made Prieſts fit for ſuch gods. 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called Politicians, propounding to themselves as their utmost end and scope, their own commodity and present profit, are wont to alledge the case of state forsooth, as the principal point to be regarded: for the good of the state, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they think that they may do any thing. If they mean to oppress their neighbour, to overturn all laws of justice and honesty, if Religion it self must go to wrack, yea if all rights of God and man must be violated, they will try all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will do any thing: let all go to ruine what care they, so long as they may have what they would: as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.

Indeed this allegation of *raggione del stato*, did serve as well to uphold, as at the
Amos 7. 13 first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatry of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground *Amazia* the Priest of *Bethel* counselled the Pro-
2 Kg. 10 16. phet *Amos* not to prophesie at *Bethel*; *For* (saith he) *it is the Kings Court.* Upon this ground even *Jehu* that had massacred the Priests of *Baal*, in zeal for the Lord, yet would not in any wise depart from that poli-
2 King. 10 29. tique sin of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, which made *Israel* to sin. It was reason of state that perswaded the last *French King Henry* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Protestants whom he forsook, obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom he followed, murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizor of wise proceeding delude even those that know the foul face of impiety lurking under it: and behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it, whereof *Jehu*, and all the Kings of *Israel* had, and were themselves very great examples.

§. II.

Of Rehoboam *his impiety; for which he was punished by* Sesac: *of his end, and Contemporaries.*

WHile *Jeroboam* was occupied in setting up his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side, having now little hope to recover the Provinces lost, strengthened the principal places remaining with all endeavour; for he fortified and victualled fif-
2 Chro. 11. teen Cities of *Juda* and *Benjamin*: not that he feared *Jeroboam* alone, but the *Egyptians*, to whom *Jeroboam* had not only fastned himself, but withall invited them to invade *Judæa*: laying perchance before them the uncountable Riches of *David* and *Salomon*, which might now be easily had, seeing ten of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the *Judæans*. So as by those two waies (of late years often trodden) to wit, change of Religion, and invitation of forraign force, *Jeroboam* hoped to settle himself in the seat of *Israel*, whom yet the powerful God for his Idolatry in few years after rooted out, with all his. *Rehoboam* having also, as he thought, by fortifying divers
1 King. 14 13. places, assured his estate, forsook the law of the living God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groves, on every high Hill, and under every green Tree.

And therefore in the fifth year of his reign,
2 Chron. 12. *Sesac* or *Shishac* before spoken of, being now King of *Egypt*, and with whom, as well *Adad* of *Idumæa*, as *Jeroboam*, were familiar, and his instruments; entred *Judæa* with twelve thousand Chariots, and threescore thousand
Jos. Ant. lib. 8. c. 2. Horse, besides Foot-men, which *Josephus* numbers at four hundred thousand. This Army was compounded of four Nations: *Egyptians*, *Lubæans*, *Succæans*, and *Cusites*. The *Lubæans* were *Lybæans* the next bordering Region to *Egypt*, on the Westside. The *Lubæans* were of *Petræa*, and of the desart *Arabia* which afterwards followed *Zera* against *Asa* King of *Juda*. The *Succæans* according
2 Chron. 12. 2 King. 14 Amos 9. 12 Cent. to *Junius* his opinion, were of *Succoth*, which signifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they were the *Troglodítæ*, mentioned often in *Pli-*
Plin. lib. 6 c. 29. Ptol. Asiæ tab. *ny*, *Ptolemy*, and other Authors. The *Troglodites* inhabited not far from the banks of
3. the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward, about six hundred English miles from the best & Maritimate part of *Egypt*: and therefore I do not think that the *Succims* or
Ca. 47. v. 13. *Succæi* were those *Troglodítæ*, but rather those *Arabians* which *Ptolemy* calls *Arabes Ægyptii*, *Ichthyophagy*, which possess that part of *Egypt* behind the mountains called *Alabastrini*, and the red Sea, far nearer *Egypt* and readier to be levied than those removed Savages of the *Troglodítæ*.

With this great and powerful Army, *Sesac* invaded *Judæa*, and (besides many other strong Cities) wan *Jerusalem* it self, of which and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoyle, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of those which *David* recovered from *Adadezer*, in the *Syrian* war: these *Rehoboam* supplyed with Targets of brass, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality, whom *Syracides* calleth, *The foolishness of the people.*

From this time forward the King of *Egypt* claimed the soveraignty of *Judæa*, and held the Jews as their Tributaries: *Sesac*, as it seems, rendring up to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered

out

out of the word of God, where premiſing the deliverance of *Juda* after their humiliation, he doth notwithſtanding leave them under the yoke of *Egypt*, in theſe words, *Nevertheleſs they* (to wit, the *Judæans*) *ſhall be his ſervants*, that is, *the ſervants of* Seſac.

After this overthrow and diſhonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelve years, and his loſſes received by *Seſac*, notwithſtanding, he continued the war againſt *Jeroboam* all his life time. After his death *Jeroboam* governed *Iſrael* four years,

Rehoboam lived 58. years, and reigned 17. his ſtory was written at large by *Shemejah* and *Hiddon* the Prophets, but the ſame periſhed with that of *Nathan*, and the reſt.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Terſippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or Governours for life after *Codrus*, governed in *Athens*. *Abdaſtrartus*, or *Abſtrartus*, in *Tyre*. *Doriſthus* the ſift of the *Heraclidæ* in *Sparta*, according to *Euſebius* (others make him the ſixt) and *Priminas* the fourth in *Corinth*. Over the *Latines* reigned *Silvius Alba Silvius Atys*, the fourth and the fift of the *Silvii*.

Euſeb. Chron.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam*, *Abdaſtrartus* King of *Tire* was murthered by his Nurſes ſons, or foſter-brethren, the elder of which uſurped the Kingdom twelve years.

Toward his latter times *Periciades*, or *Pyrithiades*, began to govern *Aſſyria*, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Aſtartus*, the ſon of *Balcaſtartus*, recovered the Kingdom of *Tyre* from the Uſurpers.

§. III.

Of the great battel between Jeroboam *and* Abia, *with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods judgments.*

Abijah the ſon of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers Kingdom, and his vices. He raiſed an Army of four hundred thouſand, with which he invaded *Jeroboam*, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thouſand: Both Armies joyned near to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* was utterly overthrown, and the ſtrength of *Iſrael* broken: for there fell of that ſide five hundred thouſand; the greateſt overthrow that ever was given or received of thoſe Nations. *Abijah* being now maſter of the field, recovered *Bethel*, *Jeshanah*, and *Ephron*. Soon after which diſcomfiture, *Jeroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. years, *Abijah*, the better to ſtrengthen himſelf, entred into league with *Heſion*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*, as may be gathered out of the 2. of *Chron.* he reigned but three years, and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the Prophet as ſome part of his Fathers were.

2 Chro 16. 23.

Here we ſee how it pleaſed God to puniſh the ſins of *Salomon* in his ſon *Rehoboam*: firſt, by an Idolator and Traytor: and then by the ſucceſſor of that *Egyptian*, whoſe daughter *Salomon* had married, thereby the better to aſſure his eſtate, which while he ſerved God, was by God aſſured againſt all and the greateſt neighbouring Kings, and when he forſook him, it was torn aſunder by his meaneſt Vaſſals. Not that the Father wanted ſtrength to defend him from the *Egyptian Seſac*; For the ſon *Abijah* was able to levy four hundred thouſand men, and with the ſame number he overthrew eight hundred thouſand *Iſraelites*, and ſlew of them five hundred thouſand; God giving ſpirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleaſeth him. And as in thoſe times the cauſes were expreſt, why it pleaſed God to puniſh both Kings and their people; the ſame being both before, and at the inſtant delivered by Prophets: ſo the ſame juſt God, who liveth and governeth all things for ever, doth in theſe our times give victory, courage, and diſcourage, raiſe, and throw down Kings, Eſtates, Cities, and Nations, for the ſame offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the preſent: for which reaſon, in theſe and other the afflictions of *Iſrael*, alwaies the cauſes are ſet down, that they might be as preſidents to ſucceeding ages. They were puniſhed with famine in *David*'s time for three years, *For Saul and his bloody houſe, &c.* And *David* towards his latter end ſuffered all ſorts of afflictions, and ſorrows in effect, for *Uriah*. *Salomon* had ten Tribes of twelve torn from his ſon for his Idolatry. *Rehoboam* was ſpoiled of his Riches and Honour by *Seſac* of *Egypt*, becauſe the people of *Juda* made Images, High places, and Groves, *&c.* and becauſe they ſuffered *Sodomites* in the Land. *Jeroboam* was puniſhed in himſelf and his poſterity, for the golden Calves that he erected. *Joram* had all his ſons ſlain by the *Philiſtims*, and his very bowels torn out of his body by an excoriating flix, for murthering his brethren. *Ahab* and *Jezabel* were ſlain, the blood of one, the body of the other eaten with dogs, for the falſe accuſing and killing of *Naboth*. So alſo hath God puniſhed the ſame, and the like ſins in all after-times, and in theſe our daies by the ſame famine, plagues, war, loſs, vexation, death, ſickneſs and calamities; howſoever the wiſe men of the World raiſe theſe effects no higher than to ſecond

2 Sam. 21. 1

cauſes, and ſuch other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and eares, ſeem to them to work every alteration that happeneth.

§. IV.
Of Aſa *and his Contemporaries.*

2 Chro 14 TO *Abijah* ſucceeded *Aſa*, who enjoyed peace for his firſt ten years, in which time he eſtabliſhed the Church of God, breaking down the alters dedicated to ſtrange gods, with their images, cutting 2 Chro 15. 16. down their groves, and taking away their high places. He alſo ſpared not his own mother, who was an Idolatreſs, but depoſing her from her regency, brake her Idol, ſtampt it, and burnt it. He alſo fortified many Cities, and other places, providing (as provident Kings do) for the troubles of war in the leaſure of peace. For not long after he was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Judæa*, and with ſuch a multitude entred the territory of *Aſa*, as (for any thing that I have read) were never aſſembled of that Nation, either before or ſince: 2 Chro. 14. 9. For it is written, that there came againſt the *Judæans*, *Zerah* of *Æthiopia*, with an hoſt of ten hundred thouſand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Aſa* encountered with an Army of five hundred and fourſcore thouſand levyed out of thoſe two Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, which obeyed him, and with which he overthrew this fearful multitude, and had the ſpoyle both of their Cities and Camps.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Æthiopian*, I have * proved already, and were it but the length between *Æthiopia* and *Judæa*, and the ſtrong flouriſhing Regions of *Egypt* interjacent (who would not ſuffer a million of ſtrangers to paſs through them) it were ſufficient to make it appear how fooliſh the opinion is, that theſe invaders were *Æthiopians*. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the Cities thereabouts were ſpoyled by the *Judæans*, in following their victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* ſtandeth upon the torrent of *Beſor*, which *David* paſt over when he ſurprized the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*; this proveth ſufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Gerar* was a frontier town ſtanding on the uttermoſt South-border of all 2 Chro 14 *Judæa*, from all parts of *Æthiopia* ſix hundred miles. Alſo the ſpoyles which *Aſa* took, as the cattel, camels, and ſheep, whereof he ſacrificed five thouſand, ſhew them to be *Arabians* adjoyning, and not far off, and not unknown *Æthiopians*. And if it be objected that theſe deſart countries can hardly yeild a million of men fit for the wars. I anſwer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petræa*, and the Deſart, which compaſs two parts of the holy Land, ſhould yeild ten hundred thouſand, as that two Tribes of the twelve, ſhould arm five hundred and fourſcore thouſand. Beſides, it anſwered to the promiſe of God to *Abraham*, that theſe Nations ſhould exceed in number; for God ſpake it of *Iſmael*, that he would make him fruitful, and multiply him exceedingly, that he ſhould beget twelve Princes, &c.

Baaſha a King of *Iſrael* began to reign in the third of *Aſa*, and fearing the greatneſs of *Aſa* after his great victory, entertained *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadezer*, 2 Chr 16. v. 1. to joyn with him againſt *Aſa*; and to the end to block him up, he fortified *Rama*, which lieth in the way from *Jeruſalem* toward *Samaria*.

This war began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. year of *Aſa* his reign: but becauſe in the firſt of Kings the 16. it is ſaid that *Baaſha* died in the 26. year of *Aſa*; therefore could not *Baaſha* begin this war in the 35. of *Aſa* his reign, but in the 35. year of the diviſion of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, for ſo many years it was from the firſt of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17. years, to the 16. of *Aſa*. It may ſeem ſtrange, that *Aſa* being able to bring into the field an Army of five hundred and fourſcore thouſand good Souldiers, did not eaſily drive away *Baaſha*, and defeat him of his purpoſes, the victories of *Abia* againſt *Jeroboam*, and of *Aſa* himſelf againſt *Zerah*, being yet freſh in mind, which might well have emboldened the men of *Juda*, and aſmuch diſheartened the enemies. Queſtionleſs there were ſome important Circumſtances, omitted in the Text, which cauſed *Aſa* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the imployment of ſo many hundred thouſands of hands, in the late ſervice againſt *Zerah*, had cauſed many mens private buſineſſes to lye undiſpatched, where by the people being now intentive to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be unwilling to ſtir againſt the *Iſraelites*, chooſing rather to wink at apparent inconvenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardneſs of the people might have deterred *Aſa* from adventuring himſelf with the leaſt part of his forces, and committing the ſucceſs into the hands of God. Howſoever it were, he took the treaſures remaining in the temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the *Syrian* againſt *Baaſha*, whoſe employments *Benhadad*

* In the former book c. 4. ſect. 14. item c. 8. ſect. 10. 16.

Iadad readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baasha*. For the *Israelites* were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himself (after his invasion) nor his successors after him ever gave over, till they had made themselves masters of that Kingdom. So *Benhadad* being now entred into *Nepthalim*, without resistance, he spoiled di-
2 Chron. 16. 4. vers principal Cities thereof, and inforced *Baasha* to quit *Rama*, and to leave the same to *Asa*, with all the materials which he had
1 King. 15. brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done, *Benhadad*, who loved neither party, being loden with the spoiles of *Israel*, and the treasures of *Juda*, returned to *Damascus*. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Asa*, in that he now relyed on the strength of *Syria*, and did not rest himself on the favour and assistance of God, he not only caused *Hanani* to be imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore strucken with the grievous paines of the gout in his feet, wherewith af-
2 Chron. 16. ter he had been two years continually tormented, he gave up the ghost when he had reigned 41. years.

There lived with *Asa*, *Agesilaus* the sixt of the *Heraclidæ*, and *Bacis* the fift King of the same race in *Corinth*, of whom his successors were afterward called *Bacidæ*. *Astartus*, and *Astarimus* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Astarimus* took revenge on his brother *Phelletes*, for the murther of *Ithobalus* Priest of the god-
Euseb. in Chron. dess *Astarta*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worshipped. *Atys* and *Capys* ruled the Latines: *Pirithiades* and *Ophrateus* the *Assyrians*: *Tersippus* and *Phorbas* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* reigned in *Egypt*; who dying in the 36. year of *Asa*, left *Cheops* his successour, that reigned fifty six years, even to the 16. of *Joas*.

§. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reign of Asa.

IN the reign of *Asa* the Kingdom of *Israel* felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten Tribes unto their former allegeance to the house of *David*, if the wisdom of God had not otherwise determined. The wickedness of *Jeroboam* had, in his later daies, the sentence of heavy vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth of *Ahia*, the same Prophet which had foretold the division of *Israel*, for the sin of *Salomon*, and his reign over the ten Tribes. One son *Jeroboam* had among others, in whom only God found so much piety, as (though it sufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimony of the peoples love, by their general mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was most happy) the favourable approbation of God himself.

After the loss of this good son, the ungodly father was soon taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile unthankfulness to God, that he durst not suffer his own name to be used in consulting with an holy Prophet, assured of the ruine hanging over him and his, yea of Gods extream hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Idols that wrought his confusion. So loath he was to forsake his worldly wisdom, when the world was ready to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hateful memory excepted.

Nadab the son of *Jeroboam*, reigned in the second and third years of *Asa*, which are reckoned as two years, though indeed his fathers last year of two and twenty did run along (how far is uncertain) with the second of *Asa*, whose third year was the first of *Baa-* 1 King 15. *sha*, so that perhaps this *Nadab* enjoyed not 25. his Kingdom one whole year. He did not alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seems that he little feared the judgements denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that was secure of his own estate, he armed all *Israel* against the *Philistims*, and besieged one of their Towns. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill success, and recalled to mind their grievous loss of five hundred thousand under *Jeroboam*, counting it an unlucky family to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them) slain he was by *Baasha*, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his stead. *Baasha* was no sooner proclaimed King, than he began to take order with the house of *Jeroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, and not in regard of Gods will to have it so, it is evident by his continuing in the same form of Idolatry which *Jeroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the same sentence from God that had been laid upon *Jeroboam*; which was executed upon him also in the same sort. He began to infest *Asa*, by fortifying *Ramah*; but was diverted from thence by the *Syrian Benhadad*, who did wast his Country, destroying all the Land of *Nepthalim*. Four and twenty years he reigned, and then dying, left the Crown to *Ela* his son; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* had

done, two years current, perhaps not one compleat.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. He sent an Army against *Gibbethon*, the same town of the *Philistims*, before which *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* perished; but he sate at home the whilst, feasting and drinking with his Minions, whereby he gave such advantage against himself, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at *Tirza*, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baasha* had found, by doing as *Baasha* had done. Wherefore he did set upon *Ela* in his drunkenness, and slew him. Presently upon which fact, he stiled himself King of *Israel*: and began his reign with massacring all the house of *Baasha*; extending his cruelty not onely to his children, and kinsfolk, but unto all his friends in *Terza*. These news were quickly blown to the Camp at *Gibbethon*, where they were not welcommed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers in stead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quitting the siege of *Gibbethon*) presented themselves before *Tirza*; which in short space they may seem to have forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the City, not courage to keep himself from falling alive into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace, consuming it and himself together to ashes. Seven daies he is said to have reigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Camp. For *Zimri* was also an Idolater, *walking in the way of Jeroboam*; and therefore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himself, than the reign of seven daies, and those consumed partly in murthering the friends of *Baasha*, partly in seeking to have defended his own life. After the death of *Ela*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may seem, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set up a new head, who doubtless would never have appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, some strength, not unlikely to resist and vanquish the Army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new competitor of *Omri*, held out, I do not find; onely it appears that his side was decayed, and so he died, leaving no other Successor than his concurrent.

1 King 16. 19.

§. VI.

A conjecture of the causes hindering the re-union of Israel *with* Juda, *which might have been effected by these troubles.*

ANy man that shall consider the state of *Israel* in those times, may justly wonder how it came to pass, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered under these unfortunate Princes, and with the present civil wars, did not return to their ancient Kings, and re-unite themselves with the mighty Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed factions, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose the one to endure a desperate necessity of yeilding, or burning himself, the other to languish away as a man forsaken; than to have recourse unto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that GOD was pleased to have it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the cause of all things) unless it could be proved; that he had forbidden *Asa* to deal in that business, as he forbad *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God upon *Rehoboam*, did only bind his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appears by the War continued between *Israel* and *Juda*, so many years following: wherein *Abia* so far prevailed, that he wan a great battail, and recovered some Towns belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the second causes moving the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing under new upstarts, rather than to cast their eyes upon that Royal house of *David*, from which the succession of five Kings in lineal descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have been laid upon the mean beginnings thereof. To think that *Omri* had prevented his Competitors in making peace with *Asa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not onely an Idolater, *but did worse than all that were before him*; which as it might serve alone to prove, that *Asa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which he professed to take at the very first, of revenging the massacre committed upon the famly and friends of *Baasha* (*Asa* his mortal enemy) gives manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should

1 King 16. 25.

ſhould more juſtly than he have expected the friendſhip of *Juda* in that quarrel. Wherefore in ſearching out the reaſon of this backwardneſs in the ten Tribes (which was ſuch, that they may ſeem to have never thought upon the matter) to ſubmit themſelves to their true Princes; it were not amiſs to examine the cauſes moving the people to revenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard rather than of *Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam*, who followed the Wars in perſon, as a man of ſpirit and courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very firſt defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we look upon humane reaſon) occaſioned by deſire of breaking that heavy yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their necks. Their deſire was to have a King that ſhould not oppreſs them; not to have no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had cauſed them to renounce him, they did immediatly chooſe *Jeroboam* in his ſtead, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto them, for which he had contended in their behalf. Neither were they (as it ſeems) herein altogether deceived. For his affectation of popularity appears in his building of decayed Towers, and in the inſtitution of his new deviſed Idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them to travel ſo far as to *Jeruſalem*. But whether it were ſo, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to ceaſe, towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reign of his ſon, when long time of poſſeſſion had confirmed his title, which at the firſt was only good by courteſie of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in ſuch caſes) were more offended by ſome prerogatives of a King, that he ſtill retained in his own hands, than pleaſed with his remiſſion of other burdens, it is clearly apparent, that the whole Army of all *Iſrael* joyned with *Baaſha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Jeroboams* houſe.

Now the reign of *Baaſha* himſelf, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and coſt at *Rama* was caſt away; the other ſide of his Kingdom harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one Town of *Gibbethon* from the *Philiſtims*, but left that buſineſs to his ſon, who likewiſe appears an unprofitable ſluggard. Wherefore it muſt needs be, that the favour of the people toward the houſe of *Baaſha* grew from his good form of Civil Government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Jeroboam* ever meant to do. And ſurely he that ſhall take pains to look into thoſe examples which are extant of the different courſes, held by the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, in adminiſtration of juſtice, will find it moſt probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued ſo averſe from the line of *David*; as to think all adverſity more tolerable, than the weighty Scepter of that houſe. For the death of *Joab* and *Shimei* was indeed by them deſerved; yet in that they ſuffered it without form of judgment, they ſuffered like unto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without judgment, and without any crime objected, other than the Kings jealouſie: out of which by the ſame rule of arbitrary juſtice (under which it may be ſuppoſed that many were caſt away) he would have ſlain *Jeroboam* (if he could have caught him) before he had yet committed any offence; as appears by his confident return out of *Egypt*, like one that was known to have endured wrong, having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Jehoram* did upon his brethren, and upon ſundry of his greateſt men; as alſo *Joaſh* did ſo put to death *Zachariah* the ſon of *Jehojada*, who had made him King, *even in the court of the houſe of the Lord: and* Manaſſes *did ſhed innocent blood exceeding much, till he repleniſhed* Jeruſalem *from corner to corner:* and this was imputed to him as another fault; *beſides his ſin, wherewith he made* Juda *to ſin*. Contrariwiſe, among the Kings of *Iſrael* we find no monument of ſuch arbitrary proceeding, unleſs perhaps the words of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an inſtance, when he ſaid, *God do ſo to me, and more alſo, if the head of* Eliſha *the ſon of* Shaphat *ſhall ſtand on him this day:* whereby it is not plain whether he meant to kill him without more ado, or to have him condemned as a falſe Prophet, that had made them hold out againſt the *Aramites*, till they were fain to eat their own children; which he thought a ſufficient argument to prove, that it was not Gods purpoſe to deliver them. The death of *Naboth* ſheweth rather the liberty which the *Iſraelites* enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the Kings will. For *Naboth* did not fear to ſtand upon his own right, though *Ahab* were even ſick for anger; neither was he for that cauſe put to death, as upon commandement, but made away by conſpiracy, the matter being handled after a judicial form, which might give ſatisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, though to God it could not.

2 Chro. 24. 21.

2 King. 21. 16.

2 King. 6. 31.

The murther of the Prophets is continually aſcribed to *Jezabel*, an impudent Woman,

and

and not unto the King her husband. Neither is it certain, that there was no Law made whereby their lives were taken from them; but certain it is, that the people being Idolaters, were both pleased with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Juda* (such as are registred) prove them to use a more absolute maner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither do their sufferings witness the contrary. For of those which reigned over *Juda*, from the division of the Kingdom, to the captivity of the ten Tribes, three were slain by the people, and two were denied a burial amongst their Ancestors. Yea, the death of *Ahazia* and his brethren, slain by *Jehu*, with the destruction of all that Royal seed of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read) stir up in the people any such thirst of revenge, as might by the suddenness and uniformity testifie the affection to be general, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their Princes: unless we should think that the death of *Athalia*, after seven years reign, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sense of her tyrannical abusing the government, whereon she had seised. On the other side, such of the Kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seven of the twenty) were all slain by conspiracy of the great men, who aspired by treason to the Crown: the people being so far from embruing their hands in the bloud of their Soveraigns, that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbear to revenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approve the good success of treason, unless fear compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being throughly revenged upon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterously got and usurped, for a little while, their places; only three of the seven remain, whose ends how the people took, it may be doubtful. Though indeed it is precisely said of the slaughter committed on *Ahab*s children by *Jehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because *they were exceedingly affraid:* and the same fear might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whose History (as others of that time) is cursorily passed over. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that never any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them; neither was there any motive urging so forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in prison, as fear lest the people should stir in their quarrel. And certainly (howsoever all that the Law cals treason, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it self with the bloud of some great Officers; no such rebellions, howsoever wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their natural Soveraign, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his Royal person: which if any man impute unto gross ignorance, another may more charitably, and I think, more truely, ascribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that Fable of *Briareus*, who, being loosened by *Pallas*, did with his 100. hands give assistance to *Jupiter*, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying that Monarchies need not to fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisedom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side. Though indeed the Story might very well have born the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Homer*, who tels us that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracy, and that *Thetis* alone did marre all their practice, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good Form of Government sufficeth by it self to retain the people, not only without assistance of a laborious Wit, but even against all devices of the greatest and shrewdest Politicians: every Sheriffe and Constable, being sooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalf, than any over-weening Rebel, how mighty soever, can against him.

2 King. 19 10.

2 King. 10 4.

This declaration of the peoples love, being seldome found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it self of government there was such, as neither gave occasion of contentment unto the subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Upon which reasons it may seem that the multitude was kept usually disarmed. For otherwise it would have been almost impossible, that *Athalia* the sister of *Ahab*, a stranger to the Royal bloud of *Juda*, should by the only authority of a Queen-mother have destroyed all the seed of *David*, and usurped the Kingdome very near 7. years, without finding any resistance. Yea when *Jehojada* the high Priest had agreed with the Captains and principal men of the Land to set up *Joash* their lawful King, whereunto the whole Nation were generally well affected, he was fain to give to these Captains and their men, *the spears and the shields that were King* Davids, *and were in the house of the Lord.* But we need not enter into such particulars.

Questi-

Questionless, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their own choice or admission, holding the Crown by a more uncertain tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten Tribes did never seek to return to their ancient Lords: but after the destruction of their six first Kings, which died in the reign of *Asa*, admitted a seventh of a new Family, rather than they would consubject themselves with those of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, under a more honourable, but more heavy yoke.

So *Asa* having seen the death of 7. Kings of *Israel*, died himself after one and forty years reign, leaving *Jehosaphat* his son to deal with *Ahab* the son of *Omri*, who was the eighth King over the ten Tribes.

§. VII.

Of Jehosaphat *and his contemporaries.*

Jehosaphat, who succeeded *Asa*, was a Prince religious and happy, he destroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to Idolatry, and sent Teachers to all places and people wanting instruction; he recovered the tribute due unto him by the *Arabians* and *Philistims*: from the one he had silver, from the other sheep and goats to the number of fifteen thousand and four hundred. The numbers of men of War were more than admirable; for it is written that *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Jehohanam* of two hundred and
2 Chro. 17. fourscore thousand, and *Amasia* of two hundred thousand; also that he had, besides these in *Benjamin*, of those that bare shields, which we call Targetiers, and of Archers under *Eliada*, two hundred thousand, and under the commandement of *Jehozabad* a hundred and fourscore thousand: which numbred together make eleven hundred and sixty thousand, all which are said to have waited upon the King, besides his Garrisons.

That *Juda* and *Benjamin*, a Territory not much exceeding the County of *Kent*, should muster eleven hundred and sixty thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number far greater than it was found upon any other view. *Joab* in *David*'s time found
2 Sam. 24. 9. five hundred thousand: *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and fourscore thousand: *Abia* four hundred and eight thousand: *Asa* five hundred and fourscore thousand: *Amazia* inrolled all that could bear arms, and they amounted to three hundred thousand. Surely, whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Jehosaphat* that *Moab* and *Ammon* were entred his Territory to the West of *Jordan*, and that their numbers were many, he feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would have feared even the Army of *Xerxes*, if he could have brought into the field 11. hundred and 60. thousand fighting men, leaving all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my self to better judgment) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the 17. distributed to several Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300. thousand under *Adnah*, and the 200. and fourscore thousand under *Jehohanam*, were afterward commanded and mustered by *Amasiah*, *Eliad*, and *Jehozabad*: for the gross and total is not in that place set down, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Again, as the aids which *Jehosaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not shew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, so the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* which he feared, could never make the one half of those numbers, which he that commanded least among *Jehosaphat*'s Leaders had under him.

This mighty Prince, notwithstanding his greatness, yet he joyned in friendship with *Ahab* King of *Israel*, who had married that wicked Woman *Jezabel*. Him *Jehosaphat* visited at *Samaria*, and caused his son *Joram* to marry *Athalia*, this *Achab*'s Daughter.

Ahab perswaded *Jehosaphat* to assist him in the War against the *Syrians*, who held the City of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, and called together four hundred of his Prophets, or *Baalites*, to fore-tel the success: who promised him Victory. But *Jehosaphat* believed nothing at all in those diviners, but resolved first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of *Israel*. Hereupon *Achab* made answer that he had one called *Michaiah*, but he hated that Prophet, because he alwayes fore-told of evil, and never of any good towards him. Yet *Michaiah* was sent for to the King; but by the way the messenger prayed him to consent with the rest of the Prophets, and to promise Victory unto them, as they did. But *Michaiah* spake the truth, and repeated his Vision to both the Kings, which was, that *God asked who shall perswade* Ahab, *that he may go up and fall at* Ramoth Gilead? to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that he would enter into his Prophets, and be in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ: *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris ves-*

ter

ſiri loquitur in vobis. It is not you that ſpeak, but the Spirit of your Father ſpeaks in you: ſo in a contrary kind did the devil in the Prophets of *Baal*, or Satan, incourage *Achab* to his deſtruction. And as *P. Martyr* upon this place well obſerveth, theſe evil ſpirits are miniſters of Gods vengeance, and are uſed as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes ſometime imploy, For as it pleaſeth God by his good Angels, to ſave and deliver from deſtruction, of which the Scriptures have many examples: ſo on the contrary, it is by the evil that he puniſheth and deſtroyeth; both which are ſaid to perform the Will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo. Eccleſiaſticus* remembreth a ſecond ſort of malignant natures, but they are everywhere viſible. There are ſpirits, ſaith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on ſure ſtrokes. In the time of deſtruction they ſhew forth their power, and accompliſh the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaias* having by this his revelation greatly diſpleaſed the King, and the Prophets, whoſe ſpirit he diſcovered, was ſtroken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baal*'s Prophets, and by *Achab* himſelf committed to priſon: where he appointed him to be reſerved and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiah*, not fearing to reply, anſwered, *If thou return in peace, the Lord hath not ſpoken by me.* Nevertheleſs *Achab* went on in that War, and was wounded to death. *Jehoſaphat* returned to *Jeruſalem*, where he was reprehended by *Jehu* the Prophet for aſſiſting an idolatrous Prince, and
2 Chro. 18. one that hated God.

After this the *Aramites* or *Damaſcens*, joyned with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumæans* to invade *Judæa:* who paſs *Jordan* and encamp at *Engaddi*; and when *Jehoſaphat* gathered his Army, the Prophet *Jahaziel* fore-told him of the Victory, which ſhould be obtained without any bloud-ſhed of his part: and ſo when *Jehoſaphat* approached, this Aſſembly of Nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, diſagreeing with the *Idumæans*, and quarrelling for ſome cauſes among themſelves, thoſe of *Ammon* and *Moab* ſet up-
2 Chro. 20. on the *Idumæans*, and brake them utterly: which done, they alſo invaded each other; in which broil *Jehoſaphat* arriving, took the ſpoil of them all without any loſs of his part, as it was fore-told and promiſed by God. Notwithſtanding this Victory, *Jehoſaphat*, forgeting that he was formerly reprehended for aſſiſting an idolatrous King, did notwithſtanding joyn with *Ochazias*, the ſon of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to ſend to *Ophir*, hoping of the like return which *Salomon* had: but as *Eleizer* the Prophet fore-told him his ſhips periſhed, and were broken in the port of *Ezion Gaber*, and ſo that enter- 2 Chron.
prize was overthrown.

Yet he taketh part with *Jehoram*, the brother of *Ochazias*, againſt the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, the *Edomites* joyn their Forces, not forgetting, it ſeems, that the *Moabites*, aſſiſted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before deſtroyed their Army.

The *Moabites*, ſubjects to *David* and *Salomon*, forſaking the Kings of *Juda*, gave themſelves for vaſſals to *Jeroboam*, and ſo they continued to his ſucceſſors till the death of *Achab:* but *Jehoſaphat*, notwithſtanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it ſeemeth he was drawn into this War, both to be avenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Juda* to *Iſrael*, as alſo becauſe they had lately joyned themſelves with the *Syrians* againſt *Joſaphat*, and thirdly, to puniſh their double rebellion who firſt forſook *Juda*, and now *Iſrael*.

Both Kings reſolved to paſs by the way of *Idumæa*, thereby the better to aſſure that Nation; for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* againſt *Jehoſaphat:* But whether they had then declared themſelves againſt *Jehoſaphat*, it is not certain; for in the 2. of *Chron.* 11. *verſ.* 8. it is written, that in the time of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſaphat*, *Edom* rebelled: and therefore it ſeemeth to me that the *Edomites*, when they were ſlain by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themſelves ſatisfied in ſuch conditions as they required, offered to return from them, and to joyn themſelves with the Army of *Juda*. For, that they were numbred among the enemies of *Jehoſaphat*, it is plain in the 2. of *Chron.* the 20. and as plain *c.* 21. *v.* 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Jehoſaphat*'s death. Now in the paſſage of theſe Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the *Idumæans* having a purpoſe to rebel, miſled the Army of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, with intent to infeeble them for want of Water; true it is, that they ſuffered the ſame, if not a greater thirſt than the Armies of *Craſſus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had in all likelihood utterly periſhed, had not *Eliſha* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water ſprang, by which not only *Jehoſaphat* and his Army, but *Jehoram* King of *Iſrael* an Idolater was relieved: the great mercy and goodneſs of God having ever been prone to ſave the evil for the good, whereas he never deſtroyed the good for the evil.

The miſerable iſſue of this War, and how 2 King. 3.
Moab burnt his ſon, or the ſon of the King
of

of *Edom*, for sacrifice, on the rampire of his own City, I have already written in the life of *Jehoram* among the Kings of *Israel*. *Jehoſaphat* reigned 25. years and died; he was buried in the valley of *Jehoſaphat*, and a part of
2 Chro. 20. the *Pyramis* ſet over his grave is yet to be
Broch. ter. ſanct. ſeen, ſaith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Jehu* the ſon of *Hanani*.

There lived with *Jehoſaphat*, *Ophratenes* in *Aſſyria*, *Capetus*, and *Tiberinus* Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*; of the latter the river *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) took name.

In *Jehoſaphats* time alſo ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelas* or *Ageſilaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilaus* of the ſame race of the *Heraclidæ* the ſeventh in *Lacedæmon*. *Badeſorus* ruled the *Tyrians*; *Achab*, *Ochazias* and *Jehoram* the *Iſraelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram *the ſon of* Jehoſaphat, *and* Ahazia.

§. I.

That Jehoram *was made King ſundry times.*

JEhoram the ſon of *Jehoſaphat* King of *Juda* began to reign at thirty two years of age, and lived until he was forty years old, being eight years a King: but of theſe eight years, which *Jehoram* is ſaid to have reigned, four are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* war with *Ahab*, left this *Jehoram* King in his ſtead as *Ahab* did his ſon *Ahazia*. This appears by the ſeveral beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the
1 Kin. 22. v. 51. two *Jehorams* Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, and to *Ahazia* the eldeſt ſon of *Ahab*. For *Ahazia* is ſaid to have begun his reign, in the ſeventeenth year of *Jehoſaphat*. *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* ſucceeded him in the 2. year
2 Kin. 1. 17. of *Jehoram the ſon of Jehoſaphat King of Juda*; that is, in the next year after that *Jehoram* of
2 King. 3. 1 & 9. *Juda* was deſigned King by his father; it being (as we find elſewhere) *the eighteenth year of Jehoſaphat himſelf*, who went with the *Iſraelites* againſt *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the royal office was retained ſtill by *Jehoſaphat*, who governed abſolutely by himſelf, not communicating the rule with his ſon. But in *the fifth*
2 King. 8. 16. *year of Jehoram King of Iſrael*, which was the two and twentieth of *Jehoſaphat*, the old King took unto him, as partner in the government, this his eldeſt ſon, who was at that time 32. years old, his father being 57. Now foraſmuch as *Jehoſaphat reigned 25. years*, it
2 Kin. 22. 41. is evident that his ſon did not reign alone till the eighth of *Joram* King of *Iſrael*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, who did not alwaies reign preciſely ſo long as the bare letter of the Text may ſeem at firſt to affirm: but their years were ſometimes compleat, ſometimes onely current, ſometimes confounded with the years of their ſucceſſors or foregoers, and muſt therefore be found by comparing their times with the years of thoſe others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing leſs needful than curious, to enquire into the reaſons moving *Jehoſaphat* either to aſſume unto him his ſon as partner in the Kingdom, whilſt he was able himſelf to command both in peace and in war, the like having never been done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the 17. of his reign) vouchſafed unto him that honor, to reſume it to himſelf, or at leaſt wiſe to defer the confirmation of it, until four or five years were paſſed. Yet foraſmuch as to enter into the examination of theſe paſſages, may be a mean to find ſome light, whereby we may more clearly diſcover the cauſes of much extraordinary buſineſs enſuing, I hold it not amiſs to make ſuch conjecture, as the circumſtances of the ſtory briefly handled in the Scriptures may ſeem to approve.

We are therefore to conſider, that this King *Jehoſaphat* was the firſt of *Rehoboams* iſſue that ever entred into any ſtreight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Juda* before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themſelves in vain, making ſmall profit of the greateſt advantages that could be wiſhed. Wherefore *Jehoſaphat* thought it the wiſeſt way, to make a league offenſive and defenſive between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, whereby each might enjoy their own in quiet.

This confederacy made by a religious King, 2 *Chro.* 19. v. 2. & 3. with one that did *hate the Lord*, could not long proſper, as not iſſuing from the true *root and fountain of all wiſdom*: yet as a piece of ſound policy, doubtleſs it wanted not fair

pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutual fortification of both those Kingdoms, against the uncircumcised Nations their ancient enemies. This apparent benefit, being so inestimable a jewell, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditary from father to son, it was thought a very good course to have it confirmed by some sure bond of affinity, and thereupon was *Athalia* the daughter of *Omri*, and sister of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, given in marriage to *Jehoram*, who was son and heir apparent to the King of *Juda*. This Lady was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of Queen *Jezabel* her brothers wife, that she durst undertake, and could throughly perform a great deal more in *Jerusalem*, than the other knew how to compass in *Samaria*. She was indeed a fire-brand ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in *Juda*, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdom, regardless of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first fruits of this great league, was the *Syrian* war at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Juda* and *Israel* did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory should have redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very seldom thrive by matching with Idolaters, but rather serve the turns of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himself cannot be well affected to his servants. Before their setting forth, *Ahab* designed, as King, his son *Ahaziah*; not so much perhaps in regard of the uncertain events of war (for none of his predecessors had ever done the like, upon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the prophet *Michaia* (for he despised them) as inviting *Jehosaphat* by his own example, to take the same course, wherein he prevailed.

§. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old king Jehosaphat *to change his purpose often, in making his son* Jehoram *King.*

MAny arguments do very strongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly over-ruled by his wife, especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly Ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Achab*.

That she was a woman of intollerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vain matter she was able to produce, whereby to make her husband think that his brethren and kindred were but mean and unworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his children, which were begotten upon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not upon base women, and meer subjects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained against the *Syrian Benhadad* were matter sufficient to make an insolent man think highly of himself, as being allied so honourably, who could otherwise have found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heir apparent to the Crown, whereof already he had, in a manner, the possession.

How soon his vices brake out, or how long he dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soon make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young man to know himself better, by making him fall back into rank among his younger brethren. And surely the doings of *Jehosaphat* about the same time, argue no smal distemper of the whole country, through the misgovernment of his ungodly son. For the good King was fain to make his progress round about the Land, reclaiming the people unto the service of God, and appointing Judges *throughout all the strong Cities of* Juda *City by City*. This had been a needless labour, if the religion taught & strongly maintained by *Asa*, and by himself, had not suffered alteration, and the course of Justice been perverted, by the power of such as had born authority. But the necessity that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did give to the Judges; and by his commission given to one of the Priests in spiritual causes, and to the Steward of his house in temporal matters, to be generall over-seers. 2 Chron. 19. v. 4, 5, &c.

This was not till after the death of *Ahazia* the son of *Ahab*; but how long after it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehosaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Jehoram*, *Jehosaphat*'s son, though afterward this *Jehoram* of *Juda* had another first and second year, even in his fathers time, before he reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and Expositors of the holy Text agree. So he continued in private estate, uutil the two and twentieth of his fathers reign, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignity are not set down, yet we may not think, that motives thereto, appearing substantial, were wanting. *Jehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondency with

with *Jehoſaphat* that his father had done; and made uſe of it. He drew the *Judæans* into the war of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the young Prince of *Juda* was again ordained King by his father, as in the *Syrian* expedition he had been. Or if we ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprize againſt *Moab* did not occupy ſo much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehoſaphat*, in which year that Nation rebelled againſt *Iſrael* unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, and the affinity between them contracted in the perſon of *Jehoram*, might offer ſome good occaſions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger ſons, in their elder brothers diſgrace, might cauſe their father to put him in poſſeſſion for fear of tumult after his death; or the deep diſſimulation of *Jehoram* himſelf might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethen; it being a thing uſual in miſchievous fell natures, to be as abject and ſervile in time of adverſity, as inſolent and bloody upon advantage. This is manifeſt, that being repoſſeſſed of his former eſtate, he demeaned himſelf in ſuch wiſe toward his brethren, as cauſed their father to enable them, not only with ſtore of *ſilver and gold, and of precious things*, (which kind of liberality other Kings doubtleſs had uſed unto their younger ſons) but with the cuſtody of *ſtrong Cities in Juda*, to aſſure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means, againſt unwonted perils.

2 Chron. 21. 3.

§. III.

The doings of Jehoram *when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of* Edom *and* Libna.

BUt all this providence availed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwiſe determined of the ſequel. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the younger ſons of *Jehoſaphat* found ſtrong Cities, a weak defence, againſt the power of him unto whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the ſummons of a King their brother, then had he them without any more adoe; if they ſtood upon their guard, then were they Traytors, and ſo unable to hold out againſt him, who beſides his own power, was able to bring the forces of the *Iſraelitiſh* Kingdom againſt them; ſo that the apparent likelihood of their final overthrow, ſufficed to make all forſake them in the very beginning. Howſoever it was, they were all taken and ſlain, and with them for company many great men of the Land, ſuch belike as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant ſought their lives, or had been appointed Rulers of the Country, when *Jehoram* was depoſed from his government; in which office they, without forbearing to do juſtice, could hardly avoid the doing of many things derogatory to their young Maſter; which if he would now call treaſon, ſaying that he was then King, who durſt ſay the contrary?

After this *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now Lord alone to make invaſions in Religion, wherein he was not contented, as other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and ſafe conduct unto Superſtition and Idolatry, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that ſin, whereto it is wonderful that they were ſo much addicted, having ſuch knowledge of God, and of his deteſting that above all other ſins; but he uſed compulſion, and was (if not the very firſt) the firſt that is regiſtred, to have ſet up Irreligion by force.

Whilſt he was thus buſied at home, in doing what he liſted, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled againſt him abroad; and having hitherto ſince *David's* time, been governed by a Vice-Roy, did now make unto themſelves a King. Againſt theſe *Jehoram* in perſon made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots; with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the Rebels to fly into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing ſome of thoſe whom he ſhould have ſubdued, and kept his ſervants. Now began the prophecy of *Iſaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Eſau* in proceſs of time ſhould break the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this the *Edomites* could never be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Juda*, but held their own ſo well, that when, after many civil and forrein wars, the Jews by ſundry Nations had been brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his ſon, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the Jews, in the decrepit age of *Iſrael*, and reigned as Kings, even in *Jeruſalem* it ſelf.

The freedom of the *Edomites*, though purchaſed ſomewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great City within *Juda*, which in the time of *Joſhua* had a peculiar King, to rebel againſt *Jehoram*, and ſet it ſelf in liberty. *Libna* ſtood in the confines of *Benjamin* and of *Dan*, far from the aſſiſtance of any bordering enemies to *Juda*, and therefore ſo unlike-

ly it was to have maintained it self in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from utter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have been taken by their powerful, cruel, and throughly incensed Lord. The *Israelite* held such good intelligence at that time with *Juda*, that he would not have accepted the Town, had it offered it self unto him: neither do we read that it sought how to cast it self into a new subjection, but continued a free state. The rebellion of it against *Jehoram*, was, *Because he had forsaken the* 2 Chro 21. *Lord God of his Fathers*; which I take to have 10. not only been the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason moving the inhabitants to do as they did: for it was a Town of the Levites; who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not onely some allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulsive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the use of the Temple at *Jerusalem* (which, being devout men, they might fear to lose by this rebellion) it was never denied to those of the ten revolted Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather invited the *Israelites* thither, and gave them kind entertainment: under Idolaters they must have been without it, whether they lived free, or in subjection. Yet it seems that private reasons were not wanting, which might move them rather to do than suffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the general visitation before remembred, wherein *Jehosaphat* reformed his kingdom, the good old King appointing new Governours, and giving them especial charge to do justice without respect of persons, used these words; *The Levites shall be officers before you*; *Be of good courage, and do it, and the Lord shall be with the good.* By these phrases, it seems, that he encouraged them against the more powerful, than just proceedings of his son; whom if the Levites did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, & make them now to feel, as many Princes of the land had done, his heavy indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may justly seem very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Jehosaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to have over-whelmed any one Town, and buried it under the earth, which they might well in one moneth have cast into it with shovels, by ordinary approaches.

But it seems that of those great numbers which his father could have levied, there were not many which *Jehoram* could well trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier loss, to let one Town goe, then to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happiness to be feared than to be loved, are fain themselves to stand in fear of those, by whom they might have been dreadful unto others.

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§. IV.

Of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, *and of his death.*

THese afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the mind of the wicked Prince; a Prophecy in writing was delivered to him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wives, and his own body. Hereby likewise it appears that he was a cruel persecutor of Gods servants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predecessors, both good and evil Kings; but were fain to denounce Gods judgements against him by letters, keeping themselves close and far from him. This Epistle is said to have been sent unto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* propheſied in his stead before this time, even in the daies of *Jehosaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophecy in writing behind him, or that (as some conjecture) the errour of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we read *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be believed than the Tradition held by some of the Jewish Rabbins, that *Elias* from heaven did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, devised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from heaven to St. *Giles*.

2 Chron. 12. 2 King. 1. & 3. 11.

But whosoever was the Authour of this threatning Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecy was as terrible as the sentence. For the *Philistims* and *Arabians brake into Judæa*, and took the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These *Philistims* had not presumed since the time of *David*, to make any offensive warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Towns, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small territories, by defensive arms, to which they were

were conſtrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Iſraelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have been then, as they are now, a naked people, all horſemen, and ill appointed; their Country affording no other furniture, than ſuch as might make them fitter to rob and ſpoil in the open fields, than to offend ſtrong Cities, ſuch as were thick ſet in *Juda*. True it is, that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then known, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, deſtroying ſome, and building other ſome very ſtately Cities. But it muſt be conſidered, that this was when they had learned of the *Romans* the Art of War; and that the proviſions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one ſubdued Province, did make them able and ſkilful in purſuing their conqueſt, and going on into Regions far removed from them. At this day having loſt in effect all that they had gotten, ſuch of them as live in *Arabia* it ſelf are good horſemen, but ill appointed; very dangerous to paſſengers, but unable to deal with good Souldiers, as riding ſtark naked, and rather truſting in the ſwiftneſs of their horſes than in any other means of reſiſtance, where they are well oppoſed. And ſuch, or little better, may they ſeem to have been, that ſpoiled *Judæa* in the time of *Jehoram*. For their Country was alwayes barren and deſart, wanting manual Arts whereby to ſupply the naturals with furniture: neither are theſe bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philiſtims*. Out of this we may infer, that one half, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the leaſt muſter of *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehoſaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eighty thouſand fighting men) had been enough to have driven away far greater forces than theſe enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people been unable to deal with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes jealouſie, as in *Saul*'s time by the policy of the *Philiſtims*.

It may ſeem that the houſe of the King which theſe invaders took, was not his Palace in *Jeruſalem*, but rather ſome other houſe of his abroad in the Country, where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation: becauſe we read not that they did ſack the City, or ſpoil the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious booty, had they got poſſeſſion thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jeruſalem* it ſelf by ſurprize, the people being diſarmed, and the Kings guard too weak to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, becauſe it was ſo large and populous: and therefore having done what ſpoil they could, withdrew themſelves with ſuch purchaſe as they were able ſafely to conveigh away.

The ſlaughter committed by *Jehu* on the two and forty brethren of *Ahazia*, or (as they are called elſewhere) ſo many of his brothers ſons, and the cruel maſſacre wherein all the Royal ſeed periſhed (only *Joas* excepted) under the tyranny of *Athalia*, following within two years after this invaſion of the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians*, make it ſeem probable, that the ſons of *Jehoram* were not all ſlain at once, but that rather the firſt murther began in his own time, and was ſeconded by many other heavy blows, wherewith his houſe was inceſſantly ſtriken, until it was in a manner quite hewed down.

After theſe calamities, the hand of God was extended againſt the body of this wicked King, ſmiting him with a grievous diſeaſe in his bowels, which left him not until his guts fell out, and his wretched ſoul departed from his miſerable carkaſs. The people of the Land, as they had ſmall cauſe of comfort in his life, ſo had they not the good manners to pretend ſorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of burial among his Anceſtors the Kings of *Juda*, though his own ſon ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, who was guided by the ſame ſpirits that had been his Fathers evil Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous interring of a dead huſband. She vvas thinkiug how to provide for the future, to maintain her own greatneſs, to retain her favourites in their authority, and to place about her Son ſuch *Counſellours of the houſe of Ahab*, as vvere fitteſt for her turn. Wherefore ſhe thought it unſeaſonable to make much a-dee about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, vvith a ſtately funeral of a man by them deteſted: but rather choſe to let the blame of things paſſed be laid upon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her ſelf and hers, vvhich it now did concern her to avoid. Such is the quality of vvicked Inſtigators, having made greedy uſe of bad imployments, to charge, not only vvith his own vices, but vvith their faults alſo, the man vvhoſe evil inclinations their ſiniſter counſels have made worſe, vvhen once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Jehoram* fell out indeed in a buſie time; vvhen his friend and couſin the *Iſraelite*, vvho had the ſame name, was entangled in a difficult War againſt the *Aramite*; and therefore could have no better leaſure to help *Athalia*, in ſetting of things according

2 Chron. 24. 4.

to

to her own mind, than he had (perhaps through the same hinderance) to help her husband, when he was distressed by the *Philistims*: Yea, rather he needed and craved the assistance of the men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly run thither again, unless they were very fairly intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as far as the circumstances remembred in holy Scripture would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accomplish nevertheless his hidden purpose, and without miraculous means, confound themselves in the seeming-wise devices of their own folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learn to submit their judgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may safely dispense with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdom dictateth unto them. For in such kind of unhappy subtilties, it is manifest that *Athalia* was able to furnish both her Husband and her Son; but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediatly followeth.

§. V.

Of the reign of Ahazia, *and his business with the King of* Israel.

(*Chazias*, or *Ahazia*, the son of *Jehoram* and *Athalia*, began his reign over *Juda*, in the twelfth year of *Jehoram* the son of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, and reigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficulty than importance to know it: yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion than that of *Torniellus*, alledging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, *Anno Domini* 1588. which saith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that do give him two years more. Like enough he is to have been young: for he was governed by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gave him counsel, by which he perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his fathers courses. In matter of State he likewise upheld the league made with the house of *Ahab*. He was much busied in doing little, and that with ill success. He accompanied his Cousin the *Israelite* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wan, but not without blows: for the *Aramites* fought so well, that the King of *Israel* was fain to adventure his own person, which escaped not unwounded.

The Town being won, was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* King of *Aram*: which done, *Jehoram* King of *Israel* withdrew himself to the City of *Jezrael*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahazia* returned to *Jerusalem*. It seems that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all scantly one year, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part) when he did make a new journey, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of *Israel*, who lay sore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would have hindered, and therefore sought every occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vain piece of work so to leave his kingdom, having no other business than by way of complement to go see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certain it is, that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heavy judgement, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet upon the house of *Ahab*. And hereupon at this time had he disposed not onely the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seem to have been accidental, but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing less than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athalia* doubtless was one; whose mischievous purposes it will shortly be needful, for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

§. VI.

How Ahazia *perished with the house of* Ahab: *and how that Family was destroyed by* Jehu.

THE whole Army of *Israel*, with all the principal Captains, lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Disciple of *Elizeus* the Prophet came in among the Captains that were sitting together; who calling out among them *Jehu*, a principal man, took him apart, and anointed him King over *Israel*, rehearsing unto him the Prophecy of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captains a desire to know the errand, which *Jehu* thought meet

meet to let them know, as doubting vvhether they had over-heard all the talk or no. When he had acquainted them vvith the vvhole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him King. For the Prophecy of *Elias* vvas vveil known among them, neither durſt any one oppoſe himſelf againſt him, that vvas by God ordained to perform it.

Jehu, vvho had upon the ſudden this great honour thrown upon him, vvas not ſlow to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of it, but uſed the firſt heat of their affections, vvho joyned vvith him, in ſetting on foot the buſineſs vvhich nearly concerned him, and vvas not to be fore-ſlowed, being no more his own than Gods.

The firſt care vvas that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Jezreel*, vvhereby the King might have had vvarning either to fight or flee: this being foreſeen, he marched ſwiftly away, to take the Court vvhile it vvas yet ſecure. King *Jehoram* vvas now ſo vvell recovered of his Wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for vvhich cauſe it ſeems that there vvas much feaſting, and joy made, eſpecially by Queen *Jezabel*, who kept her ſtate ſo vvell, that the brethren of *Ahazia* coming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to ſalute the Queen, as to viſit the King.

Certain it is, that ſince the rebellion of *Moab* againſt *Iſrael*, the houſe of *Ahab* did never ſo much flouriſh as at this time. Seventy Princes of the bloud Royal there were that lived in *Samaria*; *Jehoram* the ſon of Queen *Jezabel* had won *Ramoth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vain, with loſs of his life; and he won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now paſt, but the honour likely to continue. The amity was ſo great between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, that it might ſuffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of ſucceſs to any rebellious enterprizer: ſo that now the prophecy of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwiſe remembred, than as an unlikely tale by them that beheld the majeſtical face of the Court, wherein ſo great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and forty Princes of his blood expected.

In the middeſt of this ſecurity, whileſt theſe great Eſtates were (perhaps) either conſulting about proſecution of their intents, firſt againſt the *Aramites*, and then againſt *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebels and enemies: or elſe were triumphing in joy of that which was already atchieved, and the Queen-mother dreſſing her ſelf in the braveſt manner to come down amongſt them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower diſcovered a company coming. Theſe news were not very troubleſome: for the Army that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be ready againſt all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be diſcharged upon ſome notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not ſtir. Onely the King ſent out an Horſe-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The meſſenger coming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning as might be. The ſeeming negligence of this fellow in not returning vvith an anſwer, might argue the matter to be of ſmall importance: yet the King to be ſatisfied, ſent out another that ſhould bring him vvord how all vvent; and he vvas likewiſe detained by *Jehu*. Theſe dumb ſhews bred ſome ſuſpicion in *Jehoram*, vvhom the Watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew ſo near, that they might, though not perfectly, be diſcerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himſelf by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that vvas loth to diſcover any vveakneſs, cauſed his Chariot to be made ready, and iſſued forth with *Ahazia* King of *Juda* in his company, whoſe preſence added majeſty to his train, when ſtrength to reſiſt, or expedition to flee, had been more needful. This could not be done ſo haſtily, but that *Jehu* was come even to the towns end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to ſalute *Jehu* with terms of peace, but receiving a bitter anſwer, his heart failed him, ſo that crying out upon the treaſon to his fellow King, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehu* ſoon overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he ſtruck him dead, and threw his carkaſs into that field, which, purchaſed with the bloud of the rightful owner, was to be watered with the bloud of the unjuſt poſſeſſor. Neither did *Ahazia* eſcape ſo well, but that he was arreſted by a Wound, which held him till death did ſeize upon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the wall, by the gate of the City, where *Jezabel* might ſoon be advertiſed of this calamity, if ſhe did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercy, whoſe judgment, pronounced againſt her long before, had overtaken her, when ſhe leaſt expected it. But ſhe, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her ſelf ready in all haſte, and painted her face, hoping with her ſtately and imperious looks to daunt the Traitor, or at leaſt to utter ſome Apophthegme that ſhould expreſs her brave ſpirit,

ſpirit, and brand him with ſuch a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did ſhe think upon the hungry dogs that were ordained to devour her, whoſe paunches the *ſtibium*, with which ſhe beſmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the ſcolding language wherewith ſhe armed her tongue could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As *Jehu* drew near, ſhe opened her window, and looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treaſon, and murther of the King his Maſter. This was in meer humane valuation ſtoutly ſpoken, but was indeed a part of miſerable folly; as are all things, howſoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to *God the Lord of all*. Her own Eunuchs that ſtood by and heard her, were not affected ſo much as with any compaſſion of her fortune; much leſs was her enemy daunted with her proud ſpirit. When *Jehu* ſaw that ſhe did uſe the little remainder of her life in ſeeking to vex him, he made her preſently to underſtand her own eſtate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her ſervants to know which of them would be on his ſide, and ſoon found them ready to offer their ſervice before the very face of their proud Lady. Hereupon he commanded them to caſt her down head-long: which immediately they performed, without all regard of her greatneſs and eſtate, wherein ſhe had a few hours before ſhined ſo gloriouſly in the eyes of men; of men that conſidered not the judgments of God that had been denounced againſt her.

So periſhed this accurſed woman by the rude hands of her own ſervants, at the commandment of her greateſt enemy, that was yeſterday her ſubject, but now her Lord: and ſhe periſhed miſerably, ſtrugling in vain with baſe grooms, who contumelioufly did hale and thruſt her, whileſt her inſulting enemy ſate on horſe-back, adding indignity to her grief by ſcornful beholding the ſhameful manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carkaſs that was left without the Walls, was devoured by dogs, and her very memory was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatry, murther, and oppreſſion, with ſlow, but ſure payment, and full intereſt.

Ahazia King of *Juda* fleeing a-pace from *Jehu*, was overtaken by the way where he lurked; and receiving his deadly Wound in the Kingdom of *Samaria*, was ſuffered to get him gone (which he did in all haſte) and ſeek his burial in his own Kingdom: and this favour he obtained for his Grand-fathers ſake, not for his Fathers nor his own. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Jeruſalem*, where he was enterred with his Anceſtors, having reigned about one year.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia; *and whoſe ſon he was that ſucceeded her.*

§. I.

Of Athalia's *uſurping the Kingdom, and what pretences ſhe might forge.*

2 Chron. 22. 9.

AFter the death of *Ahazia*, it is ſaid that his houſe *was not able to retain the Kingdom:* which Note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* upon the death of her ſon, have given occaſion to divers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Joas*, who reigned ſhortly after. For *Athalia* being thus diſpoiled of her ſon, under whoſe name ſhe had ruled at her pleaſure, did forthwith lay hold upon all the Princes of the blood, and ſlew them, that ſo ſhe might occupy the Royal Throne her ſelf, and reign as Queen, rather than live a Subject. She had before-hand put into great place, and made Counſellors unto her ſon, ſuch as were fitteſt for her purpoſe, and ready at all times to execute her will: that ſhe kept a ſtrong guard about her, it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the Princes, and many of the Nobility, had made the people tame, and fearful to ſtir, whatſoever they ſaw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent ſoever it be, is ſeldom or never ſo ſhameleſs as to refuſe the commodity of goodly pretences offering themſelves; but rather ſcrapes together all that will any way ſerve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not abſurd for us to think, that *Athalia*, when ſhe ſaw the Princes of the Royal bloud, all of them in a manner, ſlain by her huſband, and afterwards his own children deſtroyed by the *Philiſtims*, began even then to play her own game, reducing by artificial practice, into fair likelihoods, thoſe poſſibilities wherewith her huſbands

bands bad fortune had preſented her. Not without great ſhew of reaſon, either by her own mouth, or by ſome truſty creature of hers might ſhe give him to underſtand, how needful it were to take the beſt order whilſt as yet he might, for fear of the worſt that might happen. If the iſſue of *David*, which now remained only in his family, ſhould by any accident fail (as wofull experience had already ſhewed what might after come to paſs) the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to chooſe a King of ſome new ſtock, a popular ſeditious man peradventure, one that to countenance his own unworthineſs, would not care what aſperſions he laid upon that Royal houſe, which was fallen down. And who could aſſure him, that ſome ambitious ſpirit, fore-ſeeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the deſtruction of him, and all his ſeed? Wherefore it were the wiſeſt way to deſign by his authority, not only his ſucceſſor, but alſo the reverſioner, and ſo to provide, that the Crown might never be ſubject to any rifling, but remain in the diſpoſition of them that loved him beſt, if the worſt that might be feared comming to paſs, his own poſterity could not retain it.

Such perſwaſions being urged, and earneſtly followed, by the importunate ſollicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous Tyrant think, that the onely way to fruſtrate all devices of ſuch as gaped after a change, was to make her heir the laſt and youngeſt of his houſe, whom it moſt concerned, as being the Queen Mother, to uphold the firſt and eldeſt.

If *Athalia* took no ſuch courſe as this in her husbands time, yet might ſhe do it in her ſons. For *Ahazia* (beſides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely to take much care for the ſecurity of his half-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wives, in reſpect of his own-born-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children baſely begotten. But if this miſchievous woman forgat her ſelf ſo far in her wicked policy, that ſhe loſt all opportunity which the weakneſs of her husband and ſon did afford, of procuring unto her ſelf ſome ſeeming Title; yet could ſhe afterwards feign ſome ſuch matter, as boldly ſhe might: being ſure that none would ask to ſee her evidence, for fear of being ſent to learn the certainty of her ſon or husband in another World. But I rather think that ſhe took order for her affairs before-hand. For though ſhe had no reaſon to ſuſpect or fear the ſudden death of her ſon, yet it was the wiſeſt way to provide betimes againſt all that might happen, whileſt her husbands iſſue by other women was young and unable to reſiſt. We plainly find that the Brethren or Nephews of *Ahazia*, to the number of two and forty, were ſent to the Court of *Iſrael*, only to ſalute the children of the King, and the children of the Queen. The ſlender occaſion of which long journey, conſidered together with the quality of theſe perſons (being in effect all the ſtock of *Jehoram* that could be grown to any ſtrength) makes it very ſuſpicious, that their entertainment in *Jezabels* houſe would onely have been more formall, but little differing in ſubſtance, from that which they found at the hand of *Jehu*. He that looks into the courſes held both before and after by theſe two Queens, will find cauſe enough to think no leſs. Of ſuch as have aſpired unto Lordſhips not belonging to them, and thruſt out the right Heirs by pretence of Teſtaments, that had no other validity than the ſword of ſuch as claimed by them could give, Hiſtories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentiful examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may ſay, Behold, this is new? It hath been already in the old time that was before us.* That a King might ſhed his brothers blood, was proved by *Salomon* upon *Adonia*; that he might alien the Crown from his natural Heirs, *David* had given proof; but theſe had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that pleaſe them, will neglect the reaſons of thoſe examples, if they pleaſe them not, and reſt contented with the practice, as more willing by ſhewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why *Salomon* ſlew his brother that had begun one rebellion, and was entring into another. Jehoram *ſlew all his brethren, which were better than he: David* purchaſed the Kingdom, and might the more freely diſpoſe of it, yet he diſpoſed of it as the Lord appointed: if *Jehoram*, who had loſt much and gotten nothing, thought that he might alien the remainder at his pleaſure; or if *Ahazia* ſought to cut off the ſucceſſion of his brethren, or of their iſſue; either of theſe was to be anſwered with the words which *Jehojada* the Prieſt uſed afterwards, in declaring the title of *Joaſh*: *Behold, the Kings ſon muſt reign; as the Lord hath ſaid of the ſon of David.* Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend ſome title, whatſoever it might be, to the Crown of *Juda*; yet it is moſt certain that ſhe had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treachery, murder, and open violence, and ſo ſhe held it ſix whole years, and a part of the ſeventh, in good ſeeming ſecurity.

Eccleſ. 1. 10

2 Chro. 21. 13.

§. II.

How Jehu *spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest* Athalia.

IN all this time *Jehu* did never goe about to disturb her; which in reason he was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole House. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himself, rooting out the posterity of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in wars against the *Aramites*, wherein he was so far overcharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much less attempt upon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were seventy living in *Samaria*, out of which number *Jehu* by letter advised the Citizens to set up some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was; which they well understood to proceed from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they took example by the two Kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their service; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in less than one daies warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were enjoyned by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtilty, feigning a great sacrifice to their god, by which means he drew them all together into one Temple, where he slew them: and in the same zeal to God utterly demolished all the monuments of that impiety.

Concerning the Idolatry devised by *Jeroboam*, no King of *Israel* had ever greater reason than *Jehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to fear lest the people should be allured unto the house of *David*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the Crown of *Juda* in the possession of a cruel Tyranness: he had received his kingdom by the unexpected grace of God; and further in regard of his zeal expressed in destroying *Baal* out of *Israel*, he was promised notwithstanding his following the sin of *Jeroboam*, that the kingdom should remain in his Family to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serve: he would needs help to piece out Gods providence with his own circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedy gamester, who by stealing a needless Card to assure himself of winning a stake, forfeits his whole test. He had questionless displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of superstition, so long practised as was that Idolatry of *Jeroboam*. Yet all these, how many soever they were, had never once thought upon making him King, if God, whom (to retain them) he now forsook, had not given him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Israel*, whereof *Hazael* King of *Damascus* was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may find in the Prophecy of *Elizeus*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shalt thou set on fire; and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their Infants against the stones, and rend in pieces their women with child.* So did not only the wickedness of *Ahab* cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatry of the people bring a lamentable misery upon all the Land. For the fury of *Hazaels* victory was not quenched with the destruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invasion; but he *smote them in all the coast of Israel*, and wasted all the Country beyond the River of *Jordan*. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seems that the people repented not of their Idolatry; (*For in those daies the Lord began to loath Israel*;) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble house of *Ahab*, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, & had bravely fought for the conquest of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were fain to make woful shifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in serving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in stead of the ease & the pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, overwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to avoid; and therein by God, whom they first forsook, forsaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wisdom, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

2 King 8. 12.

2 King 10. 32.

§. III.

Of Athaliah's *Government.*

THese calamities falling upon *Israel*, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giving her leisure to look to things at home: as having little

little to do abroad, unleſs it were ſo that ſhe held ſome correſpondency with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her Husbands Grand-father King *Aſa*, who had done the like. And ſome probability that ſhe did ſo, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we find, that this 2 Chron. 24. 7. *wicked* Athalia *and her children brake up the houſe of God, and all things that were dedicate for the houſe of the Lord did they beſtow upon* Baalim. Such a ſacriledge, though it proceeded from a deſire to ſet out her own Idolatry, with ſuch pomp as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want ſome fair pretext of neceſſity of the State ſo requiring: in which caſe others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next ſucceſſour was fain to do the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taſte of that which was formerly thence extracted for his ſake.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the Prieſts and Levites was very notable, and ſerved (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the Religion taught by God himſelf, howſoever the Queens proceedings advanced the contrary. For the poverty of that ſacred Tribe of *Levi* muſt needs have been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and poſſeſſions in the ten Tribes being utterly loſt, the oblations and other perquiſites, by which they lived, being now very few and ſmall; and the ſtore, laid up in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by ſhameful robbery. Yet they up-held in all this miſery the ſervice of God, and the daily ſacrifice keeping daily their courſes, and performing obedience to the high Prieſt, no leſs than in thoſe dayes wherein their entertainment was far better.

§. IV.
Of the preſervation of Joas.

JEhojada then occupied the high Prieſthood, an honourable, wiſe, and religious man. To his carefulneſs it may be aſcribed, that the ſtate of the Church was in ſome ſlender ſort up-held in thoſe unhappy times. His Wife was *Jehoſhabeth*, who was daughter of King *Jehoram*, and ſiſter to *Ahazia*, a godly Lady and vertuous, whoſe piety makes it ſeem that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her acceſs to the Court argue the contrary: but her diſcreet carriage might more eaſily procure her welcome to her own Fathers houſe, than the education under ſuch a Mother could have permitted her to be ſuch as ſhe was. By her care *Joaſh* the young Prince that reigned ſoon after, was conveighed out of the nurſery, when *Athalia* deſtroyed all the Kings children, and was carried ſecretly into the Temple, where as ſecretly he was brought up. How it came to paſs that this young child was not hunted out, when his body was miſſing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we find) made of his eſcape, I will not ſtand to examine: for it was not good in policy, that the people ſhould hear ſay, that one of the children had avoyded that cruel blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and ſo be the leſs conformable to their preſent government. So *Joaſh* was delivered out of that ſlaughter, he and his nurſe being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be caſt away, as having no other guard than a poor Woman that gave him ſuck, who fooliſhly doubting that ſhe her ſelf ſhould have been ſlain, was fled away with him into ſome deſolate place, where it was like enough that ſhe and he ſhould periſh. In ſuch caſes flatterers, or men deſirous of reward, eaſily coin ſuch tales, and rather ſwear them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will loſe the thanks due to their joyful tidings.

§. V.
Whoſe Son Joas *was.*

||. I.
Whether Joas *may be thought likely to have been the Son of* Ahazia.

NOw concerning this *Joaſh*, whoſe ſon he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath cauſed much controverſie among Writers. The places of Scripture, which call him *the ſon of* Ahazia, ſeem plain enough. How any figure of the *Hebrew* language might give title of Son unto him, in regard that he was his Succeſſour, I neither by my ſelf can find, nor can by any help of Authors learn how to anſwer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that think him to have been, or not, the natural ſon of *Ahaziah*. For whereas it is ſaid, that *the houſe of* Ahazia *was not able to retain the Kingdome*; ſome do inferre that this *Joaſh* was not properly called his ſon, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore ſucceeded him, as ſon in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For ſhe perceiving that

2 King. 11. & 2 Chro. 22. 11.

2 Chro. 22. 9.

the Kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom ſhe had no intereſt, might eaſily find cauſe to fear, that the tyranny exerciſed by her husband at her inſtigation upon ſo many noble Houſes, would now be revenged upon her ſelf. The ruine of her Idolatrous Religion might in this caſe terrifie both her and her Minions; the ſentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedy of *Jezabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queen. All this had little concerned her, if her own grand-child had been heir to the Crown; for ſhe that had power enough to make her ſelf Queen, could with more eaſe, and leſſe envy, have taken upon her the office of a Protector, by which authority ſhe might have done her pleaſure, and been the more both obeyed by others, and ſecure of her own eſtate, as not wanting an heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that ſhe ſhould be ſo unnatural, as to deſtroy the Child of her own Son, of whoſe life ſhe might have made greater uſe than ſhe could of his death: whereas indeed, the love of Grandmothers to their Nephews, is little leſs than the Mothers to their Children.

This argument is very ſtrong. For it may ſeem incredible, that all natural affection ſhould be caſt aſide, when as neither neceſſity urgeth, nor any commodity thereby gotten requireth it, yea, when all humane policy doth teach one the ſame, which nature without reaſon would have perſwaded.

§. II.

That Joas *did not deſcend from* Nathan.

BUt (as it is more eaſie to find a difficulty in that which is related, than to ſhew how it might have otherwiſe been) the pedigree of this *Joaſh* is, by them which think him not the ſon of *Ahazia*, ſet down in ſuch ſort, that it may very juſtly be ſuſpected. They ſay, that he deſcended from *Nathan* the ſon of *David*, and not from *Salomon*: to which purpoſe they bring a Hiſtory (I know whence) of two Families of the race of *David*, ſaying, that the line of *Salomon* held the Kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the Family of *Nathan* ſhould ſucceed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the ſon of *David*, there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they think, was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as alſo S. *Auguſtine* ſometime was, but afterward he revoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the ſons of *David*, by *Bathſua* the daughter of *Ammes*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. 1 Chron. 3. 5.

Gregory Nazianzen (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him *Eraſmus*, and *Faber Stapulenſis*, have likewiſe held the ſame of *Joaſh*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and thoſe other brethren of *Salomon* by the ſame Mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods to have been the children of *Uriah* the *Hittite*: and ſo are they accounted by ſundry of the Fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenſis*, who follow the *Hebrew* Expoſitors of that place in the firſt of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himſelf the only begotten of his mother, do approve this expoſition: for we read of no more than two ſons which *Bathſua* or *Bathſheba* did bear unto *David*, whereof the one begotten in adultery, died an Infant, and *Salomon* only of her children by the King did live. So that the reſt muſt needs have been the children of *Uriah*, and are thought to have been *Davids* only by adoption. Wherefore if *Joas* had not been the ſon of *Ahazia*, then muſt that pedigree have been falſe, wherein S. *Matthew* deriveth him lineally from *Salomon*: yea, then had not *our bleſſed Saviour* iſſued from the loins of *David*, according to the fleſh, but had only been of his line by courteſie of the Nation, and form of law, as any other might have been. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawn many late Writers into the opinion that *Joaſh* was not of the poſterity of *Salomon*, it is enough to ſay, that this was *Frier Annius* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo*, hath any ſuch matter; but *Annius* can make Authors to ſpeak what he liſt.

§. III.

That Joas *may probably be thought to have been the ſon of* Jehoram.

IN ſo doubtful a caſe, if it ſeem lawful to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, me thinks it were not amiſs to open at once, and peruſe together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickedneſs of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſaphat* King of *Juda*, for which he and his children periſhed, rehearſeth it as one of Gods mercies towards the houſe of *David*, that according to his promiſe he would *give him a light, and to his children for ever*: the other doth ſay, that for the offences of the ſame *Jehoram*, *there was not a ſon left him, ſave* Jehoahas *the youngeſt of his ſons*. Now if it were in regard of Gods promiſe to *David*, that after thoſe maſſacres of *Jehoram* upon all his brethren, and of the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians* upon the children of *Jehoram*, one of the ſeed of *David* eſcaped; why may 2 King. 8. 19.

it

it not be thought that he was ſaid to have eſcaped, in whom the line of *David* was preſerved? for had all the race of *Salomon* been rooted up in theſe woful Tragedies, and the progeny of *Nathan* ſucceeded in place thereof; like enough it is that ſome remembrance more particular would have been extant, of an event ſo memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguiſhed, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord, as it is recounted by S. *Luke*: but the preſervation of the houſe of *David*, mentioned in the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the perſon of *Jehoahas*, in whom the Royal branch of *Salomon*, the natural, and not only legal iſſue remaining of *David*, was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Joaſh*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdom, was the youngeſt ſon of *Jehoram*, whoſe life *Athalia*, as a ſtep-dame, was not likely to purſue. For it were not eaſily underſtood, why the preſervation of *Davids* line, by Gods eſpecial mercy, in regard of his promiſe made, ſhould pertain rather to that time, when beſides *Ahazia* himſelf, there were two and forty of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) ſons of his brethren remaining alive, which afterwards were all ſlain by *Jehu*; than have reference to the lamentable deſtruction and little leſs than extirpation of that progeny, wherein one onely did eſcape. Certainly that inhumane murther which *Jehoram* committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Hiſtory) revenged upon his own children; then was not this vengeance of God accompliſhed by the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards proſecuted by *Jehu*, and finally took effect by the hands of that ſame wicked woman, at whoſe inſtigation he had committed ſuch barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavy judgment laid upon *Jehoram* and all his children, onely *Jehoahas* his youngeſt ſon was exempted; whom therefore if I ſhould affirm to be the ſame with *Joas*, which is called the ſon of *Ahazia*, I ſhould not want good probability. Some further appearance of neceſſity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwiſe have been. For it was the youngeſt ſon of *Jehoram* in whom the race was preſerved; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahazia*, ſeeing that he was twenty years old at the leaſt (as is already noted) when he began to reign, and conſequently, was born in the eighteenth or twentieth year of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that *Jehoram* ſhould have begotten many children before he was eighteen years old, or that having (as he had) many wives and children, he ſhould upon the ſudden, at his eighteenth year, become unfruitful, and beget no more in twenty years following: each of which muſt have bin true, if this were true that *Ahazia* was the ſame *Jehoahas* which was his youngeſt ſon. But this inconvenience is taken away, and thoſe other doubts ariſing from the cauſleſs cruelty of *Athalia*, in ſeeking the life of *Joas* are eaſily cleared, if *Joas* and *Jehoahas* were one. Neither doth his age withſtand this opinion; For he was *ſeven years old when he began to reign*; which if we underſtand of years compleat, he might have been a year old at the death of *Jehoram*, being begotten ſomewhat after the beginning of his ſickneſs. Neither is it more abſurd to ſay that he was the natural ſon of *Jehoram*, though called the ſon of *Ahazia*, than it were to ſay, as great Authors have done, this difficulty notwithſtanding, that he was of the poſterity of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to anſwer; which, had it concurred with the reſt, might have ſerved as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Jehoahas*, that ſoundeth much more near to *Joas*, than to *Ahaziah*, in an Engliſh ear, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by ſome, ſkilful in that language) through the diverſity of certain letters, differ much from that which it moſt reſembleth in our Weſtern manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be ſo that *Ahazia* himſelf be alſo called *Azaria*, and muſt have had three names, if he were the ſame with *Jehoahas*; in which manner *Joas* might alſo have had ſeveral names; yet, becauſe I find no other warrant hereof than a bare poſſibility, I will not preſume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the conſideration of ſuch as have more ability to judge, and leiſure to conſider of this point.

2 King. 10. 13.

2 Chron. 21 8.

2 Chron. 24. 14.

2 Chron. 13 1.

2 Chron. 23 5.

§. IV.

Upon what reaſons Athalia *might ſeek to deſtroy* Joas, *if he were her own Grandchild.*

IF therefore we ſhall follow that vvhich is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be ſaid, that *Athalia* vvas not only blinded by the paſſions of ambition and zeal to her Idolatrous vvorſhip of *Baalim*, but purſued the accompliſhment of ſome unnatural deſires, in ſeeking the deſtruction of her grand-child, and the reſt of the bloud Royal. For whether

ther it were ſo that *Athalia* (as proud and cruel Women are not alwayes chaſt) had imitated the liberty of *Jezabel* her ſiſter in law, whoſe Whoredoms were upbraided by *Jehu* to her ſon; or whether ſhe had children by ſome former husband, before ſhe was married unto *Jehoram* (which is not unlikely, in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and ſiſter to *Ahab*) certain it is that ſhe had ſons of her own, and thoſe old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondred at, that to ſettle the Crown upon her own children, ſhe did ſeek to cut off, by wicked policy, all other claims. As for *Joas*, if ſhe were his Grand-mother, yet ſhe might miſtruſt the intereſt which his mother would have in him, leſt when he came to years, it might draw him from her devotion. And hereof (beſides that Women do commonly better love their daughters Husbands, than their ſons Wives) there is ſome appearance in the reign of her ſon; for ſhe made him ſpend all his time in idle journeys, to no other apparent end, than that ſhe might rule at home; and he living abroad be eſtranged from his Wife, and entertain ſome new fancies, wherein *Jezabel* had cunning enough to be his Tutoreſs. But when the ſword of *Jehu* had rudely cut in ſunder all theſe fine devices, then was *Athalia* fain to go roundly to work, and do as ſhe did, whereby ſhe thought to make all ſure. otherwiſe, if (as I could rather think) ſhe were only ſtepdame to *Joas*, we need not ſeek into the reaſons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cauſe enough to diſpatch him among the firſt.

2 King. 9 21.

§. VI.

A digreſſion, wherein is maintained the liberty of uſing conjecture in Hiſtories.

THus much concerning the perſon of *Joas*, from vvhom, as from a new root, the tree of *David* was propagated into many branches. In handling of vvhich matter, the more I conſider the nature of this Hiſtory, and the diverſity between it and others, the leſs me thinks I need to ſuſpect mine own preſumption, as deſerving blame, for curioſity in matter of doubt, or boldneſs in liberty of conjecture. For all Hiſtories do give us information of humane counſels and events, as far forth as the knowledge and faith of the Writers can afford; but of Gods Will, by vvhich all things are ordered, they ſpeak only at random, and many times falſly. This we often find in profane Writers, vvho aſcribe the ill ſucceſs of great undertakings, to the neglect of ſome impious Rites, vvhereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended vvith the omiſſion. Hereat vve may the leſs vvonder, if vve conſider the anſwer made by the *Jewes* in *Egypt* unto *Jeremy* the Prophet reprehending their Idolatry. For howſoever the vvritten Law of God vvas known unto the people, and his puniſhments laid upon them for contempt thereof vvere very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet vvere they ſo obſtinately bent unto their Wils, that they vvould not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cauſe of their affliction, But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worſhip the *Queen of heaven*, as they and their Fathers, their Kings and their Princes had uſed to do: *For then* (ſaid they) *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no evil:* adding, that all manner of miſeries were befaln them, ſince they left off that ſervice of the *Queen of Heaven*. So blind is the wiſedome of man, in looking into the counſel of God, which to find out, there is no better nor other guide than his own written Will not perverted by vain additions.

Jer. 44. 17, 18.

But this Hiſtory of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda* hath herein a ſingular prerogative above all that have been written by the moſt ſufficient of meerly humane Authors: it ſetteth down expreſly the true, and firſt cauſes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his over-frowardneſs in battel; the ruine of his Family, to the ſecurity of *Jehoram* in *Jezreel*; not the Victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raiſed in *Iſrael* by the comming of *Jehu*; but referring all unto the Will of God, I mean, to his revealed Will, from which that his hidden purpoſes do not vary, this Story, by many great examples, gives moſt notable proof. True it is, that the concurrence of ſecond cauſes with their effects, is in theſe Books nothing largely deſcribed; nor perhaps exactly in any of thoſe Hiſtories that are in theſe points moſt copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidny*, that Hiſtorians do borrow of Poets, not only much of their Ornament, but ſomewhat of their ſubſtance. Informations are often falſe, records not always true, and notorious actions commonly inſufficient to diſcover the paſſions which do ſet them firſt on foot. Wherefore they are fain (I ſpeak of the beſt, and in that which is allowed; for to take out of *Livy* every one circumſtance of *Claudius* his journey againſt *Aſdrubol* in *Italy*, fitting all to another buſi-

Sir *Phil. Sid.* in his Apol. for Poetry.

neſs,

neſs, or any practice of that kind, is neither Hiſtorical, nor Poetical) to ſearch into the particular humour of Princes, and of thoſe which have governed their affections, or the inſtruments by which they wrought; from whence they do collect the moſt likely motives or impediments of every buſineſs; and ſo figuring as near to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciouſly conſider the defects in counſel, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the moſt part, is not enough to give aſſurance, howſoever it may give ſatisfaction. For the heart of man is unſearchable: and Princes, howſoever their intents be ſeldom hidden from ſome of thoſe many eyes which pry both into them, and into ſuch as live about them; yet ſometimes either by their own cloſe temper, or by ſome ſubtil miſts, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themſelves lye dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat, are converted to another uſe. The induſtry of an Hiſtorian, having ſo many things to weary it, may well be excuſed, when finding apparent cauſe enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further ſearch; though it often fall out, where ſundry occaſions work to the ſame end, that one ſmall matter in a weak mind is more effectual, than many that ſeem far greater. So comes it many times to paſs, that great fires, which conſume whole houſes or towns, begin with a few ſtraws, that are waſted or not ſeen; when the flame is diſcovered, having faſtened upon ſome Wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Queſtionleſs it is, that the War commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greeks*, proceeded from deſire of the *Perſians* to inlarge their Empire: howſoever the enterprize of the *Athenians* upon *Sardes*, was noiſed abroad as the ground of that quarrel; yet *Herodotus* telleth us, that the wanton deſire of Queen *Atoſſa*, to have the *Grecian* dames her bond-women, did firſt move *Darius* to prepare for this War before he had received any injury, and when he did not yet ſo much deſire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten. *Hero. l. 1.*

I will not here ſtand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more juſtly reprehended by ſome, or defended by others, for alledging the vain appetite, and ſecret ſpeech of the Queen in bed with her Huſband, as the cauſe of thoſe great evils following; this I may boldly affirm (having, I think, in every eſtate ſome ſufficient witneſs) that matters of much conſequence, founded in all ſeeming upon ſubſtantial reaſons, have iſſued indeed from ſuch petty trifles, as no Hiſtorian would either think upon, or could well ſearch out.

Therefore it was a good anſwer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope, made to a certain Frier, coming to viſit him in his Popedom, as having long before in his meaner eſtate, been his familiar friend. This poor Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to uſe his old liberty of ſpeech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was poſſible for his Holineſs, whom he rather took for a direct honeſt man, than any cunning Politician, to attain unto the Papacy; in compaſſing of which, all the ſubtilty (ſaid he) of the moſt crafty brains, find work enough: and therefore the more I think upon the Art of the Conclave, and your unaptneſs thereto, the more I needs muſt wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to ſatisfie the plain dealing Frier, dealt with him again as plainly, ſaying, Hadſt thou lived abroad as I have done, and ſeen by what folly this world is governed, thou wouldeſt wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred unto thoſe exorbitant Engines, by which the courſe of affairs is moved, the Pope ſaid true. For the wiſeſt of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutual toleration, work more cloſely, and earneſtly, than right reaſon either needs or can. But if we lift up our thoughts to that ſupreme Governour, of whoſe Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was ſaid of *Jupiter*.

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventoſum, & urbes, regnaque triſtia,
Divoſque mortaleſque turmas,
Imperio regit unus æquo.

Who rules the duller Earth, the Wind-ſwoln ſtreams,
The civil Cities, and th' infernal Realms,
Who th' Hoſt of Heaven, and the mortal Band,
Alone doth govern by his juſt command.

Then ſhall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change; he foreſeeth all things, and all things diſpoſeth to his own honour; He neither deceiveth nor can be deceived, but continuing one and the ſame for ever, doth conſtantly govern all creatures by that Law, which he hath preſcribed, and will never alter. The vanities of men beguile their vain contrivers, and the proſperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their deſtruction: yea, this broad

broad and headlong paſſage to hell, is not ſo delightful as it ſeems at the firſt entrance, but hath growing in it, beſides the poyſons which infect the ſoul, many cruel thorns deeply wounding the body; all which if any few eſcape, they have onely this miſerable advantage of others, that their deſcent was the more ſwift and expedite. But the ſervice of God is the path guiding us to perfect happineſs, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeilding ſuch abundance of joy to the conſcience, as doth eaſily countervail all afflictions whatſoever; though indeed thoſe brambles that ſometimes tear the ſkin of ſuch as walk in this bleſſed way, do commonly lay hold upon them at ſuch time as they ſit down to take their eaſe, and make them wiſh themſelves at their journeys end, in the preſence of their Lord whom they faithfully ſerve, in whoſe *preſence is the* Pſal. 16. 11. *fulneſs of joy, and at whoſe right hand are pleaſures for ever.*

Wherefore it being the end and ſcope of all Hiſtory, to teach by example of times paſt, ſuch Wiſdom as may guide our deſires and actions, we ſhould not marvel though the *Chronicles of the Kings of* Juda *and* Iſrael, being written by men inſpired with the Spirit of God, inſtruct us chiefly, in that which is moſt requiſite for us to know; as the means to attain unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illuſtrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom.* Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) been written by ſome Prophet after the captivity: we may well believe that the counſel of God therein, and the executioners of his righteous Will, ſhould have occupied either the whole or the principal room in that narration. Yet had not the purpoſe of *Darius*, the deſire of his Wife, and the buſineſs at *Sardes*, with other occurrents, been the leſs true, though they might have been omitted, as the leſs material: but theſe things it had been lawful for any man to gather out of prophane Hiſtories, or out of circumſtances otherwiſe appearing, wherein he ſhould not have done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborn to derogate from the firſt cauſes, by aſcribing to the ſecond more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the buſineſs that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot believe that any man of judgment will tax me, as either fabulous or preſumptuous. For he doth not feign, that rehearſeth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprave the Text, that ſeeketh to illuſtrate and make good in humane reaſon, thoſe things which authority alone, without further circumſtance, ought to have confirmed in every mans belief. And this may ſuffice in defence of the liberty which I have uſed in conjectures, and may hereafter uſe when occaſion ſhall require, as neither unlawful, nor miſ-beſeeming an Hiſtorian.

§. VII.

The conſpiracy againſt Athalia.

WHen *Athalia* had now ſix years and longer worn the Crown of *Juda*, and had found neither any forreign enemy, nor domeſtical adverſary to diſturb her poſſeſſion, ſuddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wickedneſs meeting together, took her away without any warning, by a violent and ſhameful death. For the growth of the young Prince began to be ſuch, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very unfitting that his education ſhould be ſimple, to make him ſeem the child of ſome poor man (as for his ſafety it was requiſite) when his capacity required to have been indued with the ſtomack and qualities meet for a King. All this *Jehojada* the Prieſt conſidered, and withall, the great increaſe of impiety, which taking deep root in the Court, was likely to ſpread it ſelf over all the Country, if care were not uſed to weed it up very ſpeedily. Wherefore he aſſociated unto himſelf five of the Captains, in whoſe fidelity he had beſt aſſurance; and having taken an oath of them, and ſhewed them the Kings ſon, he made a Covenant with them, to advance him to the Kingdom. Theſe drew in others of the principal men, to countenance the action, procuring at the firſt onely that they ſhould repair to *Jeruſalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perſwaſions to win them to the buſineſs: the promiſe of the Lord unto the houſe of *David*, was enough to aſſure them that the action was both lawful, and likely to ſucceed as they deſired.

But in compaſſing their intent, ſome difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they ſhould bring their purpoſe to good iſſue; neither were the Captains, and other aſſociates of *Jehojada* able by cloſe working, to draw together ſo many truſty and ſerviceable hands as would ſuffice to manage the buſineſs. To help in this caſe,

caſe, the Prieſt gave order to ſuch of the Levites as had finiſhed their courſes in waiting on the Divine ſervice at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that ſucceeded in their turns, that they ſhould not depart until they knew his further pleaſure. So by admitting the new comers, and not diſcharging the old, he had, without any noiſe, made up ſuch a number, as would be able to deal with the Queens ordinary Guard, and that was enough: for if the Tyranneſs did not prevail againſt them at the firſt brunt, the favour of the People was like to ſhew it ſelf on their ſide, who made head againſt her. Theſe Levites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the perſon of the King, who as yet was kept cloſe; the followers of the Captains, and other adherents, were beſtowed in the outer Courts: As for Weapons, the Temple it ſelf had ſtore enough; King *David* had left an Armory to the place, which was now employed in defence of his iſſue.

All things being in a readineſs, and the day come, wherein this high deſign was to be put in execution; *Jehojada* delivered unto the Captains, Armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard unto the Kings perſon, produced him openly, and gave unto him the Crown; uſing all ceremonies accuſtomed in ſuch ſolemnities, with great applauſe of the people. Of theſe doings, the Queen was the laſt that heard any word. Which is not ſo ſtrange as it may ſeem: for inſolent natures, by dealing outragiouſly with ſuch as bring them ill tidings, do commonly loſe the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whileſt yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their own eyes, amazed with the ſuddenneſs, behold it in the ſhape of inevitable miſchief.

All *Jeruſalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with the very good liking. Some carried home the news, others ran forth to ſee, and the common joy was ſo great, that without apprehenſion of peril, under the windows of the Court, were the people running and praiſing the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourſe, and noiſe of folks in the ſtreets, making towards the Temple, with much unuſual paſſion in their looks, did preſently conceive, that ſomewhat worthy of her care was happened; though, what it might be, ſhe did not apprehend. Howſoever it were, ſhe meant to uſe her own wiſdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occaſion might happen to require. It may be, that ſhe thought it ſome eſpecial ſolemnity uſed in the Divine ſervice, which cauſed this much adoe; and hereof the unaccuſtomed number of Levites, and of other devout men, about the town, might give ſome preſumption.

2 Chron. 23. 12. & 13. 2. 1 Kings c. 11. 7. 13. 14.

Many things argue that ſhe little thought upon her own Tragedy; although *Joſephus* would make it ſeem otherwiſe. For we find in the Text, *She came to the people into the houſe of the Lord* (which was near to her Palace) and that when ſhe looked and ſaw the King ſtand by his pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or great men of the Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him, ſhe rent her cloaths, and cryed Treaſon, Treaſon. Hereby it appears that ſhe was quietly going, without any miſtruſt or fear, to take her place; which when ſhe found occupied by another, then ſhe began to afflict her ſelf, as one caſt away, and cried out in vain upon the Treaſon, whereby ſhe ſaw that ſhe muſt periſh. But that ſhe came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Joſephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten back, ſhe entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the young Tyrant, I find no where in Scripture, neither do I hold it credible. For had ſhe truly known how things went, ſhe would ſurely have gathered her friends about her, and uſed thoſe forces in defence of her Crown, by which ſhe got it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that ſhe, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troop, yet it had been meer madneſs in her, to enter the place alone, when her aſſiſtants were kept out; but if ſhe, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their own weapons, could prevail to let in her guard, would nevertheleſs take upon her to command the death of the new King, calling a child of ſeven years old a Conſpirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom ſhe ſaw to be armed in his defence, may we not think that ſhe was mad in the moſt extreme degree? Certain it is that the counſel of God would have taken effect, in her deſtruction, had ſhe uſed the moſt likely means to diſappoint it: yet we need not ſo cut her throat with any moral impoſſibilities. It is enough to ſay, that the godly zeal of *Jehojada* found more eaſie ſucceſs, through her indiſcretion, than otherwiſe could have been expected; ſo that at his appointment, ſhe was without more adoe, carried out of the Temple and ſlain, yea ſo, that no bloud, ſave her own, was ſhed in that quarrel; her ſmall train that ſhe brought along with her, not daring to ſtand in her defence.

2 Chron. 23. 13.

§. VIII.

The death of Athalia, *with a compariſon of her and* Jezabel.

MOſt like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the raſhneſs of her Nephew *Jehoram* the *Iſraelite*, who did fooliſhly caſt himſelf into the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, onely through his eager deſire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet ſhe her ſelf, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived ſuch a life as *Jezabel* had done, was rewarded with a ſuitable death. Theſe two Queens were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her Huſband; was an Idolatreſs and a Murdreſs. The onely difference appearing in their condition, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them ſurviving her Huſband about eight years, did ſpend their time in ſatisfying her own affections; the one uſing tyranny, as the exerciſe of her haughty mind; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchaſte body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in thoſe things which may ſeem in this world to pertain unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the ſudden by Conſpirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the Treaſon, received ſentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her ſubjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies horſes; *Athalia* ſlain at her own horſe-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (though not much) the more leiſure to vex her proud heart; that of *Jezabel* the more indignity, and ſhame of body. Touching their burial, *Jezabel* was devoured by Dogs, as the Lord had threatned by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* we do not find. Like enough it is, that ſhe was buried, as having not perſecuted and ſlain the Lords Prophets, but ſuffered the Prieſts to exerciſe their function; yet of her burial there is no monument, for ſhe was a Church-robber. The ſervice of *Baal* erected by theſe two Queens, was deſtroyed as ſoon as they were gone, and their Chaplains, the Prieſts of that Religion, ſlain. Herein alſo it came to paſs, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who ſlew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the ſame hand of *Hazael* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who ſeems to have been her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrel to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Jezabel* periſhed in few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behind her, it is uncertain; ſhe had ſons living after ſhe was Queen, of whom, or of any other, that they were ſlain with her, we do not find.

This is a matter not unworthy of conſideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had been in *Jeruſalem* when their Mother fell, their death would ſurely have followed hers as nearly, and been regiſtred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Prieſt of *Baal*. That Law by which *God forbad that the children ſhould die for the fathers*, could not have ſaved theſe ungracious Imps, whom the clauſe following would have cut off, which commands, that every man ſhould die for his own ſin. Seeing therefore that they had been profeſſors and advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worſhip of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the houſe of *Baal* with the ſpoil of it; likely it is, that they ſhould not have eſcaped with life, if *Jehojada* the Prieſt could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawful cauſe enough requiring their death, ſo the ſecurity of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craved as much, and that very earneſtly. For theſe had been eſteemed as heirs of their mothers Crown, and being reckoned as her aſſiſtants in that particular buſineſs of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great ſway in other matters, as Princes, and fellows with their Mother in the Kingdom. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in his Wars againſt *Jehu*) abſent from *Jeruſalem*; whereby *Jehojada* might, with the more confidence, adventure to take Armes againſt their Mother, that was deſolate.

Deut. 24. 16.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Joas *and* Amaſia, *with their Contemporaries; where ſomewhat of the building of Carthage.*

§. I.

Of Joas *his doings, whileſt* Jehojada *the Prieſt lived.*

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole Country of *Juda* was filled with great joy and quietneſs; wherein *Joas*, a child of ſeven years old, or there-about, began his reign, which continued almoſt forty years. During his minority, he lived under the protection of that honourable man *Jehojada* the Prieſt, who did as faithfully govern the Kingdom, as he had before carefully preſerved the Kings life, and reſtored him unto the Throne of his anceſtors. When he came to mans eſtate, he took by appointment of *Jehojada* two Wives, and begat Sons and Daughters, repairing the Family of *David* which was almoſt worn out. The firſt Act that he took in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needful piece of work, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickedneſs of ungodly Tyrants; and requiſite it was that he ſhould uphold the Temple, whom the Temple had upheld. This buſineſs he followed with ſo earneſt a zeal, that not only the Levites were more ſlack than he, but even *Jehojada* was fain to be quickned by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the work; partly out of the tax impoſed by *Moſes*, partly out of the liberality of the people; who gave ſo freely, that the Temple, beſides all reparations, was enriched with veſſels of gold and ſilver; and with all other Utenſils. The ſacrifices likewiſe were offered, as under godly Kings they had been, and the ſervice of God was magnificently celebrated.

2 Chron. 24. 14.

§. II.

The Death of Jehojada, *and Apoſtaſie of* Joas.

BUt this endured no longer than the life of *Jehojada* the Prieſt: who having lived an hundred and thirty years, dyed before his Country could have ſpared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Juda*, as he well deſerved, having preſerved the race of them, and reſtored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that houſe, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little of rooting up themſelves, and all their iſſue. Yet this honourable Funeral ſeems to have been given to him, at the motion of the people; it being ſaid, *They buried him in the City of* David. As for the King himſelf, who did owe to him no leſs than his Crown and life, he is not likely to have been Author of it, ſeeing that he was as eaſily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been diſcharged of ſome heavy debt.

For after the death of *Jehojada*, when the Princes of *Juda* began to flatter their King, he ſoon forgat, not only the benefits received by this worthy man his old Counſellor, but alſo the good precepts which he had received from him, yea and God himſelf, the Author of all goodneſs. Theſe Princes drew him to the worſhip of Idols, wherewith *Jehoram* and *Athalia* had ſo infected the Country, in fifteen or ſixteen years, that thirty years, or thereabout, of the reign of *Joas*, wherein the true Religion was exerciſed, were not able to clear it from that miſchief. The King himſelf, when once he was entred into theſe courſes, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to deſpiſe the ſervice of God; and a manifeſt proof of his being now King indeed, that he regarded no longer the ſowre admonitions of devout Prieſts. Hereby it appears, that his former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor upon the ſtage, he had ſtriven to expreſs much more lively affection, than they could ſhew, that were indeed religious.

§. III.

The cauſes and times of the Syrians *invading* Juda *in the dayes of* Joas.

BUt God, from whom he was broken looſe, gave him over into the hands of

men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael* King of *Aram*, having taken *Gath*, a Town of the *Philistims*, addressed himself towards *Jerusalem*, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an Army heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough that the Kings of *Juda* had assisted the *Israelites*, in their enterprises upon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I think he did not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdom of *Juda* had molested the *Aramites* in the time of his predecessour, this was throughly recompenced, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leaving the ten Tribes in their extream misery, to the fury of *Hazael* himself. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should have gone about to awake a sleeping Dog, and stir up against himself a powerful enemy, before he had assured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay between *Jerusalem* and his own Kingdom, if some opportunity had not performed such easie and good success, as might rather advance, than any way disturbe his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sons of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countries usually doe) to draw many partakers of their own to his side; and not to remain, as *Joas* did, a neutral in the war between him and *Israel*, but to joyn all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of *Jehu* his posterity, who like a bloody Traitor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queens, their mother, even the whole house of *Ahab*, to which he was a subject. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparent reason to invade the Kingdom of *Juda*. Howsoever we find, that *Joas* was afraid of him, and therefore *took all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasure of the house of the Lord*, or in his own house, with which present he redeemed his peace: the *Syrian* (questionless) thinking it a better bargain, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazzard the assurance of this for the possibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich booty of unhappy treasure, which belonging to the living God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the grave. For in the thirty seventh year of *Joas*, which was the fifteenth of *Jehoahaz*, he made this purchase; but in the same or very next year he died, leaving all that he had unto his son *Benhadad*, with whom these treasures prospered no otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

2 King. 12 18.

This enterprise of *Hazaels*, is, by some, confounded with that war of the *Aramites* upon *Juda*, mentioned in the second book of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alledged by them that hold the contrary opinion, doe forcibly prove, that it was not all one war. For the former was compounded without blood-shed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tried the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life. In the one *Hazael* himself was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrarywise, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may seem to have been the son of *Hazael*) is said to have been at *Damascus*. The first Army came to conquer, and was so great, that it terrified the King of *Juda*; The second was a *small company of men*, which did animate *Joas* (in vain, for God was against him) to deal with them, as having *a very great Army*. 2 Chro. 24.

Now, concerning the time of this former invasion, I cannot perceive that God forsook him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who think that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Jehojada* the Priest, because that story is joyned to the restauration of the Temple. This had been probable, if the death of *Jehojada* had been afterwards mentioned in that place of the second book of *Kings*; or if the Apostasie of *Joas*, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will and pleasure; neither was he more unjust in the afflictions of *Job* that righteous man, or the death of *Josias* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgement upon the house of *Ahab*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent service of God therewithall, which are joyned together, were used in the *house of the Lord continually all the daies of Jehojada*; soon after whose death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the sixt, or thirty seventh year of this *Joas* his reign, the King falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foul Idolater. 2 Chro. 24 11.

And indeed we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay upon his servants without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have alwaies tended unto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (*the death of his Saints being*

Psal. 115. 15. *being precious in the sight of the Lord*) are to their great advantage. But with evil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even and strict account; permitting usually their faults to get the start of their punishment; and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickedness be full; or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater misery. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy man did not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetful of God and all goodness, as if he had stroven to exceed the wickedness of all that went before him, and to leave such a villanous pattern unto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should endure to imitate.

§. IV.

How Zacharia *was murthered by* Joas.

SUndry Prophets having laboured in vain to reclaime the people from their superstition, *Zacharia* the son of *Jehojada* the Priest, was stirred up at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickedness, and make them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so much honoured, and son to a man so exceedingly beloved in his life time, and reverenced, that if *Joas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honesty to have cloaked his ill affection, and have used at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had born unto the King, and the unrecountable benefits which they had done unto him, from his first infancy, were such, as should have placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured love of *Joas*, yea though he had been otherwise a man of very small mark, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reverence, how simple soever he appeares that brings it. But this King *Joas*, having already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deal with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen, in that parable of our Saviour, dealt with the heir of the Vineyard; who said, *This is the heir, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours.* By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that he was no free Price, as long as one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soever that mans deservings were, that did so, yea though Gods commandment required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any form of open Law, as was practised upon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treachery, I do neither read, nor can conjecture. The dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracy, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publick judgement, though that the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the Kings commandment, by which he suffered, took place in stead of Law: which exercise of meer power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange amongst the Kings of *Juda*.

Luke 20. 14.

§. V.

How Joas *was shamefully beaten by the Amorites, and of his death.*

THis odious murther, committed by an unthankful snake upon the man in whose bosom he had been fostered, as of it self alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and his memory detested in all ages; so had it the well described curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompany it unto the Throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell down swiftly, and heavily upon the head of that ungrateful monster. It was the last year of his reign; the end of his time comming then upon him, when he thought himself beginning to live how he listed without controulment. When that year was expired the *Aramites* came into the Country, rather as may seem to get pillage, than to perform any great action; for they *came with a small company of men:* but God had intended to do more by them, than they themselves did hope for. 2 Chro. 24. 24.

That *Joas* naturally was a coward, his bloudy malice against his best friend, is, in my judgement proof sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hazael*, when he might have levied (as his son after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the war, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when he might have his own will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter

ter with a few bands of Rovers, he took a very great Army, so that wise men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his Country, and expose himself to danger of war, when as indeed all was meer ostentation and no peril to be feared; he going forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wise men think, and laugh at him in secret; considering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishness, did laugh not only at this vain-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and King *Joas* met, whether it were by some folly of the Leaders or by some amazement happening among the souldiers, or by whatsoever means it pleased God to work, so it was, that that great Army of *Juda* received a notable overthrow, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of *Juda*, at whose perswasion the King had become a Rebell to the King of Kings. As for *Joas* himself (as *Abulensis* and others expound the story) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they think) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excessive ransome.

And surely, all circumstances do greatly strengthen this conjecture: for the Text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised upon *Joas* ignominious judgments; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-favoredly. Now at that time *Joas* the son of *Jehoahaz* reigned over *Israel*, and *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael* over the *Syrians*, in *Damascus*: the one a valiant undertaking Prince, raised up by God to restore the State of his miserable Country, the other inferiour every way to his father, of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keep it. The difference in condition found between these two Princes, promising no other event than such as afterward followed, might have given to the King of *Juda* good cause to be bold, and pluck up his spirits, which *Hazael* had beaten down, if God had not been against him. But his fearful heart being likely to quake upon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope, that by terrifying him with some shew of war at his doores, it were easie to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good success hereof, already related, and the (perhaps as unsuspected) ill success, which the *Aramites* found in their following wars against the King of *Israel*, sheweth plainly the weakness of all earthly might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the Kingdom of *Juda*, after more than forty years time of gathering strength, was unable to drive out a small company of Enemies; and the Kingdom of *Israel*, having so been trodden down by *Hazael*, that onely fifty Horsemen, ten Chariots, and ten thousand footmen were left; prevailed against his Son, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples hereof are every-where found, and therefore I will not insist upon this; though indeed we should not, if we be Gods children, think it more tedious to hear long and frequent reports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers upon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they listed, and saw that they were not able, being so few, to take any possession of the Country, they departed out of *Juda* loaden with spoil, which they sent to *Damascus*, themselves belike falling upon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not half so well. The King of *Juda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sons of an *Ammonites*, and of a *Moabites*, whom some (because onely their Mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) think to have been bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or fear, lest (as Tyrants use) he should revenge disaster upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoever else it were that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture tels us plainly, that, *For the blood of the children of* Jehojada, this befell him. And the same appears to have been used as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amazia*, the son and successor of *Joas*, durst not punish them, till his Kingdom was established: but contrariwise his body was judged unworthy of burial in the Sepulchres of the Kings: whereby it appears, that the death of *Zacharia* caused the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompenced by his son, upon the Traytors, which well deserved death. 2 Chro. 24. 25.

of

§. VI.

Of the Princes living in the time of Joas: of the time when Carthage was built: and of Dido.

THere lived with *Joas*, *Mezades*, and *Diognetus* in *Athens*: *Eudemus* and *Aristomedes* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Sylvius*, and after him *Sylvius Aliadius*, were Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*. *Ocrazapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirty seventh King succeeded unto *Ophratanes*, began his reign over the *Assyrians*, about the eighteenth year of *Joas*, which lasted forty two years. In the sixteenth of *Joas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded unto *Cheops* in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years.

In this time of *Joas*, was likewise the reign of *Pigmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*; the building of which City is, by divers authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be 70. years younger than *Rome*, others above 400. years elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their assertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow: *Josephus*, who had read the Annals of *Tyre*, counting one hundred forty and three years and eight moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth year of *Hyram* King of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the seventh of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this accompt (which is not rare in *Josephus*) are very perplexed, and serve not very well to make cleer the totall sum. But whether it were so that *Josephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the years, which he reckoned in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of *Tyre*, from *Hyram* to *Pigmalion*, we may well enough believe, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whose books he gives us the whole sum, had good means to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, between two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or four generations might easily reach, This hundred forty and four years current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleventh year of *Joas*, was a hundred forty and three years before the birth of *Rome*; and after the destruction of *Troy*, two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of *Æneas*, that we might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ausonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

Ioseph. cont. App. l. 1.

Illa ego sum Dido *vultu quam conspicis hospes,* *Auson. ep. 117.*
Assimulata modis pulchraque mirificis.
Talis eram, sed non Maro *quam mihi finxit, erat mens,*
Vita nec incestis læta cupidinibus:
(Namque nec Æneas vidit me Troius unquam,
Nec Lybiam advenit, classibus Iliacis.
Sed furias fugiens, atque arma procacis Iarbæ,
Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo castos quod pertulit enses)
Non furor, aut læso crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidisse juvat: vixi sine vulnere famæ,
Ulta virum, positis mœnibus oppetii.
Invida cur in me stimulasti Musa Maronem,
Fingeret ut nostræ damna pudicitiæ?
Vos magis Historicis lectores credite de me
Quam qui furta Deum concubitusq; canunt.
Falsidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,
Humanisque deos assimulant vitiis.

Which in effect is this:

I Am that *Dido* which thou here dost see,
Cunningly fram'd in beauteous Imag'rie,
Like this I was, but had not such a soul,
As *Maro* feign'd, incestuous and foul.
Æneas never with his *Trojan* hoast
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.
But flying proud *Iarbas* villanie,
Not mov'd by furious love or jealousie,
I did with weapon chaste, to save my fame,
Make way for death untimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but first I built a Town,
Reveng'd my husbands death, liv'd with renown.
Why did'st thou stir up *Virgil*, envious Muse,
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?
Readers, believe Historians; not those
Which to the world *Joves* thefts and vice expose.
Poets are lyars, and for Verses sake,
Will make the Gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* unto the first *Punick* war, that *Carthage* grew and flourished in wealth and conquests, we find in many Histories: but in particular we find little of the *Carthaginian* affairs before that war, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts of the Isle of *Sicil*. We will therefore defer the relation of matters concerning that mighty City, until such time as they shall encounter with the State of *Rome*, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the mean while the History that is now in hand.

§. VII.

The beginning of Amazia *his reign: of* Joas *King of* Israel, *and* Elisha *the Prophet.*

Amazia, the son of *Joash*, being twenty five years old when his Father died, took possession of the Kingdom of *Juda*, wherein he laboured so to demean himself, as his new beginning reign might be least offensive. The Law of *Moses* he professed to observe; which howsoever it had been secretly despised since the time of *Jehoram*, by many great persons of the Land, yet had it by provision of good Princes, yea, and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deep root in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himself unto it. And at that present time, the slaughter which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late King from the service of God, being seconded by the death of the King himself, even whilst that execrable murther, committed by the King upon *Zacharia*, was yet fresh in memory, did serve as a notable example of Gods justice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amazia* from following the way, which led to such an evil end. He therefore, hauing learned of his father the art of dissimulation, did not onely forbear to punish the Traitors that had slain King *Joas*, but gave way to the time, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*. Nevertheless, after this, when (belike) the noise of the people having wearied it self into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoever their deed done, was applauded as the handy-work of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken: the King, who perceived his gouernment well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heat of mens affections being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish between their treasons and Gods judgments, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to live: which could not but give contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the office of a just Prince, rather than of a revenging son. This being done, and his own life better secured by such exemplary justice, against the like attempts, *Amazia* carried himself outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteen years.

As *Amazia* gathered strength in *Juda* by the commodity of a long peace, so *Joas* the *Israelite* grew as fast in power, by following the war hotly against the *Aramites*. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had been, worshipping the Calves of *Jeroboam*. For this sin had God so plagued the house of *Jehu*, that the ten tribes wanted little of being utterly consumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Jehu* and his son *Jehoahaz*. But as Gods benefits to *Jehu*, sufficed not to withdraw him from this politick Idolatry, so were the miseries, rewarding that impiety, unable to reclaim *Jehoahaz* from the same impious course: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of *Israel*, did condescend unto the prayers of this ungodly Prince, even then when he and his miserable subjects, were obstinate in following their own abominable ways. Therefore in temporal matters the ten Tribes recovered apace; but the favour of God which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor believe that they sought: that they had it not, I find in the words of the Prophet, saying plainly to *Amazia*, *the Lord is not with* Israel, *neither with all the house of* Ephraim. 2 Chron. 25. 7.

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisha*, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperity of the *Israelites* under the reign of *Joas*; or whether *Jehoahaz*, wearied and broken with long adversity, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himself in part of the heavy cares attending those unhappy *Syrian* Wars, by laying the burthen upon his hopeful son; we find that *in the thirty seventh year of* Joas, *King of* Juda, Joas *the son of* Jehoahaz *began to reign over* Israel *in* Samaria; which was in the 15. year of his fathers reign, and some two or three years before his death. 2 King. 13. 10.

It appears that this young Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did so well husband that poor stock that he received from his Father, of ten Chariots, fifty Horsemen, and ten thousand Foot, that he might seem likely to prove a thriver. Amongst other circumstances, the words which he spake to *Elisha* the Prophet, argue no less. For *Joas* visiting the Prophet, who lay sick, spake unto him thus, *O my father, my father, the Chariots of* Israel, *and the horsmen of the same*: by which manner of speech he did acknowledge, 2 King. 13. 14.

acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had ſtood his kingdome in more ſtead than all the Horſes and Chariots could doe.

This prophet who ſucceeded unto *Elias*, about the firſt year of *Joram* the ſon of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael* died (as ſome have probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this *Joas*, the Nephew of *Jehu*. To ſhew how the ſpirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did reſt upon him, it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that he did not onely raiſe a dead child unto life, as *Elias* had done, but when he himſelfe was dead, it pleaſed God that his dead bones ſhould reſtore life unto a carcaſs, which touched them in the grave. In fine, he beſtowed as a legacie, three victories upon King *Joas*, who thereby did ſet *Iſrael* in a faire way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had uſurped, and weakning the kings of *Damaſco* in ſuch ſort, that they were never after terrible to *Samaria*.

§. VIII.

Of Amazia *his war againſt* Edom; *His Apoſtacy, and overthrow by* Joas.

The happy ſucceſs which *Joas* had found in his war againſt the *Aramites*, was ſuch as might kindle in *Amazia* a deſire of undertaking ſome expedition, wherein himſelf might purchaſe the like honour. His Kingdom could furniſh three hundred thouſand ſerviceable men for the Wars, and his treaſures were ſufficient for the payment of theſe, and the hire of many more. Cauſe of war he had very juſt againſt the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Jehoram*, had about fifty years been unreclaimed, partly by reaſon of the troubles happening in *Juda*, partly through the ſloth and timerouſneſs of his father *Joas*. Yet, foraſmuch as the men of *Juda* had in many years been without all exerciſe of War (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wiſdom to increaſe his forces, with ſouldiers waged out of *Iſrael*, whence he hired for an hundred talents of ſilver, *an hundred thouſand valiant men*, as the Scripture telleth us, though *Joſephus* diminiſheth the number, ſaying that they were but twenty thouſand.

2 Chro. 25. 6. Joſ. Antiq. Jud. lib. 9. c. 10.

This great Army, vvhich vvith ſo much coſt *Amazia* had hired out of *Iſrael*, he vvas fain to diſmiſs before he had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet vvith ill ſucceſs, if he ſtrengthened himſelf vvith the help of thoſe men, vvhom God (though in mercy he gave them victory againſt the cruel *Aramites*) did not love, becauſe they vvere Idolaters. The *Iſraelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this diſmiſſion, as an high diſgrace, vvhich to revenge, they fell upon a piece of *Juda* in their return, and ſhewed their malice in the ſlaughter of three thouſand men, and ſome ſpoil, which they carried away. But *Amazia* with his own forces, knowing that God would be aſſiſtant to their journey, entred couragiouſly into the *Edomites* Country; over whom obtaining victory, he ſlew ten thouſand, and took other ten thouſand priſoners, all which he threw from an high rock; holding them, it ſeems, rather as Traytors, than as juſt enemies. This victory did not ſeem to reduce *Edom* under the ſubjection of the Crown of *Juda*, vvhich might be the cauſe of that ſeverity, vvhich vvas uſed to the priſoners; the *Edomites* that had eſcaped, refuſing to buy the lives of their friends and kinſmen at ſo dear a rate, as the loſs of their own liberty. Some towns in Mount *Seir*, *Amazia* took, as appears by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they vvere the places moſt indefenſible, in that he left no garriſons there, vvhereby he might another year the better have purſued the conqueſt of the vvhole countrey. Howſoever it were, he got both honour by the journey, and gains enough, had he not loſt himſelf.

Among other ſpoyls of the *Edomites*, vvere carryed away their gods; vvhich being vanquiſhed and taken priſoners, did deſerve vvell to be led in triumph. But they contrarivviſe, I know not by vvhat ſtrange vvitchcraft, ſo beſotted this unworthy King *Amazia* that *he ſet them up to be his gods, and worſhipped them, and burned incenſe unto them.* 2 Chro. 25. 14.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet ſent from God, he gave a churliſh and threatning anſwer; asking the Prophet, who made him a Counſeller, and bidding him hold his peace for fear of the worſt. If either the coſtly ſtuffe, whereof theſe Idols were made, or the curious workmanſhip and beauty, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had raviſhed the Kings fancie; methinks, he ſhould have rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as houſehold ornaments and things of pleaſure, than thereby have ſuffered himſelf to be blinded, with ſuch unreaſonable devotion towards them. If the ſuperſtitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to work much upon his imagination; much more ſhould the bad ſervice which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it ſeems to me, that

the same affections carried him from God, unto the service of Idols, which afterwards moved him to talk so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and sent away such auxiliarie forces as he had gathered out of *Israel*; which done, it is said, that *he was encouraged, and led forth his people*, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him fail of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason he should have limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was that *Esau* having broken the yoak of *Jacob* from his neck, according as *Isaac* had foretold, should no more become his servant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to reconquer all the countrey of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might have well contended with him.

2 Chro. 25. 11.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe unto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to use their own industrie, courage, or foresight. Therefore it is commonly seen, that they, who entring into battell, are carefull to pray for aide from heauen, with due acknowledgment of his power, who is the giver of victory; when the field is won, doe vaunt of there own ex-ploits; one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to such a battalion; a third, how he seized on the enemies Canon; every one striving to magnifie himself, whilest all forget God, as one that had not been present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better successe, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Authour of his happinesse; so he whose meer wisdome and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himself thankful, both for the victory, and for those vertues by which the victory was gotten. And indeed so far from weaknesse is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimity; no vertue being so truely heroical, as that by which the spirit of man advanceth it self with confidence of acceptation, unto the love of God. In which sense it is a brave speech that *Evander* in *Virgil* useth to *Æneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition.

Aude hospes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.

With this Philosophy *Amazia* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himself a better man of war than any King of *Juda*, since the time of *Jehosaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should think him little inferiour to *David*; of which honour he saw no reason why the prophets should rob him, who had made him loose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasure; he having prevailed by plain force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was distempered with such vain thoughts as these (besides the witnese of his impiety following) *Josephus* doth testifie saying, That he despised God, and that being puft up with his good success, of which nevertheless he would not acknowledge God to be the Authour, he commanded *Joas* King of *Israel* to become his subject, and to let the ten Tribes acknowledge him their Soveraign, as they had done his Ancestours King *David* and *Salomon*. Some think that his quarrel to *Joas* was rather grounded upon the injury done to him by the *Israelites*, whom he dismissed in the Journey against Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stirre him up, than the remembrance of an old title, forgotten long since, and by himselfe neglected thirteen, or fourteen years. Nevertheless it might so be, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; that so the Kings of *Israel* might, at the least, learn to keep their subjects from offending *Juda*, for fear of endangering their own Crowns. Had *Amazia* desired onely recompence for the injury done to him, it is not improbable that he should have had some reasonable answer from *Joas*, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which *Joas* returned, likening himself to a Cedar, and *Amazia* in respect of him to no better than a thistle, shewes that the challenge was made in insolent termes, stuft perhaps with such proud comparison of Nobility, as might be made (according to that which *Josephus* hath written) between a King of ancient race and one of less Nobility than vertue.

Josephus ant. 9. c. 10.

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Ajax*, that when going to the warre of *Troy*, his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victory by Gods assistance, he made answer, That by Gods assistance a coward could get victory, but he would get it alone without such help: after which proud speech, though he did many valiant acts, he had small thanks, and finally, killing himself in a madness, whereinto he fell upon disgrace received,

Sophocles in Ajace Lor.

vvas

was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazia* did utter ſuch words, I do not find, but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of ſuch words, he was rewarded with ſucceſs accordingly. The very firſt counſell wherein this war was concluded, ſerves to prove that he was a wiſe Prince indeed at *Jeruſalem*, among his Paraſites, but a fool when he had to deal with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weak people, truſting more in the ſeat of their Countrey, than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Joas*, who from ſo poor beginnings had raiſed himſelf to ſuch ſtrength, that he was able to lend his friend a hundred thouſand men, and had all his Nation exerciſed, and trained up in a long victorious war. But as *Amazia* diſcovered much want of judgment, in undertaking ſuch a match; ſo in proſecuting the buſineſs, when it was ſet on foot, he behaved himſelf as a man of little experience, who having once onely tryed his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in War there was nothing elſe to do, than ſend a defiance, fight, and win. *Joas* on the contrary ſide, having been accuſtomed to deal with a ſtronger enemy than the King of *Juda*, uſed that celerity, which peradventure had often ſtood him in good ſtead againſt the *Aramite*. He did not ſit waiting till the enemies brake in & waſted his Countrey, but preſented himſelf with an Army in *Juda*, ready to bid battel to *Amazia*, and ſave him the labour of a long journey. This could not but greatly diſcourage thoſe of *Juda*, who (beſides the impreſſion of fear which an invaſion beats into people, not inured in the like) having devoured in their greedy hopes, the ſpoile of *Iſrael*, fully perſwading themſelves to get as much, and at as eaſie a rate, as in the journey of *Edom*; were ſo far diſappointed of their expectation that well they might ſuſpect all new aſſurance of good luck, when the old had thus beguiled them. All this notwithſtanding, their King that had ſtomack enough to challenge the patrimony of *Salomon*, thought like another *David* to winne it by the ſword. The iſſue of which fool-hardineſs might eaſily have been fore-ſeen in humane reaſon; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the quality of their Armies, or the firſt and ominous beginning of the War. But meer humane wiſdom, howſoever it might foreſee much, could not have prognoſticated all the miſchief that fell upon *Amazia*. For as ſoon as the two Armies came in ſight, God, whoſe help this wretched man had ſo deſpiſed, did (as *Joſephus* reports it) ſtrike ſuch terrour and amazement into the men of *Juda*, that without one blow given, they fled all away, leaving their King to ſhift for himſelf; which he did ſo ill, that his enemy had ſoon caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into moſt abject baſeneſs. That the Army which fled, ſuſtained any other loſs than of honour, I neither find in the Scriptures nor in *Joſephus*, it being likely that the ſoon beginning of their flight, which made it the more ſhamefull, made it alſo the more ſafe. But of the miſchief that followed this overthrow, it was Gods will that *Amazia* himſelf ſhould ſuſtain the whole diſgrace. For *Joas* carried him directly to *Jeruſalem*, where he bad him procure that the gates may be opened to let him in and his Army; threatning him otherwiſe with preſent death. So much amazed was the miſerable captive, with theſe dreadfull words, that he durſt do no other than perſwade the Citizens, to yeild themſelves to the mercy of the Conquerour. The Town, which afterwards being in weaker ſtate held out two years againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, vvas utterly diſmaied, when the King that ſhould have given his life to ſave it, uſed all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of *Jeruſalem* vvere opened to *Joas*, vvith vvhich honour (greater than any King of *Iſrael* had ever obtained) he could not reſt contented, but the more to deſpiſe *Amazia* and his people, he cauſed 400. cubits of the wall to be thrown down, and entred the City in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him as in triumph. This done, he ſack'd the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and ſo taking hoſtages of *Amazia*, he diſmiſſed the poor creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaria*.

Joſ ant. l. 9. c. 10.

§. IX.

A diſcourſe of the reaſons hindering Joas *from uniting* Juda *to the Crown of* Iſrael, *when he had won* Jeruſalem, *and held* Amazia *priſoner. The end of* Joas *his reign.*

VVE may juſtly marvel how it came to paſs, that *Joas*, being thus in poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, having the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his own entire, could be ſo content to depart quietly with a little ſpoil, when he might have ſeized upon the whole Kingdom. The reign of *Athalia* had given him cauſe to hope that the iſſue of *David* might be diſpoſſeſſed of that Crown; his own nobility, being the ſon and grand-child of Kings, together with

the famous acts that he had done, were enough to make the people of *Juda* think highly of him; who might alſo have preferred his form of government before that of their own Kings, eſpecially at ſuch a time, when a long ſucceſſion of wicked Princes had ſmothered the thanks which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that would have enſued upon the union of all the twelve Tribes under one Prince, is ſo apparent, that I need not to inſiſt on it. That any meſſage from God forbade the *Iſraelite* (as afterwards in the victory which *Peka* the ſon of *Romelia* got upon *Ahaz*) to turn his preſent advantage to the beſt uſe, we do not read. All this makes it the more difficult to reſolve the queſtion, why a Prince ſo well exerciſed as *Joas* had been in recovering his own, and winning from the enemy, ſhould forſake the poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, and wilfully neglect the poſſibilities, or rather caſt away the full aſſurance of ſo fair a conqueſt, as the Kingdom of *Juda*.

But concerning that point, which of all others had been moſt material, I mean the deſire of the vanquiſhed people to accept the *Iſraelite* for their King, it is plainly ſeen, that entring *Jeruſalem* in triumphant manner, *Joas* was unable to concoct his own proſperity. For, the opening of the gates had been enough to have let him not onely into the City, but into the Royal Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by fair intreaty (eſpecially having ſure means of compulſion) he might have made his own, when they ſaw themſelves betrayed, and baſely given away by him whoſe they had been before. The fair mark which this opportunity preſented, he did not aim at, becauſe his ambition was otherwiſe, and more meanly buſied, in levelling at the glory of a triumphant entry through a breach. Yet this errour might afterwards have been corrected well enough, if entring as an enemy, and ſhewing what he could do, by ſpending his anger upon the Walls, he had within the City done offices of a friend, and laboured to ſhew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his covetouſneſs began, and ſought to pleaſe it ſelf with that which is commonly moſt ready to the ſpoyler, yet ſhould be moſt forborn. The Treaſure wherewith *Seſac*, *Hazael*, and the *Philiſtims*, men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirſt, ought not to have tempted the appetite of *Joas*, who though an Idolater, yet acknowledged alſo and worſhipped the eternal God, whoſe Temple was at *Jeruſalem*. Therefore when the people ſaw him take his way directly to ſeiſe that holy place, and lay his ravenous hands upon the conſecrated veſſels, calling the family of *Obed Edom* (*whoſe children had hereditary charge of the treaſure*) to a ſtrict account, as if they had been officers of his own exchequer; they conſidered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a noble Prince, an *Iſraelite*, and their brother, though of a nother Tribe. Thus following that courſe, which the moſt vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the ſame phraſe) hath wiſely avoyded; by ſtealing a few Apples, he loſt the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people deteſted him, and after the reſpite of a few days, might, by comparing themſelves one to one, perceiue his Souldiers to be no better than men of their own mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of ſo great a City. It is not ſo eaſy to hold by force a mighty town entred by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by unadviſed fear. For when the Citizens, not being diſarmed, recover their ſpirits. and begin to underſtand their firſt errour, they will think upon every advantage, of place, of proviſions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-ſtones; and rather chooſe by deſperate reſolution, to correct the evills grown out of their former cowardiſe, than ſuffer thoſe miſchiefs to poyſon the body, which in ſuch half-conqueſts, are eaſily taſted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be deſired, than the City of *Florence*, which through the weakneſs of *Peter de Medices*, governing therein as a Prince, was reduced into ſuch hard tearms, that it opened the gates unto the French King *Charles* the eighth, who not plainly profeſſing himſelf either friend or foe to the State, entred the Town, with his Army, in triumphant manner, himſelf and his horſe armed, with his lance upon his thigh. Many inſolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell miniſtred between them and the Towns-men: ſo far forth that the *Florentines*, to preſerve their liberty, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intollerable conditions, demanding huge ſums of ready money, and the abſolute Seigniory of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the City in Arms. But *Peter Caponi*, a principal Citizen, catching theſe Articles from the Kings Secretary, and tearing them before his face, bad him ſound his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bels: which peremptory words made the French bethink themſelves, and come readily to this agree-

2 Chro. 26. 15.

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ment, that for forty thouſand pounds, and not half of that money to be paid in hand, *Charles* ſhould not only depart in peace, but reſtore whatſoever he had of their Dominion, and continue their aſſured friend. So dangerous a matter did it ſeem for that brave Army, which in few moneths after wan the Kingdom of *Naples*, to fight in the ſtreets, againſt the armed multitude of that populous City. It is true, that *Charles* had other buſineſs (and ſo perhaps had *Joas*, as ſhall anon be ſhewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehenſion of imminent danger that made him come to reaſon. In ſuch caſes the firing of houſes, uſually draws every Citizen to ſave his own, leaving victory to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and reſolved, women can quench, as faſt as the enemy, having other things to look unto, can ſet on fire. And indeed that Commander is more given to anger than regardful of profit, who upon the uncertain hope of deſtroying a Town, forſakes the aſſurance of a good compoſition. Diverſity of circumſtance may alter the caſe: it is enough to ſay, that it might be in *Jeruſalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How ſtrongly ſoever *Joas* might hold himſelf within *Jeruſalem*, he could not eaſily depart from thence, with his booty ſafe, if the Army of *Juda*, which had been more terrified than weakned in the late encounter, ſhould re-enforce itſelf, and give him a check upon the way. Wherefore it was wiſely done of him, to take hoſtages for his better ſecurity, his Army being upon return, and better loaden than when it came forth; for which cauſes it was the more unapt to fight,

Beſides theſe impediments, within the City and without, ſerving to cool the ambition of *Joas*, and keep it down from aſpiring to the Crown of *Juda*; it appears that ſomewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Eliſha* the Prophet; who, when this *Joas* had ſmitten the ground with his arrows thrice, told him that he ſhould no oftner ſmite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Iſrael* had againſt *Aram*, are by ſome, and with great probability, referred unto the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh yeares of *Joas*: after which time, if any loſſes enſuing had blemiſhed the former good ſucceſs, ill might the King of *Iſrael* have likened himſelf to a ſtately Cedar, and worſe could he have either lent the *Judæan* one hundred thouſand men, or meet him in battell, who was able to bring into the feild three hundred thouſand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plain by the words of *Eliſha*, that after three victories *Joaſh* ſhould find ſome change of fortune and ſuffer loſſe; we muſt needs conclude, That the *Aramite* prevailed upon him this yeare, it being the laſt of his Reign. That this was ſo, and that the *Syrians*, taking advantage of *Joas* his abſence gave ſuch a blow to *Iſrael*, as the King at his return was not able to remedie, but rather fell himſelf into new misfortunes which increaſed the calamities; we may evidently perceive in that which is ſpoken of *Jeroboam* his ſon. For it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſaw the exceeding bitter affliction, of Iſrael*, and that having *not decreed to put out the name of Iſrael from under the Heaven, he preſerved them by the hand of* Jeroboam *the ſonne of* Joas. This is enough to prove, that the victorious Reign of *Joas* was concluded with a ſad cataſtrophe; the riches of the Temple haſtening his miſery and death, as they had done with *Seſac*, *Athalia*, and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craſſus*, and other ſacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived againſt him, by the people of *Jeruſalem*, and courage which they took to ſet upon him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Army that lay abroad in the Countrey to bid him battel in open field, & recover by a new charge the honour which was loſt at the former encounter; or through the miſeries daily brought upon his own Countrey, by the *Syrian* in his abſence (if not by all of theſe) *Joas* was driven to lay aſide all thought of winning the Kingdom of *Juda*; and taking hoſtages for his quiet paſſage, made all haſte homewards, where he found a ſad wel-come, and being utterly forſaken of his wonted proſperity, forſook alſo his life in few moneths after, leaving his Kingdom to *Jeroboam* the ſecond, his fortunate and valiant ſon.

§. X.

The end of Amazia *his Reign and life.*

ANy man is able to gheſs how *Amazia* looked, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted ſo much of his own great proweſs and skill in Arms, threatning to work wonders, and ſet up a-new the glorious Empire of *David*, was now uncaſed of his Lions hide, and appeared nothing ſo terrible a beaſt as he had bin painted. Much argument of ſcoffing at him he had miniſtred unto ſuch as held him in diſlike; which at this time doubtleſs were very many: for the ſhame that falls upon an inſolent man, ſeldom fails of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazia*, (beſides

(beſides that the multitude are alwayes prone to lay the blame upon their Governours, even of thoſe calamities which happen by their own default) there was no child in all *Jeruſalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this miſchief. He had not only challenged a good man of War, being himſelf a Daſtard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had baſely pleaded for the common enemy, to have him let into the City, that with his own eyes he might ſee what ſpoil there was, and not make a bad bargain by hear-ſay. The father of this *Amazia* was a beaſtly man; yet when the *Aramites* took him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at ſo dear a rate, as the City and Temple of *Jeruſalem*. Had he offered, ſhould they have made his promiſe good? ſurely the haſte which they had made in condeſcending to this hard match, was very unfortunate: for by keeping out the *Iſraelites* (which was eaſie enough) any little while, they ſhould ſoon have been rid of him, ſeeing that the *Aramites* would have made him run home, with greater ſpeed than he came forth. Then alſo, when having truſſed up his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would have ſerved to perſwade him to leave his load behind; had not their good King delivered up hoſtages, to ſecure his return, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his pains taken.

Such exprobations could not but vex the heart of this unhappy King: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault unto God, that had puniſhed him by all this diſhonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that he continued an Idolater to the very laſt. For it is ſaid of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, *they wrought treaſon againſt him in Jeruſalem*: a manifeſt proof that he was not reclaimed unto his lives end. And certainly, they which tell a man in his adverſity of his faults paſſed, ſhall ſooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to ſeek his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvel, that Prieſts and Prophets were leſs welcome to him, than ever they had been. On the other ſide, flatterers, and ſuch as were deſirous to put a heart into him, whereof themſelves might alwayes be maſters, wanted not plauſible matter to revive him. For he was not the firſt, nor ſecond of the Kings of *Juda*, that had been overcome in battel. *David* himſelf had abandoned the City, leaving it before the enemy was in ſight, unto *Abſalom* his rebellious Son. Many beſides him had received loſſes, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Joas* might ſo eaſily have been kept out; why did their Anceſtors let *Seſac* in? *Aſa* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his own hands he emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excuſable by neceſſity of the State. Belike theſe traducers would commend no Actions but of dead Princes: if ſo, he ſhould rather live to puniſh them, than die to pleaſe them. Though wherein had he given them any cauſe of diſpleaſure? It was he indeed that commanded to ſet open the gates to *Joas*; but it was the people that did it. Good ſervants ought not to have obeyed their Maſters Commandments to his diſadvantage, when they ſaw him not maſter of his own Perſon. As his captivity did acquit him from blame of all things that he did or ſuffered in that condition; ſo was that miſfortune it ſelf, in true eſtimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loſs. For had he been as haſty to fly as others were, he might have eſcaped as well as others did. But ſeeking to teach the baſe multitude courage by his Royal example, he was ſhamefully betrayed by thoſe in whom he truſted. Unworthy creatures, that could readily obey him, when ſpeaking another mans words, being priſoner, he commanded them to yeild; having neglected his charge, when leading them into the field, he bad them ſtand to it and fight like men. The beſt was, that they muſt needs acknowledge his miſchance, as the occaſion whereby many thouſand lives were ſaved; the enemy having wiſely preferred the ſurpriſe of a Lion that was Captain, before the chaſe and ſlaughter of an Army of Stags that followed him.

2 *Chron* 25. 27.

Theſe or the like words comforting *Amazia*, were able to perſwade him, that it was even ſo indeed. And ſuch excuſes might have ſerved well enough to pleaſe the people, if the King had firſt ſtudied how to pleaſe God. But he that was unwilling to aſcribe unto God the good ſucceſs foretold by a Prophet; could eaſily find how to impute this late diſaſter unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it ſeems that he meant to keep himſelf ſafe from her by ſitting ſtill; for in fifteen years following (ſo long he out-lived his honour) we find not that he ſtirred. As for his ſubjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government, yet we may ſee by his end, that the middle time was ill ſpent among them, increaſing their hatred to his own ruine. He that ſuſpecteth his own worth or other mens opinions, thinking the leſs regard is had of his perſon than he believeth to be due to his place, will commonly ſpend all the force of his authority in purchaſing the name of a

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ſevere man. For the affected ſowreneſs of a vain fellow, doth many times reſemble the gravity of one that is wiſe: and the fear wherein they live, which are ſubject unto oppreſſion, carries a ſhew of reverence to him that does the wrong; at leaſt it ſerves to dazle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakeneſs of ſuch as have juriſdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well uſing it, men might attain to be ſuch as they ought, they do uſually miſ-ſpend, in ſeeking to appear ſuch as they are not. This is a vain and deceiveable courſe; procuring, in ſtead of the reſpect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous conſequence; eſpecially when an unable ſpirit, being over-perted with ſo high authority, is too paſſionate in the execution of ſuch an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazia* thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, vvhat did he elſe than ſtrive to make the people think he hated them, vvhen of themſelves they vvere apt enough to believe that he did not love them? the beſt vvas, that he had, by revenging his fathers death, provided well enough for his own ſecurity: but vvho ſhould take vengeance (or upon vvhom?) of ſuch a murther, wherein every one had a part? Surely God himſelf, who had not given commandment or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in ſhedding the bloud of his Annointed. Yet as *Amazia* careleſs of God, was carried headlong by his own affections; ſo his ſubjects, following the ſame ill example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, roſe up againſt him, with ſuch headlong fury, that being unable to defend himſelf in *Jeruſalem*, he was driven to forſake the City, and fly to *Lachis*, for ſafeguard of his life. But ſo extream was the hatred conceived againſt him, and ſo general, that neither his abſence could allay the rage of it in the Capital City, nor his preſence in the Country abroad procure friends to defend his life. Queſtionleſs he choſe the Town of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other beſt affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kill him with their own hands; for when the Conſpirators (who troubled not themſelves about raiſing an Army for the matter) ſent purſuers after, he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the utmoſt City of his Dominion Weſtward, ſtanding ſomewhat without the border of *Juda*; ſo that he might have made an eaſie eſcape (if he durſt adventure) into the Territory of the *Philiſtims*, or the Kingdom of *Iſrael*. Therefore it may ſeem that he was detained there, where certain it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this Town added their own treaſon to the general inſurrection; the murderers could not at ſo good leiſure as they did, have carried away his body to *Jeruſalem*, where they gave him burial with his fathers.

§. XI.

Of the Inter-regnum, *or vacancy, that was in the Kingdom of* Juda, *after the death of* Amazia.

IT hath already been ſhewed, that the Reigns of the Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael* were ſometimes to be meaſured by compleat years, otherwhiles, by years current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the laſt years of his fathers Reign, or the foremoſt of his ſons. But we are now arrived at a meer vacation, wherein the Crown of *Juda* lay void eleven whole years: a thing not plainly ſet down in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by *Joſephus*, and therefore hard to be believed, were it not proved by neceſſary conſequence.

Twice we find it written, that *Amazia, King of Juda, lived after the death of* Joas *King of Iſrael, fifteen years*; whereupon it follows, that the death of *Amazia*, was about the end of fifteen years compleat, which *Jeroboam* the ſecond (who *in the fifteenth year of Amazia was made King over Iſrael*) had reigned in *Samaria*. But the ſucceſſion of *Uzzia*, who is alſo called *Azaria*, unto his father in the Kingdom of *Juda*, was eleven years later than the ſixteenth of *Jeroboam*: for it is expreſſed, that *Azaria began to reign in the ſeven and twentieth year of Jeroboam*; the ſixteenth year of his life, being joyned with the firſt of two and fifty that he reigned. So the *Inter-regnum* of eleven years cannot be divided, without ſome hard means uſed, of interpreting the Text otherwiſe than the letter ſounds.

2 *Chron.* 25. 2. & 2 *King.* 14. 17.

2 *King.* 14. 23.

2 *King.* 15. 8

Yet ſome conjectures there are made, which tend to keep all even, without acknowledging any void time. For it is thought that in the place laſt of all cited, by the ſeven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*, we ſhould perhaps underſtand the ſeven and twentieth year of his life; or elſe (becauſe the like words are no where elſe interpreted in the like ſenſe) that *Azaria* was eleven years under age, that is, five years old when his father died, and ſo his ſixteenth year

might concur with the ſeven and twentieth of *Jeroboam*; or that the Text it ſelf might have ſuffered ſome vvrong, by miſwriting twenty ſeven for ſeventeen years; and ſo, by making the ſeventeenth year of *Jeroboam* to be newly begun, all may be ſalved. Theſe are the conjectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator:* concerning the firſt of vvhich, it may ſuffice, that the Author himſelf doth eaſily let it paſs, as improbable; the laſt is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that upon every doubt, vve ſhould call the text in queſtion; vvhich could not be falſified in all copies, if perhaps it vvere in one: as for the ſecond, it may be held vvith ſome qualification, that *Azaria* began his Reign being five years old; but then muſt vve add thoſe eleven years vvhich paſſed in his minority, to the two and fifty that followed his ſixteenth year, vvhich is all one in a manner, vvith allowing an *Inter-regnum*.

But vvhy ſhould vve be ſo careful to avoid an *Inter-regnum* in *Juda*, ſeeing that the like neceſſity hath inforced all good Writers to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening vvithin few years, in the Kingdom of *Iſrael?* The ſpace of time between *Jeroboam*'s death, and the beginning of *Zachariah*'s reign, and ſuch another gap found between the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hoſea*, have made it eaſily to be admitted into *Samaria*; vvhich the conſideration of things as they ſtood in *Juda*, vvhen *Amazia* vvas ſlain, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea, although the neceſſity of computation vvere not ſo apparent.

For the publick fury having ſo far extended it ſelf, as unto the deſtruction of the Kings own perſon, was not likely to be appeaſed without order taken for obtaining ſome redreſs of thoſe matters, which had cauſed it at the firſt to break forth into ſuch extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to paſs, that they which already had thrown themſelves into ſuch an horrible treaſon, ſhould afterwards dare to withhold the Crown from a Prince of that age, which being inveſted in all ornaments of Regality, is nevertheleſs expoſed to many injuries, proceeding from head-ſtrong, and forgetful ſubjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Azaria* to have been King but one and forty years after he came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, becauſe it agrees too harſhly with the Text. The beſt opinion were that which gives unto *Jeroboam* eleven years of reign with his Father, before he began to reign ſingle in the fifteenth of *Amazia*; did it not ſwallow up almoſt the whole reign of *Joas*, and extending the years of thoſe which reigned in *Iſrael* (by making ſuch of them compleat as were onely current) and take at the ſhorteſt the reigns of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not ſtand to diſpute further of this: every man may follow his own opinion, and ſee mine more plainly in the Chronological Table, drawn for theſe purpoſes.

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporary with Amazia, *and more particularly of* Sardanapalus.

THE Princes living with *Amazia*, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were *Joas* and *Jeroboam* in *Iſrael*; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylvius Alladius*, and *Sylvius Aventinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Pheredus*, and *Ariphron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedæmon Thelectus*, in whoſe time the *Spartans* wan from the *Achaians*, *Gerauthæ*, *Amyclæ*, and ſome other Towns.

But more notable than all theſe, was *Aſſyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amazia*, ſucceeding his father *Ocrazapes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, reigned twenty years, and was ſlain the laſt of the eleven void years which fore-went the reign of *Azaria*. In him ended (as moſt agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thouſand two hundred and forty years. A moſt luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, paſſing away his time among ſtrumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In theſe voluptuous courſes he lived an unhappy life, knowing himſelf to be ſo vile, that he durſt not let any man have a ſight of him; yet ſeen he was at length, and the ſight of him was ſo odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding means to behold the perſon of his King, was ſo incenſed with that beaſtly ſpectacle, of a man diſguiſed in womans attire, and ſtriving to counterfeit an harlot, that he thought it a great ſhame to live under the command of ſo unworthy a creature. Purpoſing therefore to free himſelf and others from ſo baſe ſubjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Beleſis* or *Beloſus* a *Chaldæan*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdom of *Sardanapalus* ſhould fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleaſed with the Prophecy, did promiſe unto

to *Beloſus* himſelf the government of *Babylon*; and ſo concluding how to handle the buſineſs, one of them ſtirred up the *Medes*, and allured the *Perſians* into the quarrel, the other perſwaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themſelves in the ſame cauſe. Theſe four Nations armed forty thouſand men againſt *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himſelf, but gathering ſuch forces as he could out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that War, anſwer to the manner of his retiredneſs. For in three battels he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into ſuch fearful terms, that had not *Beloſus* promiſed them conſtantly ſome unexpected ſuccours, they would forthwith have broken up their Camp. About the ſame time, an Army out of *Bactria* was coming to aſſiſt the King; but *Arbaces* encountring it upon the way, perſwaded ſo ſtrongly by promiſe of liberty, that thoſe forces joyned themſelves with his. The ſudden departure of the enemy ſeeming to be a flight, cauſed *Sardanapalus* to feaſt his Army, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being ſtrengthened with this new ſupply, came upon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through overgreat ſecurity was unprepared for reſiſtance.

This overthrow did ſo weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his Wives brother *Salamenus* to keep the field, he withdrew himſelf into the City of *Nineve*; which, till new aids that he ſent for ſhould come, he thought eaſily to defend; it having been propheſied, that *Nineve* ſhould never be taken, till the River were enemy to the Town. Of the greatneſs and ſtrength of *Nineve*, enough hath been ſpoken in our diſcourſe of *Ninus* It was ſo well victualled, that *Arbaces* (having in two battels overthrown the Kings Army, and ſlain *Salamenus*) was fain to lye two whole years before it, in hope to win it by famine; whereof yet he ſaw no appearance. It ſeems that he wanted Engines and ſkill to force thoſe walls, which were an hundred foot high, and thick enough for three Chariots in front to paſs upon the rampire. But that which he could not do in two years, the River of *Tigris* did in the third: for being high ſwoln with rains, it not onely drowned a part of the City through which it ran, but threw down twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a fair breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accompliſhment of the old Oracle, or ſeeing no means of reſiſtance left, ſhutting up himſelf into his Palace, with his Wives, Eunuchs, and all his Treaſures, did ſet the houſe on fire, wherewith he and they were together conſumed. *Strabo* ſpeaks of a Monument of his, that was in *Anchiale*, a City of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inſcription, ſhewing that he built that City and *Tharſus* upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eat and drink, and make merry, encouraged others with verſes well known, to a voluptuous life, by his own example teſtified that his nature was more prone to ſenſuality, than to any vertue beſeeming a Prince. *Strab l. 9.*

There are ſome that faintly report otherwiſe of his end; ſaying that *Arbaces*, when he firſt found him among his Concubines, was ſo enraged, that ſuddenly he ſlew him with a dagger. But the more general conſent of Writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Cteſias* a Greek Writer, that lived in the Court of *Perſia*, where the truth might beſt be known. *Diod Sic. l. 2. c. 7.*

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Aſſyria*, from the time of *Semiramis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, though I believe that they were ſometimes (yet not, as *Oroſius* hath it, inceſſantly) buſied in offenſive, or elſe defenſive arms; yet for the moſt part of them I do better truſt *Diodorus Siculus*, who ſaith that their names were overpaſſed by *Cteſias*, because they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatſoever they did, that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath ſaid of them is very true; *Silence and Oblivion hath oppreſſed them.* *Diod. l. 2. c. 6.* *Theophilus Antiochenus l. 2.*

CHAP. XXIII.
Of UZZIA.

§. I.

The proſperity of Uzzia, *and of* Jeroboam *the ſecond, who reigned with him in* Iſrael. *Of the Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes after the death of* Jeroboam. *Of* Zacharia, Sallum, Menahem, *and* Pekahia.

UZzia, who is called *Ahazia*, the ſon of *Jotham*, was made King of *Juda*, when he was ſixteen years old, in the ſeven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas* King of *Iſrael*. He ſerved the God of his father *David*, and had therefore good ſucceſs in all his enterpriſes. He built *Eloth*, a Town that ſtood near to the Red Sea, and reſtored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philiſtims*, of whoſe Towns he diſmantled ſome, and built others in ſundry parts of their Territories. Alſo he got the maſtery over ſome parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his proſperous Wars wherein (as *Joſephus* rehearſeth his acts) he began with the *Philiſtims*, and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Army conſiſted of three hundred and ſeven thouſand men of War, over which were appointed two thouſand and ſix hundred Captains. For all this multitude the King prepared *ſhields, and ſpears, and helmets*, and other Arms requiſite; following therein happily a courſe quite oppoſite unto that which ſome of his late predeceſſors had held, who thought it better policy to uſe the ſervice of the Nobility, than of the multitude; carrying forth to war *the Princes, and all the Chariots*.

2 *Chron.* 26 14.

2 *Chron.* 21.9.

As the victories of *Uzzia* were far more important, than the atchievments of all that had reigned in *Juda*, ſince the time of *David*; ſo were his riches and magnificent works, equal, if not ſuperiour to any of theirs that had been Kings between him and *Salomon*. For, beſides that great conqueſts are won to repay the charges of War with triple intereſt, he had the ſkill to uſe, as well as the happineſs to get. He turned his lands to the beſt uſe, keeping Ploughmen and Dreſſers of Vines, in grounds convenient for ſuch huſbandry. In other places he had Cattel feeding; whereof he might well keep great ſtore, having won ſo much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of waſte ground ſerving for paſturage. For defence of his Cattel and Heardſmen, he built Towers in the Wilderneſs. He alſo digged many Ciſterns or Ponds. *Joſephus* calls them Water-courſes; but in ſuch dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the moſt likely places. If by theſe Towers he ſo commanded the water, that none could without his conſent, relieve themſelves therewith, queſtionleſs he took the onely courſe, by which he might ſecurely hold the Lordſhip over all the Wilderneſs; it being hardly paſſable, by reaſon of the extream drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the uſe of Travellers.

Beſides all this coſt, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of ſundry Towns among the *Philiſtims*; he repaired the wall of *Jeruſalem*, which *Joas* had broken down, and fortified it with Towers, whereof ſome were an hundred and fifty Cubits high.

The ſtate of *Iſrael* did never ſo flouriſh, as at this time, ſince the diviſion of the twelve Tribes into two Kingdoms. For as *Uzzia* prevailed in the South, ſo (if not more) *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas*, King of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories againſt the *Syrians*, he wan the Royal City of *Damaſcus*, and he wan *Hamath*, with all the country thereabout *from the entring of* Hamath, *unto the Sea of the Wilderneſs*, that is (as the moſt expound it) unto the vaſt deſarts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiſcovered. So the bounds of *Iſrael* in thoſe parts, were in time of this *Jeroboam*, the ſame (or not much narrower) which they had been in the reign of *David*.

2 *King.* 14. 25. 28.

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived ſo well, for he was an Idolater: it was only the compaſſion which the Lord had on *Iſrael*, ſeeing the exceeding bitter affliction whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which cauſed him to alter the ſucceſſion of war, and to throw the victorious *Aramites* under the feet of thoſe whom they

they had ſo cruelly oppreſſed. The line of *Jehu* to which God had promiſed the Kingdom of *Iſrael unto the fourth generation*, was now not far from the end; and now again
1 Reg. 10. 13. it was invited unto repentance by new benefits, as it hath been at the beginning. But the ſin of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat* was held ſo pretious, that neither the Kingdom it ſelf given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehu* from that politick Idolatry; nor the miſery falling upon him and his poſterity, to bring them to a better courſe of Religion; nor yet, at the laſt, this great proſperity of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas*, to make him render the honour that was due to the onely giver of victory. Wherefore the promiſe of God made unto *Jehu*, that his ſons, *unto the fourth generation*, ſhould ſit on the throne of *Iſrael*, was not enlarged; but being almoſt expired, gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (ſo ſtrange, that we who find no particulars recorded, can hardly gheſs at the occaſions) foregoing the laſt accompliſhment.

When *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas*, after a victorious reign of one and forty years, had ended his life; it ſeems in all reaſon that *Zacharia* his ſon ſhould forthwith have been admitted to reign in his ſtead; the Nobility of that race having gotten ſuch a luſtre by the immediate ſucceſſion of four Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crown paſſed by election, muſt needs have appeared baſe; and the vertue of the laſt King having been ſo great, as might well ſerve to lay the foundation of a new houſe, much more to eſtabliſh the already confirmed right of a family ſo rooted in poſſeſſion. All this notwithſtanding, two or three and twenty years did paſs before *Zacharia* the ſon of *Jeroboam* was, by uniform conſent, received as King. The true original cauſes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden Calves did ſtand; yet ſecond inſtruments of this diſturbance are likely not to have been wanting upon which the wiſdom of man was ready to caſt an eye. Probable it is, that the Captains of the army (who afterwards ſlew one another ſo faſt, that in fourteen years there reigned five Kings) did now by head-ſtrong violence, rend the Kingdom aſunder, holding each what he could, and either deſpiſing or hating ſome qualities in *Zacharia*; untill, after many years, wearied with diſſention, and the principal of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they conſented to yeild all quietly to the ſon of *Jeroboam*. That this Anarchy laſted almoſt three and twenty years, we find by the difference of time between the fifteenth year of *Uzzia*, which was the laſt of *Jeroboam* his one and fortieth (his ſeven and twentieth concurring with the firſt of *Uzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the ſame *Uzzia*, in the laſt ſix moneths whereof *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are ſome indeed that by ſuppoſing *Jeroboam* to have reigned with his father eleven years, do cut off the *interregnum* in *Juda* (before mentioned) and by the ſame reaſon abridge this Anarchy that was before the reign of *Zacharia* in *Iſrael*. Yet they leave it twelve years long: which is time ſufficient to prove that the Kingdom of the ten Tribes was no leſs diſtempered than as is already noted. But I chooſe rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtful conjecture, that gives to *Jeroboam* two and fifty years, by adding three quarters of his father's reign unto his own; which was it ſelf indeed ſo long, that he may well ſeem to have begun it very young; for I do not think that God bleſſed this Idolater both with a longer reign, and with a longer life than he did his ſervant *David*.

Thus much being ſpoken of the time wherein the Throne of *Iſrael* was void, before the reign of *Zacharia*; little may ſuffice to be ſaid of his reign it ſelf, which laſted but a little while. Six months only was he King; in which time he declared himſelf a worſhipper of the golden Calves; which was enough to juſtifie the judgment of God; whereby he was ſlain. He was the laſt of *Jehu*'s houſe, being (incluſively) the firſt of that line; which may have been ſome cauſe of the troubles impeaching his orderly ſucceſſion: the propheſie having determined that race in the fourth generation. But (beſides that Gods premiſe was extended unto the utmoſt) there was no warrant given to *Sallum*, or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had been given to *Jehu* for the ſlaughter of *Jehoram*, and for the eradication of *Ahabs* houſe.

Zacharia having been ſix moneths a King, 2 *King.* 15. 13.
was then ſlain by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, *the ſpace of a moneth in Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I do not find; ſave onely that he was a Traytor, and the ſon of one *Jabeſh*, whereby his father got no honour. It ſeems that he was one of thoſe, who in time of faction had laboured for himſelf, and now when all other Competitors were ſitten down, thought eaſily to prevail againſt that King, in whoſe perſon the race of *Jehu* was to fail. Manifeſt it is, that *Sallum* had a ſtrong party: for *Tiphſah* or *Thapſa*, and the coaſt thereof even from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem* his enemy and ſup-

planter then lay, refuſed to admit, as King in his ſtead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* received the reward of his treaſon, and vvas ſlain by *Menahem* who reigned in his place.

Menahem the ſon of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten years. In oppoſition to *Sallum*, his hatred vvas deadly, and inhumane, for he not onely deſtroyed *Tiphſah*, and all that vvere therein, or thereabouts, but he ript up all their women with child, becauſe they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been uſed in revenge of *Zacharia*'s death, it is like that he would have been as earneſt, in procuring unto him his Fathers Crown when it was firſt due. But in performing that office, there was uſed ſuch long deliberation, that we may plainly diſcover Ambition, Diſdain, and other private paſſions, to have been the cauſes of this beaſtly outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it ſeems) in the beginning of his Reign, *Pul*, King of *Aſſyria*, came againſt the Land of *Iſrael*, whom this new King appeaſed, with a thouſand talents of ſilver, levied upon all the ſubſtantial men in his Countrey. With this money the *Iſraelite* purchaſed, not onely the peace of his Kingdom; but his own eſtabliſhment therein: ſome factious man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if he came uncalled) ſought to uſe his help, in depoſing this ill-beloved King. *Joſephus* reports of this *Menahem*, that his reign was no milder than his entrance. But after ten years, his tyranny ended with his life: and *Pekahia* his Son occupied his room.

Joſ. ant l. 9. 11.

Of this *Pekahia* the ſtory is ſhort: for he reigned onely two years; at the end whereof, he was ſlain by *Peka* the ſon of *Ramalia*, whoſe treaſon was rewarded with the Crown of *Iſrael* as, in time comming, another mans Treaſon againſt himſelf ſhall be. There needs no more to be ſaid of *Menahem* and his ſon, ſave that they were both of them Idolaters, and the ſon (as we find in *Joſephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Aſſyrian* King, who firſt opened unto thoſe Northern Nations the way into *Palæſtina*; it will ſhortly follow in order of the Story, to deliver our opinion: whether he were that *Beloſus* (called alſo *Beleſes*, and by ſome *Phul Belochus*) who joyned with *Arbaces* the *Median*, againſt *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were ſome other man. At the preſent it is more fit that we relate the end of *Uzzia*'s life, who out-lived the happineſs wherein we left him.

Joſ. ibi l.

§. II.

The end of Uzzia *his Reign and Life.*

AS the zeal of *Jehojada* that godly Prieſt vvas the mean to preſerve the linage of *David* in the perſon of *Joas*, ſo it appears; that the care of holy men vvas not vvanting to *Uzzia*, to bring him up and advance him to the Crown of *Juda*, vvhen the hatred born to his Father *Amazia* had endangered his ſucceſſion. For it is ſaid of *Uzzia*, That *he ſought God in the days of* Zacharia (*which underſtood the viſions of God*) *and when as he ſought the Lord, God made him proſper.* 2 Chron. 26. 5.

But, when he was ſtrong, his heart was lifted up to his deſtruction: for he tranſgreſſed againſt the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burn incenſe upon the Altar of incenſe. Verſe 16. Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by medling in the Prieſts office, vvhoſe power had in every extremity been ſo helpful to the Kings of *Juda*, that meer gratitude and civill policy, ſhould have held back *Uzzia* from incroaching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had been ſilent in this caſe, and not forbidding it. Howſoever, the King forgot his duty, the Prieſts remembred theirs, & God forgat not to aſſiſt them. *Azaria* the high Prieſt interrupted the Kings purpoſe, and gave him to underſtand how little to his honour it vvould prove, that he took upon him the office of the ſons of *Aaron*. There vvere vvith *Azaria* fourſcore other Prieſts, valiant men, but their valour vvas ſhewed onely in aſſiſting the high Prieſt, vvhen (according to his duty) he reprehended the Kings preſumption. This was enough the reſt God himſelf performed. We find in *Joſephus*, that the King had apparelled himſelf in Prieſtly habit, and that he threatned *Azaria* and his Companions, to puniſh them vvith death, unleſs they would be quiet. *Joſephus* indeed inlargeth the Story, by inſerting a great Earth-quake, which did tear down half an Hill, that rowled four furlongs, till it reſted againſt another Hill, ſtopping up the high-ways, and ſpoiling the Kings Garden in the paſſage. With this Earth-quake he ſaith, that the roof of the Temple did cleave, and that a Sun-beam did light upon the Kings face, vvhich vvas preſently infected vvith leproſie. All this may have been true; and ſome there are vvho think that this Earth-quake is the ſame, vvhich is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; vvherein they do much miſ-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake ſpoken of by *Amos*, vvas in the days of *Jeroboam* King of *Iſrael*, vvho dyed ſeven and thirty years before *Uzzia*, ſo that *Jotham* the

Joſ ant. l. 9 c. 11.

the ſon of *Uzzia*, vvhich ſupplyed his Fathers place in government of the Land, ſhould, by this accompt, have been then unborn: for he vvas but five and twenty years old, vvhen he began ro reign as King. Therefore, thus far onely vve have aſſurance; that
2 Chro. 26. 20. *while* Uzzia *was wroth with the Prieſts, the leproſie roſe up in his fore-head, before the Prieſts.* Hereupon he vvas cauſed, in all haſte, to depart the place, & to live in a houſe by himſelf untill he dyed, the rule over the Kings houſe, and over all the Land, being committed to *Jotham*, his Son and Succeſſour. *Jotham* took not upon himſelf the ſtile of a King, till his Father vvas dead; vvhom they buried in the ſame field wherein his Anceſtors lay interred; yet in a Monument apart from the reſt, becauſe he was a Leper.

§. III.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of Uzzia; *and of Princes then ruling in* Egypt, *and in ſome other Countries.*

IN the time of *Uzzia* were the firſt of the leſſer Prophets, *Hoſea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadia* and *Jonas*. It is not indeed ſet down, when *Joel* or *Obadia* did prophecy but if the Prophets, whoſe times are not expreſſed, ought to be ranged (according to Saint *Hierome*'s rule) with the next before them; then muſt theſe two be judged contemporary with *Hoſea* and *Amos*, who lived under King *Uzzia*. To enquire which of theſe five was the moſt ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at leaſt, a ſuperfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived, hath ſo plentifully been ſought, without reprehenſion, how can he be taxed, which offers to ſearch out the antiquity of theſe holy Prophets? It ſeems to me, that the firſt of theſe, in order of time, was the Prophet *Jonas*; who foretold the great
2 Chro. c. 14. v. 25. 26. victories of *Jeroboam* King of *Iſrael*, and therefore is like to have propheſied in the days of *Joas*, whileſt the afflictions of *Iſrael* was *exceeding bitter*; the Text it ſelf intimating no leſs: by which conſequence he was elder than the other Prophets, whoſe works are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdom of *Iſrael* are now loſt. That which remaineth of him, ſeems, not without reaſon unto ſome very learned, to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whoſe days *Nineve* was firſt of all deſtroyed. This Prophet rather taught Chriſt by his ſufferings, than by his writings, now extant: in all the reſt are found expreſs promiſes of the Meſſias.

In the reign of *Uzzia* likewiſe it was, that, *Eſay*, the firſt of the four great prophets, began to ſee his viſions. This difference of *great and leſſer* prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they have left written (as S. *Auguſtine* gives reaſon of the diſtinction) becauſe the greater have written larger Books. The prophet *Eſay* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rejected, who think him to have been the ſon of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellencie both of his ſtile and argument, wherein he ſo plainly foreteleth the Birth, Miracles, Paſſion, and whole Hiſtory of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Evangeliſt, as a Prophet; having written in ſuch wiſe, That (as *Hierome* ſaith) *one would think he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an Hiſtory of matters already paſt.*

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 29.

Hier. in præf. ſuper Iſaiam.

Bocchoris was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth year of his reign, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reaſon) was current, when *Uzzia* took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Juda*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Aſchis* followed in the Kingdom of *Egypt*: unto him ſucceeded *Amyſis*, and theſe two occupied that Crown ſix years. Then *Sabacus*, an *Æthiopian*, became King of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years, whereof the ten firſt ran along with the laſt of *Uzzia* his Reign and Life. Of theſe and other *Egyptian* Kings, more ſhall be ſpoken, when their affairs ſhall come to be intermedled with the buſineſs of *Juda*.

In *Athens*, the two laſt years of *Ariphron* his twenty, the ſeven and twentieth of *Theſpaius*, the twentieth of *Agamneſtor*, and the three firſt of *Æſchilus* his three and twenty, made even with the two and fifty of *Uzzia*: as likewiſe did in *Alba* the laſt ſeven of *Silvius Aventinus* his ſeven and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Silvius Procas*, and two and twenty the firſt of *Silvius Amulius*. In *Media Arbaces* began his new Kingdom in the firſt of *Uzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty years, his ſon *Oſarmus* ſucceeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diviſion of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, between him and others, when they had oppreſſed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to uſe more particular diſcourſe, that we may not wander in too great uncertainty in the ſtory of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, who have already found the way into *Palæſtina*, and are not likely to forget it.

Of

§. IV.

Of the Assyrian *Kings, descending from* Phul: *and whether* Phul *and* Belosus *were one person, or heads of sundry Families, that reigned a part in* Nineve *and* Babylon.

BY that which hath formerly been shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparent, that the chief therein was *Arbaces* the *Medyan*; to vvhom the rest of the Confederates did not onely submit themselves in that War, but vvere contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his authority sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The first example of his power, vvas shewn upon *Belosus* the *Babylonian*, by vvhose special advice and help, *Arbaces* himself vvas become so great: Yet vvas not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannical a manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belosus*, he used the counsel of his other Captains, and then pardoned him of his own grace; allowing him to hold not onely the City and Province of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embezelling vvhereof his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Provinces; retaining (as it appears) onely the Soveraignty to himself, vvhich to use immoderately he did naturally abhor. He is said, indeed, to have excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the City of *Nineve*, permitting the Citizens nevertheless to take and carry away every one his own goods. The other Nations that joyned with him, as the *Persians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his side, by the allurement of liberty; which he himself so greatly loved, that by slacking too much the reins of his own Soveraignty, he did more harm to the general estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedom, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Countrey was pared narrower by *Salmanassar*, (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) vvhom vve find in the Scriptures to have held some Towns of the *Medes*; and the civil administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deioces* the fift of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that governm ent, by reducing them into stricter terms of obedience,

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to be such as might in fourscore years, if not sooner, both extend it self unto the conquest of *Israel*, and tear away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered; not onely in regard of the destruction of *Nineve*, and subversion of the *Assyrian* Kingdom, whereof the *Medes*, under *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may seem at that time to have kept the *Assyrians* under their subjection, when the rest of the Provinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nineve* are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their History is made uncertain.

I will first therefore deliver the opinion generally received, aud the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it, I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Joseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the judgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or have followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to set down a-part the severall authorities and arguments of sundry men, adding somwhat of weight, or of clearnesse one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will doe as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partialitie, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancie of mine own, but meerly led by those reasons, which upon examination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though to others they may perhaps appear weak.

That which, until of late, hath passed as current, is this; That *Belosus* was the same King, who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palæstina* with an Armie; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his authors with such as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skilfull Astrologer, subtile, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Assyria*: finally that he reigned eight and fortie years, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglat-phalassar* his son, in whose Posterity it continued some few descents, till the house of *Merodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his *Metasthenes* were sufficient proof, could not be gainsaid; for that Author (such as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, howsoever *Annius* his Authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that wee should conclude all to be false which they affirme.

They

They, who maintaine this Tradition, juſtifie it by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumſtances found in all Authors, and repugnant unto no hiſtorie at all. For it is manifeſt by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Beloſus* were partners in the action againſt *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewiſe other Captains were with governments: but that any third perſon was ſo eminent, as to haue *Aſſyria* it ſelfe, the cheife Countrey of the Empire beſtowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the leaſt appearance is found in any Hiſtorie. And certainly it ſtood with little reaſon, that the *Aſſyrians* ſhould be committed unto a peculiar King, at ſuch time as it was not meet to truſt them in their own walls and houſes. Rather it is apparent, that the deſtruction of *Nineve* by *Arbaces*, and the tranſplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policy, becauſe thereby the people of that Nation might be kept down from aſpiring to recover the Soveraignty, which elſe they would have thought to belong, as of right, unto the Seat of the Empire.

Upon ſuch conſiderations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, deſtroy *Carthage* and diſſolve the Corporation, or Body politick, of the Citizens of *Capua*; becauſe thoſe two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter eſteemed over-dangerous, even to *Rome* it ſelfe, that was Miſtreſſe of them both. This being ſo, how can it be thought that the *Aſſyrians* in three or foure years had erected their Kingdome a-new, under one *Pul*? or what muſt this *Pul* have been (of whoſe deſervings or entermedling, or indeed of whoſe very name, we find no mention in the Warre againſt *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall parts of the Empire fell either by generall conſent in diviſion of the Provinces, or by his owne power and purchaſe very ſoon after? Surely he was none other than *Beloſus*; whoſe neer neighbourhood gave him opportunity (as he was wiſe enough to play his own game) both to get *Aſſyria* to himſelf, and to empeach any other man that ſhould have attempted to ſeize upon it. The Province of *Babylon*, which *Beloſus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches and power, as good as the third part of the *Perſian* Empire, was able to furniſh him with all that was requiſite for ſuch a buſineſs: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his own hands all the gold and ſilver that had been in the Palace of *Nineve*. And queſtionleſs, to reſtore ſuch a City as *Nineve*, was an enterpriſe fit for none to take in hand, except he had ſuch means as *Beloſus* had, which *Pul*, if he were not *Beloſus*, is likely to have wanted.

Ta'Leonra Rallam. or. 2.

Herodot. l. 1.

Beſides all this, had *Pul* been a diſtinct perſon from *Beloſus*, and Lord of *Aſſyria*, which lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia*, it would not have been an eaſie matter for him, to paſs quite through another mans Kingdom with an Army, ſeeking booty a far off in *Iſrael*: the onely action by which the name of *Phut* is known. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the ſame whom prophane writers have called *Beloſus*, *Belefes*, and *Belefis* (in like manner as *Joſephus* acknowledgeth, that he whom the Scriptures called never otherwiſe than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the ſon of *Aſtiages*, and called of the *Greeks* by another name, that is, *Cyaxeres*) then is this ſcruple utterly removed. For *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia* did border upon *Syria* and *Paleſtina*: ſo that *Beloſus* having ſettled his affairs in *Aſſyria* towards the Eaſt and North, might with good leiſure encroach upon the Countries that lay on the other ſide of his Kingdom, to the South and Weſt. He that looks into all particulars, may find every one circumſtance concurring, to prove that *Phul*, who invaded *Iſrael*, was none other than *Beloſus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who joyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no ſmall part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was overthrown, did enter into that action, meerly for the love of *Beloſus*. The friendſhip of theſe *Arabians* was a thing of main importance, to thoſe that were to paſs over *Euphrates* with an Army into *Syria*. Wherefore *Beloſus*, that held good correſpondence with them, and whoſe moſt fruitfull Province, adjoyning to their barren quarters, might yearly do them ineſtimable pleaſures, was not only likely to have quiet paſſage through their borders, but their utmoſt aſſiſtance: yea, it ſtands with good reaſon, that they who loved not *Iſrael*, ſhould for their own behoofe have given him intelligence of the deſtructions and civil broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby as this *Pul* got a thouſand talents, ſo it ſeems that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heavy neighbour of *Jeroboam*, recovered their own, ſetting up a new King in *Damaſco*, and clearing the coaſt of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wilderneſs to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garriſons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations, divided by *Euphrates*, hold together in ſo good terms of friendſhip: it was ancient conſanguinity, the memory whereof was availeable to the *Syrians*,

Joſ. Ant. l. 10. c. 11.

in

in the time of *David*, when the *Aramites* beyond the river came over willingly, to the succour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belosus* had good reason to look into those parts: what a King reigning so far off as *Nineve*, should have to do in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdom had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the business which might allure the *Chaldæans* into *Palæstina*, it may be doubted, lest it should seem to have ill coherence with that which hath been said of the long Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes. For if the Crown of *Israel* were worn by no man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that *Belosus* was either unwilling to stir, or unable to take the advantage when it was fairest and first discovered. This might have compelled those, who alone were not strong enough to seek after help from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belosus*, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belosus* did pass the river of *Euphrates*, as soon as he found likelihood of making a prosperous journey, then may it seem that the *inter-regnum* in *Israel* was not so long as we have made it: for three and twenty years leisure would have afforded better opportunity, which ought not to have been lost.

For answer, hereunto we are to consider, what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they slayd hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an errour of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldæans* was in a manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* do concur, that the authority of *Arbaces* did restrain the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardful onely of it self. Now, though some have conjectured that all *Assyria* was given to *Belosus* (as an overplus, besides the Provinces of *Babylon* which was his by plain bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deservings; yet the opinion more commonly received, is, that he did onely incroach upon that Province by little and little, whilest *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himselfe. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelve years between the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem* his Reign; manifest it is, that the conquest of *Assyria*, and settling of that Countrey, was work enough to hold *Belosus* occupyed, besides the restauration of *Nineue*, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his reign, if perhaps he lived to see it finished in his own days. So that this argument may rather serve to prove that *Phul* and *Belosus* were one person, forasmuch as the journey of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made until *Belosus* could find leisure; and the time of advantage which *Belosus* did let slip, argued his business in some other quarter, namely, in that Province of which *Phul* is called King. Briefly, it may be said, that he who conquered *Assyria*, and performed somewhat upon a Country so far distant as *Palæstina*, was likely to have been, at least, named in some History, or, if not himself, yet his Country to have been spoken of for those victories: but we neither hear of *Phul*, in any prophane Author; neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the *Assyrians*, done in those times; whereas of *Belosus*, and the power of the *Chaldæans*, we find good Record.

Surely, that great slaughter of so many thousand *Assyrians*, in the quarrel of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate war, which overwhelmed the whole Country, ending but with the ruine and utter desolation of *Nineve*, must needs have so weakened the state of *Assyria*, that it could not in thirty years space be able to invade *Palæstina*, which the ancient Kings, reigning in *Nineve*, had, in all their greatness, forborn to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Countrey, did help to enable *Belosus* to subdue it; who having once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (especially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interposition of that Countrey, secure of the *Scythians*, and other warlike Nations on that side, might very well turn Southward, and try his fortune in those Kingdoms, whereinto civill dissention of the inhabitants, and the bordering envy of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damasco*, Friends and Cousins to the *Chaldæans* and *Mesopotamians*, did invite him. For these, and the other before alledged reasons, it may be concluded, That what is said of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be understood of *Belosus*; even as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artashasht*, and *Ahashueresh*, with the like, are thought, or known, to be meant the same whom prophane Historians, by names better known in their own Countreys, have called

called *Nabopollaſſer*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: eſpecially conſidering, that hereby we ſhall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, or need to trouble our ſelves or others with framing new conjectures, This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themſelves eaſily follow. For it is a matter of no great conſequence to know the truth of this point (conſidering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Beloſus*, or ſome other man: the whole race of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found thoſe famous Princes, *Nabonaſſar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopollaſſar* (famous for the Aſtronomicall obſervations recorded from their times) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore *Beloſus* or *Beleſes* were that *Phul* which invaded *Iſrael*; if he and his poſterity reigned both in *Nineve* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Aſer*, from whom *Salmanaſar*, *Senacherib*, and *Aſarhaddon* deſcended; then it is manifeſt, that we muſt ſeek *Nabonaſſar* the *Babylonian* King, among thoſe Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other than *Salmanaſar*, who is known to have reigned in thoſe years which *Ptolomy* the Mathematician hath aſſigned unto *Nabonaſſar*. As for *Merodech*, who ſupplanted *Aſar-haddon*, manifeſt it is, that he and his ſucceſſors were of another houſe. This is the ſcope and end of all his diſputation.

But they that maintain the contrary part, will not be ſatisfied with ſuch conjectures. They lay hold upon the concluſion, and by ſhaking that into peices, hope to overthrow all the premiſſes upon which it is inferred. For (ſay they) if *Nabonaſſar* that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanaſar*, or any of thoſe other *Aſſyrian* Kings, then it is manifeſt that the races were diſtinct, and that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were ſeverall Kings. This conſequence is ſo plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that *Nabonaſſar* was a diſtinct perſon from *Salmanaſſar*, are brought ſuch arguments as would ſtagger the reſolution of him that had ſworn to hold the contrary. For firſt, *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Aſſyria*. This is proved by his name, which is meerly *Chaldean*, whereas *Salman*, the firſt part of *Salmanaſſars* name, is proper to the *Aſſyrians*.

It is likewiſe proved by the Aſtronomicall obſervations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Aſſyrians*, do ſhew that *Nabonaſſar*, from whom *Ptolomy* draws that *Epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Aſſyrian*. Thirdly, and more ſtrongly, it is confirmed by the ſucceſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his own language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, but more breifly in *Eſay* his prophecie, *Merodac* by the former Part of his name; or *Merodach Baladan* the ſon of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach* the ſon of *Baladan* King of *Babel*, were the ſonne of *Nabonaſſar*, then was *Nabonaſſar* none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanaſſar* King of *Aſſyria*. *Eſay* 39.1.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of theſe two names, *Nabonaſſar* and *Salmanaſſar*, which in *Greek* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanaſſar* carried captive ſome part of the ten Tribes, it may well be granted, that in the Province of *Babylon*, *Salmanaſſar* had gotten ſomewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it ſelfe. To conclude, *Merodach* began his reign over *Babylon* in the ſixt year of *Hezikia*, at which time *Salmanaſſar* took *Samaria*; therfore if *Salmanaſſar* were King of *Babylon*, then muſt we ſay that he and *Merodach*, yea, and *Nabonaſſar*, were all one man. Theſe are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Joſeph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his proofes from matter of more neceſſary inference.

Touching all that was ſaid before of *Phul Beloſus*, for the proving that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were not ſundry Kings; *Joſeph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have ſpent their labour to ſo little purpoſe. Honeſt and painfull men he confeſſeth that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning *Annius* his Authors, given ſuch offences that men refuſed thereupon to read their Bookes and Chronologies. A ſhort anſwer.

For mine own part, howſoever I beleeve nothing that *Annius* his *Beroſus*, *Metaſthenes*, and others of that ſtamp affirm, in reſpect of their bare authority; yet am I not ſo ſqeamiſh, but that I can well enough digeſt a good Book, though I find the names of one or two of theſe good fellows alledged in it: I have (ſomewhat peradventure to often) already ſpoken my mind of *Annius* his Authors: Nevertheleſſe, I may ſay here again, that where other Hiſtories are ſilent, or ſpeak not enough, there may we without ſhame borrow of theſe, as much as agrees

with that little which elſewhere we find, and ſerveth to explain or inlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are thoſe honeſt and painful men (as *Scaliger* terms them, meaning, if I miſtake him not, good ſilly fellows) who ſet down the *Aſſyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords alſo of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Beloſus*, and *Salmanaſſar* for *Nabonaſſar*, ſuch Writers as a man ſhould be aſhamed or unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, though diſliking him in general) *Gerard Mercator* is not ſo ſlight a Chronologer, that he ſhould be laughed out of doors with the name of an honeſt meaning fellow.

But I will not make compariſons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*; they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and ſee whether they be of ſuch force as cannot either be reſiſted or avoided. It will eaſily be granted, that *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Aſſyria*, ſome men doubt whether *Scaligers* reaſons be enough to prove. For though *Nabonaſſar* be a *Chaldæan* name, and *Salmanaſſar* an *Aſſyrian*; yet what hinders us from believing that one man in two languages might be called by two ſeveral names? That Aſtronomy flouriſhed among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to prove *Nabonaſſar* either an Aſtrologer or a *Chaldæan*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himſelf calls them. *Prophetas neſcio quos, qui* Nabonaſſarum *Aſtronomum fuiſſe in ſomnis viderunt*; *Prophets I know not who, that in their ſleep have dreampt of* Nabonaſſar, *that he was an Aſtrologer.*

Scal. Canon I 3.

Whether *Nabonaſſar* were an Aſtrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the negative: But as his being Lord over the *Chaldæans*, doth not prove him to have been learned in their ſciences; ſo doth it not prove him not to have been alſo King of *Aſſyria*. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, who was born in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Son, King of *Spain*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men far more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then living in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I think, Poſterity will not uſe this as an argument, to prove that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanaſſar* or *Nabonaſſar* did uſe the *Aſſyrian* Souldiers, and *Babylonian* Scholars; but it ſeems, that he and his poſterity, by giving themſelves wholly to the more warlike Nation, loſt the richer, out of which they firſt iſſued, as likewiſe King *Philip* loſt partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazzard all the *Netherlands*, by ſuch a courſe. As for the two unanſwerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* terms them, being me-thinks none other than anſwers to ſomewhat that is or might be alledged on the contrary ſide) one of them which is drawn from the unlike ſound and writing of thoſe names, *Salmanaſſar* and *Nabonaſſar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will diſpute; for it is not likeneſs of ſound, but agreement of time, and many circumſtances elſe, that muſt take away the diſtinction of perſons: the other likewiſe may be granted, which is, that *Salmanaſſar* might be Lord of ſome places in the Province of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it ſelf: this indeed might be ſo, and it might be otherwiſe. Hitherto there is nothing ſave conjecture. But in that which is alledged out of the Prophet *Eſay* concerning *Merodach* the ſon of *Baladan*; and in that which is ſaid of this *Merodach*, and *Mardokempadu*, his being the Succeſſor of *Nabonaſſar* and his beginning to reign in the ſixt year of *Hezekia*, I find matter of more difficulty, than can be anſwered in haſt. I will therefore defer the handling of theſe objections untill I meet with their ſubject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekia*, wherein *Merodach* lived, and was King. Yet that I may not leave too great a ſcruple in the mind of the Reader, thus far will I here ſatisfie him: that how ſtrong ſoever this argument may ſeem, *Scaliger* himſelf did live to retract it, ingenuouſly confeſſing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the ſon of *Nabonaſſar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us conſider, in what ſort they have faſhioned their Story, who making *Pul* to be a diſtinct perſon from *Beloſus* or *Beleſtis*, have in like ſort, as was neceſſary, diſtinguiſhed their off-ſpring, making that of *Pul* to fail in *Aſarhaddon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I muſt firſt confeſs my want of Books, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into ſome ſuch order, as might preſent unto us the body of this Hiſtory, in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have ſeen, that ſince *Joſeph Scaliger* delivered his opinion, have written in favour of ſome one or other point thereof: but *Sethus Calviſius* himſelf, who hath abridged *Scaligers* learned Work, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not been careful to give us notice, how long *Beloſus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Pulaſſar* did reign, (perhaps becauſe he found it not expreſſed in *Scaliger*) but is content to ſet down *Baladan*, for the

ſame

ſame perſon with *Nabonaſſar*, which *Scaliger* himſelf revoked. In this caſe therefore I muſt lay down the plot of theſe divided Kingdoms, in ſuch ſort as I find it conceived by *Auguſtinus Torniellus*; who onely of all that I have ſeen, ſets down the ſucceſſion, continuance, and acts, of thoſe that reigned in *Aſſyria* after *Sardanapalus*, diſtinguiſhing them from *Beloſus*, and his Poſterity, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Torniellus* is a Regular Clark of the congregation of S. *Paul*, whoſe Annales were printed the laſt year; he appears to me a man of a curious induſtry, ſound judgment, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetful of thanking, or mentioning thoſe *Proteſtant* Writers, by whoſe Books he hath received good information, and enriched his works by inſerting ſomewhat of theirs. But in this buſineſs he hath openly profeſſed to follow *Scaliger*, whoſe help, without wrong or diſhonour to himſelf, he hath both uſed and acknowledged. For mine own part, I will not ſpare to do right unto *Torniellus*; but confeſs my ſelf to have received benefit by his writing; and wiſh that his Annals had ſooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in ſome things, ſo would he have inſtructed and imboldened me to write more fully and leſs timerouſly in other things, which now I have no leiſure to reviſe. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared leſt it had over-haſtily paſſed out of my hand, and been expoſed to other mens conſtructions) of the four Kings
Gen. 14. that invaded the Valley of *Siddim*, and were ſlain by *Abraham*, I find him adventuring as I have done, to ſay, that they may probably be thought to have been ſome petty Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithſtanding. But now let us conſider how he hath ordered theſe laſt *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the deſtruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces*, being the moſt mighty, ſought to get all to himſelf, but was oppoſed by *Beloſus*; in which contention, one *Phul* a powerful man in *Aſſyria*, ſided with *Beloſus*, and they two prevailed ſo far, that finally *Arbaces* was content to ſhare the Empire with them, making ſuch a diviſion thereof, as vvas long after made of the *Roman* Empire between *Octavian*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Torniellus* offers not this, or the reſt, as matter of certainty) that *Arbaces* made himſelf Soveraign Lord of all, and placed the ſeat of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Beloſus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Aſſyria*. But in ſhort ſpace, that is, in four years, it came to paſs by the juſt judgment of God, that *Phul* and *Beloſus* rebelled againſt *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done againſt *Sardanapalus*; and inſtead of being Vice-Roys, made themſelves abſolute Kings. And to this later opinion *Torniellus* himſelf leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Hiſtories. Why he did make and publiſh the former ſuppoſing, reſolving to hold the later, I ſhall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to gheſs. Having thus deviſed how *Phul* and *Beloſus* might, at the firſt, attain to be Kings, he orders their time and their ſucceſſors in this manner.

Four years after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reign, and continues eight and forty years. *Theglatphalaſar* (whoſe name, and the names of other Princes, I write diverſly, according to the Authors whom I have in hand are pleaſed to diverſifie them) ſucceeding unto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanaſſar* followed him, and reigned ten. After him *Senacherib* reigned ſeven: and when he was ſlain, *Aſarhadden* his ſon ten years; in whom that line failed.

The ſame time that *Phul* took upon him as King of *Aſſyria*, or not long after (why not rather afore? for ſo it had been more likely) *Beloſus* uſurped the Kingdom of *Babylon*, and held it threeſcore and eight years; at the leaſt threeſcore and eight years did paſs, before *Nabonaſſar* followed him in the poſſeſſion.

To *Nabonaſſar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Baladan*, are aſſigned ſix and twenty years: then two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: four and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and laſtly, one and twenty to *Nabolaſſar* the father of *Nebuchodonoſor*; who is like to offer matter of further diſputation.

Concerning the original of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdoms, I may truly ſay, That the conjectures of other men, who give all to *Beloſus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appear to me more nearly reſembling the truth. Neither do I think, that *Torniellus* would have conceived two different waies, by which *Phul* might have gotten *Aſſyria* (for how *Beloſus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plain enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Hiſtorians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on the ſudden King of *Aſſyria*; or to give him ſo noble a Province, as would, of it ſelf, invite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing moſt unlikely to have happened, unleſs his

deserts(whereof we find no mention) had been proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he devised the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul* being one of the three that divided all betweene them, was utterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this division it selfe, and the civill Warres that caused it, were never heard of? Questionlesse; the enterverting of some treasures by *Belosus*, with his Judgment, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoyded; but that either we must confesse the Dominion given to *Phul* to have been exceeding his merits; or else his merits, and name withall, to have been strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us thinke, that rather the conjecture, inferring such a sequel, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul*, and *Belosus*, against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Assyrians* to recover such strength in foure years, as might serve to hold out in rebellion: for *Belosus* it was needlesse to rebell, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seek to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an over-great favourer of liberty) even the *Medes* that were vnder his own Government, to doe what they listed.

But it is now fit that we peruse the Catalogue of these Kings; not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their own times) but speaking of their order and time in generall. If it be soe unlawfull to think, that some of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may be true, especially such as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood; why then is it said, that *Phul* did reign in *Assyria* eight and forty years? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true that painful and judicious Writers have found this number of years to agree fitly with the course of things in History: yet all of them took it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annius* his forgery (as questionles he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tels truth, or probability, he be not believed for his own sake; though for our own sakes we make use of his boldnes, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are unwilling our selves to be Authors of new, though not unprofitable conjectures. Herein we shall have this commodity, that we may without blushing after a little, to help our own opinions, and lay the blame upon *Annius*, against whom we shall be sure to find friends that will take our part.

The reigns of *Theglathalasar* and *Salmanassar* did reach, by *Annius* his measure, to the length of five and twenty years the one, and seventeen the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and seven from the latter of them, to fit (as I think) his own computation; using the liberty whereof I spake last: for that any Author, save our good *Metasthenes*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reign, it is more than I have yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Asarhaddon*, *Torniellus* gives the same length of reign, which is found in *Metasthenes*, I think there are not many, that will arrogate so much unto themselves, as may very well be allowed unto a man so judicious as is *Torniellus*: and yet I could wish that he had forborn to condemn the followers of *Annius* in this business, wherein he himself hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must have done, almost nothing.

The like liberty we find that he used in the measuring the reigns of the *Chaldæans*, filling up all the space between the end of *Sardanapalus* and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the threescore and eight years of *Belosus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Belosus* might have begun his reign somewhat later than *Phul*: for threescore and eight years would seem a long time for him to hold a Kingdom, that was no young man when he took possession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shortning his reign, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver? Indeed eight and forty years had been somewhat of the most, considering that he seems by the story to have been a little less at such time as he joyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty years, did well deserve that note (which *Torniellus* advisedly gives) that if his reign extended not so far, then the reign of such as came after him, occupied the middle time, unto *Nabonassar*.

I neither do reprehend the boldnes of *Torniellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modesty of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calvisius*, in forbearing to set down as warrantable, such things as depend onely upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by Antiquity, must be described in

in Hiſtory, as Geographers in their Maps deſcribe thoſe Countreys, whereof as yet there is made no true diſcovery, that is, either by leaving ſome part blank, or by inſerting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of Load-ſtone, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Rivers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience; and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from diſtance of place, allows not ſuch liberty to a Deſcriber, as that which ariſeth from the remedileſs oblivion of conſuming time. For it is true that the Poet ſaith.

——*Neque fervidis*
Pars incluſa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,
Duratæque ſole Niues,
Mercatorem abigunt; horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora Nautæ,

Nor Southern heat, nor Northern Snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The ſubjects Regions can fence,
And keep the greedy Merchant thence:
The ſubtile Shipmen way to find,
Storm never ſo the Seas with Wind.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe ſerve only to miſ-lead ſuch diſcoverers as raſhly believe them; drawing upon the publiſhers, either ſome angry curſes or well deſerved ſcorn; but to keep their owne credit, they cannot ſerve alwayes. To which purpoſe I remember a pretty jeſt of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spaniſh* gentleman, who had been imployed by his King in planting a Colony upon the Streights of *Magellan*: for when I asked, him being then my Priſoner, ſome queſtions about an Iſland in thoſe Streights, which, me thought, might have done either benefit or diſpleaſure to his enterpriſe, he told me merily, that it was to be called the *Painters wives Iland*; ſaying, That whileſt the fellow drew that Map, his wife ſitting by, deſired to put in one Countrey for her; that ſhe in imagination, might have an Iſland of her own. But in filling up the blankes of old Hiſtories, we need not be ſoe ſcrupulous, For it is not to be feared, that time ſhall runne backward, and by reſtoring the things themſelves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous: What if ſome good Copy of any ancient Author, could be found, ſhewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of theſe uncertainties? would it be more ſhame to have believed in the mean while, *Annius* or *Torniellus*, than to have believed nothing? Here I will not ſay, that the credit which I gave to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to be given to one of thoſe Authors whoſe names he pretendeth. Let it ſuffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather truſt *Scaliger* or *Torniellus*, than *Annius*, yet him than them, of his aſſertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Hiſtories than their conjecture, as in this point it ſeems to me; it having moreover gotten ſome credit, by the approbation of many, and thoſe not meanly learned.

To end this tedious diſputation; I hold it a ſure courſe in examination of ſuch opinions as have once gotten the credit of being general, ſo to deal as *Pacuvius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them deſirous to put all the Senators of the City to death. He lockt the Senators up within the Statehouſe, and offered the lives of the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them ſhould periſh, untill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was haſty: for as faſt as every name was read, all the town cryed, Let him dye: but the execution required more leiſure; for in ſubſtituting of another, ſome notorious vice of the perſon, or baſeneſs of his condition, or ſufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered to be rejected: ſo that finding the worſe and leſs choice, the further and the more that they ſought, it was finally agreed, that the old ſhould be kept for lack of better.

§. V.

Of the Olympiads, *and the time when they began.*

AFter the diviſion of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, follows the inſtauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reign of the ſame King *Uzzia*, and in his one and fiftieth year. It is, I know, the general opinion, that theſe games were eſtabliſhed by *Iphitus*, in the firſt of *Jotham*: yet is not that opinion ſo general, but that Authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting thoſe things unto the ſacred Hiſtory, which are found in prophane Authors, we ſhould not be too careful of drawing the *Hebrews* to thoſe works of time, which had no reference to their affairs, it is enough, that ſetting in due order theſe beginnings of accounts, we joyn them to matters of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, where occaſion requires.

Theſe *Olympian* games and exerciſes of activity, were firſt inſtituted by *Hercules*, who meaſured

measured the length of the race by his own foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the state and likely strength of *Hercules* his body. They took name, not from the Mountain *Olympus*, but from the City *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, near unto *Elis*; where also *Jupiter*'s Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the Wonders of the World, was known by the name of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from every fourth year compleat, in the plains of *Elis*, a City of *Peloponesus*, near the River *Alpheus*.

Aul Gell l. 1 ex Plut. Plut. out of Hermippus.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many years, till *Iphitus*, by advice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Licurgus* the Law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reign of *Theodosius* the Emperour, according to *Cedrenus*: others think that they were dissolved under *Constantine* the Great.

From this institution, *Varro* accompted the *Grecian* times and their stories to be certain: but reckoned all before, either doubtful or fabulous: and yet *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reign of *Cyrus*, who began in the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Castor*, *Polybius*, and others, hath gathered, in whose time the seven wise *Grecians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Crœsus*, and *Crœsus* was overthrown and taken by *Cyrus*.

Plin 36. c 4.

Many patient and piercing brains have laboured to find out the certain beginning of these *Olympiads*, namely, to set them in the true year of the World, and the reign of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril against *Julian* and *Dydimus* begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Osias*, or *Azariah*.

Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 3.

Eusebius, who is contrary to himself in this reckoning, accounts with those that find the very first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the four hundreth and sixth year after *Troy*; yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Uzziah*, which is (as I find it) two years later.

Eratosth. apud. Clem. Alex. Strom l. 1.

Eratosthenes placeth the first *Olympiad* four hundred and seven years after *Troy*, reckoning the years that passed between; to whom *Dionysius*, *Halicarnassæus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The distance between the destruction of *Troy* and the first *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratosthenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the descent of *Hercules* his posterity into *Peloponnesus*, were fourscore years; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threescore years; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty nine; and thence to the first *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight years. In this account the first year of the first *Olympiad* is not included.

But vain labour it were to seek the beginning of the *Olympiads* by numbring the years from the taking of *Troy*, which is of date far more uncertain. Let it suffice that by knowing the instauration of these games to have been in the four hundreth and eight year current after *Troy*, we may reckon back to the taking of that City, setting that, and other accidents which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads* must needs teach us how to find when they began.

To this good use we have the ensuing years unto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus divided by the same *Eratosthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads* to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundreth fourscore and seventeen years; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War, eight and forty years; forwards to the victory of *Lysander*, seven and twenty; to the battel of *Leuctra*, thirty four; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelve. The whole sum ariseth to 453. years; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzia*, we have arguments grounded upon that which is certain, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reign, and the death of *Alexander*; as also upon the Astronomical calculation of sundry Eclipses of the Sun; as of that which happened when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his Army to invade *Greece*; and of divers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reign as King before he was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the first year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he reigned thirty years: they who give him but twenty nine years of reign (following *Herodotus* rather than *Tully*, *Justin*, *Eusebius*, and others) begin a year later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good Writers in the first year of the hundreth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This latter note of *Alexanders* death serveth well to lead us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like observations do. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*,

Tul. de Divi. l. 1. Just. l. 1. Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 3. & de Dem. Evang l. 8. c. 1.

ander, we ſhal find all to agree with the years of the *Olympiads*; wherein *Cyrus* began his reign, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to ſignifie a Lord of many Kingdoms) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the firſt year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, unto the end of the *Perſian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundreth and twelfth *Olympiad*, we find two hundred and thirty years compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchy, which laſted but ſeven years, we find compleat two hundred and ſeven years, which was the continuance of the *Perſian* Empire.

Now therefore ſeeing that the firſt year of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (which was the laſt of the ſixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundreth and fortieth year from the inſtitution of thoſe games by *Iphitus*) followed the laſt of the ſeventy years of the captivity of *Juda*, and deſolation of the Land of *Iſrael*: manifeſt it is, that we muſt reckon back thoſe ſeventy years, and one hundred threeſcore, and ten years more, the laſt which paſſed under the Kings of *Juda*, to find the firſt of theſe *Olympiads*; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Uzziah*, as we have already noted.

The Eclipſes whereof we made mention, ſerve well to the ſame purpoſe. For examples ſake; that which was ſeen when *Xerxes* muſtered his Army at *Sardis*, in the two hundred threeſcore and ſeventh year of *Nabonaſſar*, being the laſt of the threeſcore and fourteenth *Olympiad*, leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we have a fair way through the threeſcore and ten years, unto the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; and ſo upwards through the reigns of the laſt Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzia*.

Thus much may ſuffice, concerning the time wherein theſe *Olympiads* began.

To tell the great ſolemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourſe of all *Greece*, they were celebrated, I hold it a ſuperfluous labour. It is enough to ſay that all bodily exerciſes, or the moſt of them, were therein practiſed; as Running, Wreſtling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Maſtery in thoſe feats, whereof there was good uſe, but in running of Chariots, fighting with whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exerciſes that ſerved only for oſtentation. Thither alſo repaired Orators, Poets, Muſicians, and all that thought themſelves excellent in any laudable quality, to make tryal of their skill. Yea, the very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them ſhould get the honour of having plaid the beſt part.

The *Eleans* were preſidents of thoſe Games, whoſe juſtice, in pronouncing without partiality who did beſt, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palm, or Olive, without any other commodity following than the reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held ſo much, that when *Diagoras* had ſeen his three ſons crowned for their ſeveral victories in thoſe games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere*, Diagoras, *non enim in cœlum aſcenſurus es*, that is, *Die*, Diagoras, *for thou ſhalt not clime up to heaven*: as if there could be no greater happineſs on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like ſenſe *Horace* ſpeaks of theſe Victors, calling them.

Quos Elæa domum reducit
Palma Cœleſtes.

Such as like heavenly wights do come
With an *Elæan* Garland home. *Horat. Carm. l. 4. Ode. 2.*

Neither was it only the voyce of the People, or ſongs of Poets, that ſo highly extolled them, which had won theſe *Olympian* prizes; but even grave Hiſtorians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greeks*, that they eſteemed it almoſt as great an honour to have won the victory at Running or wreſtling in thoſe games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for ſome famous victory, or conqueſt of a Province. *Tull. in Orat. pro Flacco.*

That theſe *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moon; and upon the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombæan*, which doth anſwer to our *June*; and what means they uſed to make the Moneth begin with the new Moon, that the fifteenth day might be the full, I have ſhewed in another place. Wherefore I may now return unto the Kings of *Juda*, and leave the merry *Greeks* at their games, whom I ſhall meet in more ſerious imployments, when the *Perſian* quarrels draw the body of the Hiſtory into the coaſts of *Ionia* and *Helleſpont*.

§. VI.
Of Jotham *and his Contemporaries.*

Jotham the ſonne of *Uzziah*, when he was five and twenty years old, and in the ſecond of *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, was anointed King in *Jeruſalem*, his Father yet living. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple of threeſcore cubits upright, and therefore called *Ophel*: beſides divers Cityes in the Hills

2 King. 15. 33.

Hills of *Juda*, and in the Forrest, Towers and Palaces: he inforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundred talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thousand measures: he reigned six and twenty years: of whom *Josephus* gives this testimonie: *Ejusmodi verò Princeps hic fuit, ut nullam in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo Pie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo juste prefuerit, urbem ipsam tantæ sibi curæ esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut universum regnum hostibus quidem minimè contemnendum, domesticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus fœlix, faustum & fortunatum sua virtute effecerit*; *This was such a Prince, as a man could find no kind of vertue wanting in him: he worshipped God so religiously, he governed his men so righteously, he was so provident for the City, and did so greatly amplify it, that by his vertue and proweſs he made his whole Kingdom not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Servants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happy.*

This is all that I find of *Jotham*: his reign was not long, but as happy in all things, as he himself was devout and vertuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded *Phelestes* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magistrates, which governed from year to year. And yet *Pausanias* in his second book with *Strabo* & *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, That *Corinth* was governed by Kings of the race of the *Bacidæ*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who drove them out.

Teglathphalassar, or *Teglathpeleser*, the son of *Phul* the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* that was of this new race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murthered his master *Pekeiah*) was King thereof. In which expedition he took most of the Cities of *Nephtali* and *Galilee*, with those of *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and carried the inhabitants captive. This *Tiglath* reigned five and twenty years, according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krentzhemius* finds, that with his son *Salmanassar* he reigned yet two years longer; which years I would not ascribe to the son, because the *Aera* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single reign, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulassar* himself, who therewith reigned 27. years.

2 King. 15

Æschylus, the son of *Agamnestor*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled 25. years. *Alcamenes* governed *Sparta*: after whom, the Estate changed, according to *Eusebius*. But therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken: for *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others, witness the contrary. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and reigned 60. years, and out-lived the *Messeniack* war: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the son of *Nicander*, his royal companion.

Paus. l. 3.

At this time lived *Nahum* the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the city of *Nineve*, which succeeded (saith *Josephus*) a hundred and fifteen years after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sosarmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

§. VII.
Of Achaz *and his Contemporaries.*

AHas, or *Achaz*, succeeded unto *Jotham* in the seventeenth year of *Peka*, the son of *Remalia*: the same being also the last year of his fathers reign, who began in the second of the same *Peka*, and reigned 16. but not compleat years. This *Ahaz* was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his son for sacrifice before the Idol *Moloch*, or *Saturn* which was represented by a man-like brazen body, bearing the head of a Calfe, set up not far from *Jerusalem*, in a valley shadowed with Woods, called *Gehinnom*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is used for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carkass of this Idol, and as the fire encreased, so the sacrificers, with a noise of Cimbals, and other Instruments, filled the air, to the end the pittifull cries of the children might not be heard: which unnatural, cruel, and divillish Oblation, *Jeremy* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which S. *Hierome* upon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leviticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sin was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuternomy*, it is called an abhomination which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Judæa*, divers Authors witness; as *Virgil* in the second of *Æneids*—— *Sanguine Placastis, &c.* and *Silvius*—— *Poscere cæde Deos. Saturn* is said to have brought this custom into *Italy*; besides the casting of many souls into the River of *Tyber*, in stead of which, *Hercules* commanded, that the waxen Images of men should be thrown in and drowned. The Devil also taught the *Carthaginians* this kind of butchery, insomuch, that when their City was besieged, and in distress, the Priest made them believe, that because they had spared their own children, and had bought and brought up others to be offered, that therefore *Saturn* had stirred up and strengthened their

2 Kin. 16. 11. 2 Chr. 28.

Lev. 18. 21.

Enemies

Enemies againſt them: whereupon they preſently cauſed two hundred of the nobleſt youths of their City to be ſlain, and offered to *Saturn* or *Satan*, to appeaſe him: who beſides theſe forenamed Nations, had inſtructed the *Rhodians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Meſſena*, of *Galatia*, with the *Maſſagetes*, and others, in theſe his ſervices. Further, as if he were not content to deſtroy the ſoules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, (as *Acoſta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the Devil under this fearful ſervitude, in which he alſo holdeth the *Floridans* and *Virginians* at this day.

For the wickedneſſe of this King *Ahaz*, God ſtirred up *Rezen* of *Damaſcus*, and *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Iſrael* againſt him, who invaded *Judæa*, and beſieged *Jeruſalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, poſſeſt himſelf of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and caſt the *Jewes* out of it; and *Pekah* ſlaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thouſand *Judæans*, of the ableſt of the Kingdome, at which time *Maaſeiah*, the Sonne of *Achaz*, was alſo ſlaine by *Zichri*, with *Azrikam* the Governor of his houſe, and *Elcanath* the ſecond perſon unto the King. Beſides all this, two hundred thouſand priſoners of women and children, the *Iſraelites* lead away to *Samaria*: but by the counſell of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and delivered back again.

As *Iſrael* and *Aram* vexed *Juda* on the North, ſo the *Edomites* and the *Philiſtims*, who evermore attended the ruine of *Judæa*, entred upon them from the South, and took *Bethſemes*, *Ajalon*, *Gaderoth*, *Shocho*, *Timnah*, and *Gemzo*, ſlew many people, and carried away many priſoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* ſaw himſelf environed on all ſides, and that his Idols and dead gods gave him no comfort, he ſent to the *Aſſyrian Tiglathpileſer*, to deſire ſome aid from him againſt the *Iſraelites* and *Aramites*, preſenting him with the ſilver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings houſe.

Tiglathpileſer wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the trouble that roſe in *Paleſtina*. His Father having lately made himſelf from a Provincial Leiutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Judæa*, invited by *Menahem*, King of *Iſrael*. Wherefore now the Son willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the advantage. As for *Eelochus* himſelf, he was content to aſſign ſome other time for going through with this enterprize: becauſe (as I have ſaid before) he was not firmly ſettled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet ſtrong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, having now, with the treaſures of *Jeruſalem*, prepared his Army, firſt invaded the Territory of *Damaſcus*, wan the City, and killed *Rezin* the laſt of the race of the *Adads*, who began with *David*, & ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damaſcus*, *Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a pattern of the Altar, ſent it to *Uriah* the Prieſt, commanding the like to be made at *Jeruſalem*, whereon at his return he burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the *Syrians*. In the mean while *Tiglath* poſſeſt all *Baſan*, and the reſt beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſe*. And then paſſing the River, he maſtered the Cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, and made them his Vaſſals. And notwithſtanding that he was invited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the ſpoil of *Iſrael*, he poſſeſt himſelf of the greater part of *Juda*, and, as it ſeemeth, inforced *Achaz* to pay him tribute. For in the ſecond of *Kings*, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he revolted from *Aſſur*, or rebelled againſt, him, and therefore was invaded by *Sennacherib*. After *Ahaz* had beheld and born theſe miſeries, in the end of the ſixteenth year of his reign he died; but was not buried in the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*.

With *Ahaz* lived *Medidus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who governed 40. years, ſaith *Euſebius*: *Diodorus* and *Cteſius* find *Anticarmus* inſtead of this *Medidus*, to have been *Soſarmus* his ſucceſſor, to whom they give 50. years.

Euſeb. in Chron.

Tiglath Pileſer held the Kingdom of *Aſſyria*, all the reign of *Ahaz*: yet ſo, that *Salmanaſſar* his Son may ſeem to have reigned with him ſome part of the time. For we find that *Ahaz* did *ſend unto the Kings of* Aſhur *to help him*. The *Geneva* note ſays, that theſe Kings of *Aſſur*, were *Tiglath Pileſer*, and thoſe Kings that were under his Dominion. But that he or his Father had hitherto made ſuch conqueſts, as might give him the Lordſhip over other Kings, I do neither find any Hiſtory, nor circumſtance that proveth. Wherefore I think that theſe Kings of *Aſſur*, were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanaſſar* his Son, who reigned with his Father, as hath been ſaid before: though how long he reigned with his Father, it had been hard to define.

2 King 18 16.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, a hundred and thirty years after *Lycurgus*, according to *Plutarch*. *Euſebius* makes their beginning far later, namely, in the fifteenth *Olympiad*. Of theſe *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the firſt; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus* being then

Plutarch. in vita Solo.

joynt Kings. These *Ephori*, chosen every year, were controllers, as well of their Senators, as of their Kings, nothing being done without their advice and consent For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their Kings as the *Roman* Tribunes against the Consuls. In the time of *Ahaz* died *Æschylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* ever since the fiftieth year of *Uzzia*. *Alcamenon* the thirteenth of the *Medontidæ*, or Governours of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) succeeded his Father *Æschylus*, and was the last of their Governors: he ruled only two years. For the *Athenians* changed first from Kings (after *Codrus*) to Governors for life; which ending in this *Alcemenon*, they erected a Magistrate, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of *Burgho-Master*, or Governour of their City for ten years.

This alteration *Pausanias* in his fourth Book begins in the first year of the eight *Olympiad*, *Eusebius* and *Halicarnassæus* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carops* the first of these, began his ten years rule.

The Kingdom of the *Latines*, governed about three hundred year by the *Silvii*, of the race of *Æneas*, took end in the same *Ahaz* time: the foundation of *Rome* being laid by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eighth year of the same King, *Codoman* builds it in the eleventh of *Achaz*. *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I think he should; others somewhat later, and in the reign of *Ezechias*, *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others square the time of the foundation to the third year of the sixt *Olympiad*. But *Halicarnassæus*, *Solinus Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, to the first year of the seventh; who seem not only to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to have kept herein the best account.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Antiquity of Italy, *and foundation of* Rome *in the time of* Ahaz.

§. I.

Of the Inhabitants, and the name of Italy.

AND here to speak of the more ancient times of *Italy*, and what Nations possest it before the arrival of *Æneas*, the place may seem to invite us: the rather because much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. *Italy* before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greeks* by divers names; as first *Hesperia*, then *Ausonia*, the one name arising of the seat, the other of the *Ausones*, a people inhabiting part of it; one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotrii*, whom *Halicarnassæus*, thinks to have been the first that brought a Colony of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italy* of *Italus*; concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speaks thus:

Halicarn. lib. 1.

Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere gleba:
Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which *Greeks Hesperia* name,
Ancient, and strong, of much fertility:
Oenotrians held it, but we hear by fame,
That by late ages of Posterity,
Tis from a Captains name call'd *Italy*.

Who this Captain or King may have bin, it is very uncertain. For *Virgils* speaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long upon the whole Country, and worn out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the original of this name, and the first planters of this noble Country, *Reyneccius* hath made a very painful search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds upon that of *Halicarnassæus*, who speaks of a Colony which the *Eleans* did lead into *Italy*, before the name of *Italy* was given to it; Secondly, upon that of *Justine*, who saith, that *Brundusium* was a Colony of the *Ætolians*; Thirdly, upon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Temesa* or *Tempsa*, a City of the *Brutii* in *Italy*; Lastly, upon the authority of *Pliny*, who shews that the *Italians* did inhabit onely one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* who

Halicarn. lib. 1. *Justi. lib. 12.* *Strabo lib. 6* *Plin lib. 3. c. 5.*

who (as he ſhews) had one original; from them he brings the name of *Italy*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, ſave that the firſt Letter is caſt away, which in the *Greek* words is common; and the letter (*o*) is changed into (*a*) which change is found in the name of *Æthalia* an Iſland near *Italy*, peopled by the *Ætholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolic* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almoſt proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priſcian* the Grammarian teach.

Hereunto appertains that of *Julian* the Apoſtata, who called the *Greeks* couſins of the *Latines*. Alſo the common Original of the *Greeks* and *Latines* from *Javan*; and the Fable of *Janus* whoſe Image had two faces, looking Eaſt and Weſt, as *Greece* and *Italy* lay, and was ſtamped on Coins, with a Ship on the other ſide; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Javan*, father of the *Greeks* and *Latines*; who ſayling over the *Ionian* Sea, that lyes between *Ætolia* and the Weſtern parts of *Greece* and *Italy*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinks, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, & thereto applyes that of *Beroſus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may ſeem ſtrengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whileſt he abode in *Italy* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and ſtronger, eaſily diſproved. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moſes*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the ſon of *Javan*, and Nephew of *Japheth*, the eldeſt ſon of *Noah*: vvhich antiquity far exceeds the the name of *Italy*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the War of *Troy*.

Likewiſe *Virgil*, who ſpeaks of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage vvith *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting vvith her in *Italy*, but calleth *Electra* and her ſiſter *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountain in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigenes*; vvhich he vvould not have done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* been one perſon.

As for the authority of *Beroſus* in this caſe, vve need the leſs to regard it, for that *Reyneccius* himſelf, vvhoſe conjectures are more to be valued than the dreams vvherewith *Annius* hath filled *Beroſus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italy* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the verſes of *Virgil* laſt rehearſed, vvherein he vvould not have ſaid,

——*Nunc fama minores Italiam dixiſſe ducis de nomine gentem*, had that name been heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey, But ſeeing that, vvhen *Hercules*, vvhodied a few years before the War of *Troy*, had left in *Italy* a Colony of the *Eleans* (vvho in a manner vvere one and the ſame Nation vvith the *Ætolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pauſanias* teach) then the name of *Italy* began: and ſeeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldneſs to ſay, that *Italus* vvas Commander of theſe *Eleans*. For though I remember not that I have read of any ſuch *Greek* as vvas named *Italus*; yet the name of *Ætolus* vvritten in *Greek Aitolus*, vvas very famous among the *Ætolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being ſon of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætolian* Kingdom. Neither is it more hard to derive the name of *Italus* from *Ætolus*, than *Italia* from *Ætolia*. So may *Virgil's* authority ſtand vvell vvith the collections of *Reyneccius*; the name of *Italy* being taken both from a Captain, and from the Nation, of vvhich he and his people vvere.

§. II.

Of the Aborigenes, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reaſon of the names of Latini and Latium.

IN *Italy* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* vvere moſt famous; the *Hetrurians* having held the greateſt part of it under their ſubjection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, ſubduing all *Italy*, and in a few ages whatſoever Nation was known in *Europe*: together with all the Weſtern parts of *Aſia*, and North of *Africk*.

The Region called *Latium*, was firſt inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnaſſæus*, *Varro*, and *Reyneccius* (following them) think to have bin *Arcaians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other ſignifications that are ſtrained) imports as much as Original, or Native of the place, which they poſſeſſed: which title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to have always uſurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the Moon; becauſe indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponneſus* inforced to forſake their ſeats ſo oft as other *Greeks* were, who did dwell without that halfe Iſland, neither had the *Arcadians* ſo unſure a dwelling as the reſt of the *Peloponneſians*, becauſe their Countrey was leſs fruitfull in land, mountainous, and hard of acceſs, and they themſelves

(as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore having occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, stile themselves *Aborigenes*, in that language, which either their new Seat, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians*, who dwelt somewhat farr from the Sea, and are alwaies noted as unapt men to prove good Mariners, should have bin Authors of new discoveries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulnesse of children, in which those ages abounded, inforced the superfluous company to seek another seat, & that some expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as especially that of *Evander*, into the same parts of *Italy*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigenes*, were the *Pelasgi*, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gave name to all *Greece:* but their antiquities are long since dead, for lacke of good records. Neither was their glory such in *Italy*, as could long sustaine the name of their owne Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Ausones*, *Aruunci*, *Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to some civility; and he therefore cannonized as a god.

This *Saturne* S. *Augustine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others term him *Stercutius*, and say, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* took his name of *Saturn*, because he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is questionless a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fled from another; so in the truth of History, it is well known, that no King reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should be hard to find one Countrey or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit, And yet, as most fables and poeticall fictions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which either by ambiguity of speech, or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkly expresse (for so they feigned a passage over a River in Hell, because death is a passage to another life: and because this passage is hateful, lamentable, and painfull, therefore they named the River *Styx*, of hate; *Cocytus* of lamentation, and *Acheron*, of Pain: so also because men are stonie-hearted; and beeause the *Greek* λαοὶ, people, and λᾶες, stones, are neer in sound, therefore they feigned in the time of *Ducalion* stones converted into men, as at other times men into stones:) in like manner it may be, that the original of *Saturns* hiding himself was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Acts*; whence also *Esay* of the true God saies, *tu Deus abdens te.* For it cannot be in vain, that the word *Saturnus* should also have this very signification, if it be derived (as some think) from the *Hebrew Satar*, which is to hide: Howbeit I deny not but that the original of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

See l.b. 1. cap. 6. sect. 1 & seq.

Act. 17. 23. Esay 45. 15.

Reyneccius doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who descended of *Cethim*, the Son of *Javan*, were the men who gave the name to *Latium.* For these *Ceteans* are remembred by *Homer* as aiders of the *Trojans* in their war. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subjects to the Crown of *Troy.* Hereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia:* viz. *in agro Elaitico, in the Elaitian Territory*, which agreeth with *Strabo.* Of a City which the *Æolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elæa*, or *Elaia*, *Pausanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidæmis*, or (according to the *Greek* writing) *Cidamis*, which name last rehearsed hath a very neer sound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greek* Letter (D) having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (TH) differing onely in the strength or weakness of utterance, which is found between many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans*, being descended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the Son of *Javan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greeks*, might very well take a denomination from the City, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Eleites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Ætolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Æolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountain *Elæus*, the Haven *Elæas*, the people *Elaitæ*, the City *Elæus*, *Elaia*, and *Elateia*; of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elatini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now vvhereas both the *Cetæi* and *Arcadians*, had their original from *Cethim*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language & similitude of names, they might nevertheless differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriving the *Sabines* from him) give the name of *Sabus:* in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that foun-

founded the City *Elateja*) be named of the *Ceteans Latinus*. *Reyneccius*, pursuing this likelihood, thinks that when *Euripylus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the Son of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Auge*, the daughter of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*) was slain by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* War: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Euripylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*, who (fearing what evill might befall themselves by the *Greeks*, if the affairs of *Troy* should go ill) passed into that part of *Italy*, whereas the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrius*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother *Auge*, an *Arcadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*. That this name of *Elatus* may have bin taken or imposed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Iphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were Sons of *Arcas* King of *Arcadia*, which gave name to the Countrey: and between these two families the succession in that Kingdom did pass, almost interchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* war it fell into the hand of *Hippotheus* of the race of *Elatus*, in whose Posterity it continued untill the last. Again, the name of *Latinus*, having a derivative sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the less reproofe, considering that it is not easy to find either an apparent truth, or fair probability among these disagreeing Authors, which have written the originals of *Latium*.

§. VI.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines *untill* Æneas *his comming.*

THe Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arrival of *Æneas*, were *Saturnus Picus*, *Faunus*, & *Latinus*. Of *Saturn* there is nothing remembred, save what is mentioned already, and many Fables of the *Greeks*, which whether they be applyable to this man, it is for him to judge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturn* of the *Greeks* called by them κρόνος, or some other, stiled *Saturn* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have bin the same: but the names of *Sterces*, and *Stercutius* (for it may be, this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the soil which they laid on their grounds had that appellation from him) do rather make him seem some other man.

Ezekiel often calls the *Idols* of the Heathen *deos stercoreos*: and hence it may be that in the Evangelist we read of *Belzebub*, *Belzebul*, which is interpreted *Dominus stercoreus*: and it may be that after that *Saturn* became the name of an *Idol*, it pleased God that in a like sense this name *Stercutius* should stick unto him.

Of *Picus* it is said, that he was a good horse-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Py, may well seem (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the skill which he had in sooth-saying, or divination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the Son of *Picus*, reigned after his Father: He gave to *Evander* the *Arcadian* (who having slain by mischance his father *Echemus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italy*) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the sister of *Faunus*, who was also his wife, as all Historians agree, she was held a Propheteſs, and highly commended for her chastity, which praise in her must needs have bin much blemished by her marriage, it self being meerly incestuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus*, had by his sister any child, neither do we read of any other Wife which he had, save only that *Virgil* gives unto him *Latinus* as his Son, by a Nymph called *Marica*. *Æneid.* 7.

But who this *Marica* was, it is not found, save onely that her aboad was about the River *Lyris* near *Minturnæ*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted four: one, the Son of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Ulysses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice only of the second, of whom he saith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cetii*, were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference consisting almost in this only, that *Suidas* cals *Telephus* the son of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a son of the same name. This *Latinus* having obtained the succession in that Kingdom after *Faunus*, did promise his only Daughter and Heir *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the son of *Venilia*, who was sister to *Amata Latinus* his Wife. *Suidas* in the word *Latini*.

But when *Æneas* arrived in those parts with fifteen ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarked, according to the rate which *Thucydides* allows to the Vessels then used, about one thousand & two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the *Trojan*, and moved with the great reputation of *Æneas*, which himself had heard of in the war of *Troy*, gave his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*: who incensed herewith, sought to avenge himself by war: which was soon ended with his own death.

Of

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certain, that were she an *Italian*, she could not have born a Daughter marriageable at the arrival of *Æneas*; unless we should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Son, who served in the last year of the *Trojan* War. But *Reyneccius* holds her an *Asiatique*, and thinks withall, that *Lavinia* was born before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnassæus* call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seem by *Varro*; who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might be derived from the *Greek* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which signifieth beloved, or dear, was the name by which the High Priest called every Virgin whom he took to serve as a Nun of *Vesta*; wherefore it is the more easie to be thought a surname, howsoever *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venilia* her sister.

Lavinia, the daughter of *Latinus*, being given in marriage to *Æneas*, the Kingdom of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Country, was established in that race: wherein it continued until it was overgrown by the might and greatness of the *Romans*.

§. IV.

Of Æneas, *and of the Kings and Governours of Alba.*

ÆNeas himself being of the Royal bloud of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Trojans*. By his Wife *Creusa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, he had a son called *Ascanius*; whose surname was *Julus*, having before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) been surnamed *Ilus*. But when *Æneas* was dead, his Wife *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was delivered of a son, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surnamed *Posthumus*, becaus he was born after his fathers Funeral. This flight of *Lavinia* was so evil taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her return, entreated her honourably, and using her as a Queen, did foster her young son his half-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leaving to his mother in law the City *Lavinium*, which *Æneas* had built and called after his new Wives name, founded the City *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his reign was, according to some, eight and twenty years: *Virgil* gives him thirty; others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his decease, there arose contention between *Sylvius*, the son of *Æneas*, and *Julus* the son of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdom: but the people inclining to the son of *Lavinia*, *Julus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdom to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posterity were afterwards called *Sylvii*.

The reign of the *Alban* Kings, with the continuance of each mans reign, I find thus set down:

1	*Sylvius Posthumus.*	29	years.
2	*Sylvius Æneas.*	31	
3	*Sylvius Latinus.*	50	
4	*Sylvius Alba.*	39	
5	*Sylvius Atis.*	26	
6	*Sylvius Capys.*	28	
7	*Sylvius Capetus.*	13	
8	*Sylvius Tiberinus.*	8	
9	*Sylvius Agrippa.*	41	
10	*Sylvius Alladius.*	19	
11	*Sylvius Aventinus.*	37	
12	*Sylvius Procas.*	23	
13	*Sylvius Amulius.*	44	
	Sylvius Numitor.		

Ilia, called also *Rhea* and *Sylvia*.
Romulus. Remus.

The most of these Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Towns in the borders of *Latium*: who standing much upon the honour of their original, grew thereby to be called *Prisci Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* some think that the River *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the coming of *Æneas* into *Italy*. The Mountain *Aventinus* had name (as many write) from *Aventinus* King of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Julius* the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Eusebius* as father of another *Julius*, and grandfather of *Julius Proculus*, who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*: *Numitor*, the elder son of *Procas*, was deprived of his Kingdom by his brother *Amulius*; by whom also his son *Ægesthus* was slain, and *Ilia* his daughter made a Nun of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceived two sons, either by her Uncle *Amulius*, as some think; or by *Mars*, as the Poets feign; or perhaps by some man of war. Both the children, their Uncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quick, according to the law; which so

ſo ordained, when the Veſtal Virgins brake their chaſtity. Whether it was ſo, that the mother was pardoned at the entreaty of *Antho*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or puniſhed as the Law required (for Authors herein do vary) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preſerved, who afterward revenged the cruelty of their Uncle, with the ſlaughter of him and all his, and reſtored *Numitor* their grandfather to the Kingdom: wherein how long he reigned, I find not, neither is it greatly material to know; for as much as the Eſtates of *Alba* and of *Latinum* were preſently eclipſed by the ſwift increaſe of *Rome*; upon which the computation of Time following (as far as concerns the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdom of *Alba* ceaſed; for *Numitor* left no male iſſue. *Romulus* choſe rather to live in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Sylvius* none elſe remained. So the *Albanes* were governed by Magiſtrates; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Cluilius*, who in the dayes of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, King of the *Romans*, making War upon *Rome*, dyed in the Camp; and *Metius Suffetius*, the ſucceſſor of *Cluilius*, who ſurrendred the Eſtate of *Alba* unto the *Romans*, having committed the hazard of both Signories to the ſucceſs of three men of each ſide, who decided the quarrel by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Horatii*, the Champions of the *Romans*, prevailed againſt the *Curiatii*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hoſtilius* with the *Albane* forces againſt the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battel, hoping thereby to leave the *Romans* to ſuch an overthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albanes* to deal with; *Tullus*, who notwithſtanding this falſhood, obtained the victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruel death, cauſing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and ſo torn in pieces. Then was *Alba* deſtroyed, and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patricians*; among which were the *Julii*: of whom *C. Julius Cæſar* being deſcended, not onely gloried in his ancient, royal, and forgotten pedigree, in full aſſembly of the *Romans*, then governed by a free Eſtate of the People: but by his rare induſtry, valour, and judgment, obtained the Soveraignty of the *Roman* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himſelf and his poſterity; whereby the name of *Æneas*, and honour of the *Trojan* and *Alban* Race, was ſo revived, that ſeldom, if ever, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

§. V.

Of the beginning of Rome, *and of* Romulus *birth and death.*

OF *Rome*, which devoured the *Alban* Kingdom, I may here beſt ſhew the beginnings, which (though ſomewhat uncertain) depend much upon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numitor*, the laſt that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations between *Euphrates* and the Ocean, were broken in pieces by the iron teeth of this fourth Beaſt, it is not to be deſcribed in one place, having been the work of many Ages; whereof I now do handle onely the firſt, as incident unto the diſcourſe preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor, Portius Cato, Calphurnius Piſo, Sempronius*, and others, ſeek to derive the *Romans* from *Janus*: but *Herodotus, Marſylus*, and many others of equal credit, give the *Græcians* for their Anceſtors: and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth Book, Cæcilius *rerum Romanarum Scriptor, eo argumento colligit, Romam à Græcis eſſe conditam, quod Romani Græco ritu, antiquo inſtituto*, Herculi *rem ſacram faciunt: matrem quoque* Evandri *venerantur Romani*; Cæcilius (ſaith he) *a Roman Hiſtoriographer, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greeks, becauſe the Romans, after Greekiſh faſhion, by ancient ordinance, do ſacrifice to* Hercules: *the Romans alſo worſhip the mother of* Evander. Strab. 5. f. 359.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembreth many Founders of that City: as *Romanus* the ſon of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*; *Romus* the ſon of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who drave the *Tuſcans* out of that Countrey, built it. *Solinus* beſtows the honour of building *Rome* upon *Evander*, ſaying, That it was beforetimes called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* gives the denomination to a captive Lady, brought thither by the *Græcians*: others ſay, That it was anciently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*; witneſs S. *Auguſtine* in his third Book *de Civitate Dei*. But *Livie* will have it to be the work of *Romulus*, even from the foundation: of whom and his conſort, *Juvenal* to a *Roman* Citizen, vaunting of their original, anſwered in theſe Verſes:

Attamen ut longè repetas longéque revolvas,
Majorum quiſquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut paſtor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Yet

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree so far;
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepheard was, or else, that I'll forbear.

meaning, either a Shepheard or a Theif.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preservation, it is said, That he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* supposed to be his father; that he was nurst by a Wolf, found and taken away by *Faustula* a Shepheards wife. The same unnatural nursing had *Cyrus*, the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* saith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came covered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to me that he might have two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heir of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the Kingdom; the other, to satisfie his appetite, because she was fair and goodly. For she being made a Nun of the goddess *Vesta*, it was death in her, by the Law, to break her chastity. I also find in *Fauchet* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Meroüee*, King of the *Francs*, was begotten by a Monster of the Sea: but *Fauchet* sayes, *Let them believe it that list; Il le croira qui voudra:* Also of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poetical inventions: But to answer these imaginations in general, It is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or passions of the mind, or as there were of vices and vertues, then did many women greatly born, cover such slips as they made, by protesting to be forced by more than humane power: so did *Oenone* confess to *Paris*, that she had been ravished by *Apollo*. And *Anchyses* boasted that he had known *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with child by some man of War, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battel, according to the sense of the time. *Oenone* was overcome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Meroüee* might fancy a SeaCaptain, to be gotten with young by such a one: as the Daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Æneas* was a bastard, and begotten upon some fair Harlot, called for her beauty *Venus*, and was therefore the child of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurst by a Wolf, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*; for the Curtesans in those dayes were called Wolfs, *Quæ nunc* (saith *Halicarnassæus*) *honestiori vocabulo amicæ appellantur*; *Which are now by an honester name called friends*. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken up into heaven, or rather out of the world, by his father *Mars*, in a great storm of thunder and lightning: so was it said that *Æneas* vanished away by the River *Numicus*: but thereof *Livie* also speaketh modestly; for he rehearseth the other opinion that the storm was the fury of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many Authors agree, that there was an unnatural darkness, both at his birth, and at his death; and that he might be slain by thunder or lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperor *Anastasius* was slain with lightning; so was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* slain with a thunder-bolt: so *Carus* the Emperour (who succeeded *Probus*) whilest he lodged with his Army upon the River *Tygris*, was there slain with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same Kind might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of War, and by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destiny followed most of the *Roman* Emperours) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*, who was the seventh King after him: who when he had murthered his Father-in-law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (said he) *Romulus* himself died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnassæus* end this dispute; whose words are these: *They* (saith he) *who drew neareſt to the truth, say that he was slain by his own Citizens; and that his cruelties in punishment of offenders, together with his arrogancy, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported, that both when his mother was ravished, whether by some man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sun was eclipsed, and all the earth covered with darkness like unto night, and that the same did happen at his death.*

Fauchet f. 114.

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whose life historified by *Plutarch*, doth contain (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles, which had soon been forgotten, if the *Roman* greatness built upon that foundation, had not given it memory in all ages following, even unto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of body, patient of travel, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the use of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, and neglect to revenge the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdom, that he himself might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned 37. years, first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death, single, till he was slain, as is already shewed: after which time, the Soveraignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him unknown, and more Priest-like than King-

like:

like: wherein *Rome* it self in her latter times hath somewhat resembled this King. For having long bin sole Governess, till *Constantinople* shared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greek* Emperour was crushed by forreign enemies, and the *Latines* dispoyled of Imperial power, she fell into the subjection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheep-hook to the Sword, and therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driven from luxury to defensive arms, and therein having bin unfortunate, at length betakes her self again to the Crosier staff.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place, by occasion of the story of the times of King *Ahaz*, during whose reign in *Jury*, the foundations of this famous City were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezechia, *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, *and of the agreeing of* Ptolemy, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, *and* Mardocempadus, *with the history of the Bible.*

AS the first year of *Ahaz* his reign was confounded with the last of his father *Jotham*, so was the later end of his sixteen years taken up in the three first of *Ezechias* his son. This appears by the Reign of *Hosea*, over *Israel*, which began in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz* his fourteenth. But the third of *Hosea* was the first of *Ezechia*; so it follows, that *Ezechia* began to reign in this Fathers fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of *Hosea*, the same being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almost spent when *Ezechia* began, and so the fifteenth year of *Ahaz* may have been concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezechia*.

By supposing that *Hosea* began his Kingdom, when the twelfth year of *Ahaz* was almost compleat, some would find the means how to dis-joyn the first of *Hezechia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which year, *Ahaz* may perhaps have lived not many days. But seeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth years of *Ezechia* may not be removed out of their places, it is vain labour to alter the first year.

2 Kin. 19. 35. In the fourteenth year of *Ezechia*, *Senacherib*, invaded *Juda* and the Countries adjoyning, lost his Army by a miraculous stroak from Heaven, fled home, and was slain. The year following it was that God added sixteen years to the life of *Ezechia*, when he had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty: and the same year was that miracle seen of the Suns going back; of which wonder (as I hear) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for skill in Astronomy, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered unto the twenty fift of *April*, in the *Julian* year, being then Thursday. I have not seen any works of *Scultet*; but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some record of observation made at such a time. Howsoever it be, the fifteenth year of *Ezechia* agreed upon; and therefore we may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is usual in like cases, that Ahaz *slept with his Fathers*, & Ezechia *his Son reigned in his stead*, it doth no more prove that *Ezechia* reigned not with his Father, than the like saying doth inferr the like at the death of *Jehosaphat*, and succession of *Jehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Son to reign whilest his Father lived, we have already said enough. 1 Chro. 28. 17.

Of this godly King *Ezechias*, we find, that his very beginning testified his devotion and zeale. For whether it were so, that his unfortunate and ungracious father (who had out-worn his reputation) gave way to his Sons proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather think) the first year and first moneth of his reign, wherein *Ezechias* opened the doors of the Temple, were to be understood as the beginning of his sole government; we plainly find it to have been his first work, that he opened the doors of the house of the Lord, which *Achaz* had shut up, cleansed the City and Kingdom of the Idols, restored the Priests to their offices and estates, commanded the Sacrifices to be offered which had bin for many years neglected, and brake down the brasen serpent of *Moses*, because the 2 Chro 29. v. 3. 2 Chro. 30.

people burnt incenſe before it, and he called it *Nebuſhtan*, which ſignifieth a lumpe of braſſe. He did alſo celebrate the paſſe-over with great magnificence, inviting thereunto the *Iſraelites* of the ten Tribes. Many there were, even out of thoſe Tribes, that came up to *Jeruſalem*, to this feaſt: But the generall multitude of *Iſrael* did laugh the Meſſengers of *Ezechia* to ſcorne.

It was not long ere they that ſcorned to ſolemnize the memoriall of their deliverance out of the *Egyptian* ſervitude, fell into a new ſervitude; out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of *Ezechia* his reign, *Salmanaſſar* the Son of *Tiglath* the Son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hoſea* King of *Iſrael* had practiſed with *So* King of *Egypt*, againſt him, invaded *Iſrael*, beſieged *Samaria*, and in the third year (after the inhabitants had endured all ſorts of miſeries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Aſſyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias*, and his Son of the ſame name, with *Anna* his Wife, were ſent to *Nineve*; in whoſe Seats and Places the *Aſſyrians* ſent ſtrangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Iſraelites*, as thoſe of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, beſides *Babylonians:* whoſe Places and Nations I have formerly deſcribed in the Treatiſe of the Holy Land.

Theſe latter *Aſſyrian* Kings, and the *Perſians*, which followed them, are the firſt of whom we find mention made both in Prophane and Sacred books. Theſe therefore ſerve moſt aptly to joyne the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets have written otherwiſe then fabulouſly) with the Ages following that were better known, and deſcribed in courſe of Hiſtory. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and ſome other *Perſians*, we find in the Bible the ſame names by vvhich other Authors have recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmanaſſar*, vvith other *Aſſyrian*, *Chaldæan* Kings, diverſity of name hath bred queſtion of the perſons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe ſpeak of *Salmanaſſar*, King of *Aſſur*, vvho reigned in the time of *Ahaz* and *Ezechia*, Kings of *Juda*, and of *Hoſea* King of *Iſrael*, vvhom he carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolomy* makes mention of *Nabonaſſar*, ſpeaking preciſely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to ſhew, that *Salmanaſſar* and *Nabonaſſar* were one and the ſame man. The like reaſon alſo requireth, that it be ſhewed of *Nebuchadnezzer*, that he was the ſame whom *Ptolemy*, calleth *Nabopolaſſar*.

Of both theſe points *Bucholerus* hath well collected ſufficient proofe from the exact calculations of ſundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appears, that between *Nabonaſſar* and the birth of *Chriſt*, there paſſed ſeven hundred forty and ſix years: at which diſtance of time the reign of *Salmanaſſar* was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the ſame *Bucholerus* alledgeth out of *Eraſmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolemy*, ſpeaking of three Eclipſes of the Moon, which were in his time, doth mention) was the ſame whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who ſent Embaſſadours to *Hezekia* King of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backward to the difference of time between *Merodach* and *Salmanaſſar*, we ſhall find it the ſame which is between *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonaſſar*. Likewiſe *Functius* doth ſhew, that whereas from the deſtruction of *Samaria*, to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzer*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the diſtance of one hundred thirty and three years: the ſelf-ſame diſtance of time is found in *Ptolemy*, between *Nabonaſſar* and *Nabopolaſſar*. For whereas *Ptolemy* ſeems to ſuffer from this accompt, making *Nabonaſſar* more ancient by an hundred and forty years, than the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, wee are to underſtand that he took *Samaria* in the eighth year of his reign; ſo that the ſeven foregoing years added to theſe one hundred thirty and three, make the accompt of the Scriptures fall even with that of *Ptolemy*, *Ptolemies* computation is, that from the firſt of *Nabonaſſar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolaſſar*, there paſſed one hundred twenty and ſeven years. Now if wee add to theſe one hundred twenty ſeven, the thirteen enſuing of *Nebuchadnezzers* years, before the City and Temple were deſtroyed, wee have the ſum of one hundred and forty years. In ſo plain a caſe more proofes are needleſs, though many are brought, of which this may ſerve for all, that *Ptolemy* placeth the firſt of *Nabopolaſſar*, one hundred twenty and two years after the firſt of *Nabonaſſar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To theſe notes are added the conſent of all Mathematicians: which in accompt of times I hold more ſure than the authority of any Hiſtory; aud therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas Hiſtorians and Mathematical obſervations do ſo throughly concurr.

Yet foraſmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth reſt unanſwered, whereby he proved *Baladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to have been this *Nabonaſſar*, *I* will not ſpare to loſe a word or two in giving the Reader ſatisfaction herein. It is true, that the

next observations of the heavenly Bodies, which *Ptolomy* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the reign of *Mardocempadus*; the second year of whose reign, is, according to *Ptolomy*, concurrent in part with the twenty seven of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, being in the second year of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twenty seven years, seventeen dayes, and eleven hours: the accompt from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high-noon the first day of the *Egyptian* Moneth *Thot*, then answering to the twenty sixt of *February*; and this Eclipse being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; so that the difference of time between the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolomy*, according to the *Egyptian* years. But how doth this prove, that *Mardocempadus* or *Meradach*, was the Son of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it prove, that he was his next Successour, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to satisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himself did afterwards believe *Mardocempadus* to have been rather the Nephew than the Son of *Baladan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Son; he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Country-man *Lidyat* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who follows *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Calvisius*, who hath drawn into form of Chronology, that learned work, *De Emendatione Temporum*, do hold up the same assertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonassar*, I have taken the pains to search, as far as my leisure & diligence could reach, after any sentence that might prove the Kindred or Succession of these two: Yet cannot I find in the *Almagest* (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or adverse to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this business) any sentence more nearly proving the succession of *Merodach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was father to the other, than (that I may use a like example) the as near succession of *William* the *Conqueror*, declares him, to have been Son, or Grand-child to *Edward* the *Confessor*. This considered, we may safely go on with our account from *Nabonassar*, taking him for *Salmanassar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be driven from our Book, when they find something in it, agreeing with *Annius*, forasmuch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in *Babylon* and *Assyria*, in those very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolomy* are assigned to *Belosus*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the rest: no good History naming any others that reigned there in those ages; and all Astronomical observations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

Ptol. Alm. l. 4. c. 8.

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§. II.

Of the danger and deliverance of Judæa *from* Senacherib.

WHen *Salmanassar* was dead, and his son *Senacherib* in possession of the Empire, in the fourteenth year of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him such Tribute as was agreed on, at such time as *Tiglath*, the Grandfather of *Senacherib*, and Father of *Salmanassar*, invited by *Ahaz*, invaded *Rezin* King of *Damascus*, and delivered him from the dangerous War which *Israel* had undertaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgment when *Ezechias* denied, *Senacherib*, having (as it seems) a purpose to invade *Egypt*, sent one part of his Army to lye before *Jerusalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerful Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, wherewith he presented *Senacherib*, now set down before *Lachis* in *Judæa*; yet under the colour of better assurance, and to force the King of *Judæa* to deliver hostages, the *Assyrian* invironed *Jerusalem* with a gross Army, and having his sword in his hand, thought it the fittest time to write his own conditions. 2 Kin. 18. 21.

Ezechias directed his three great Counsellers, to parly with *Rabsaces* over the Wall; and to receive his demands: who used three principal arguments to perswade the people to yeild themselves to his Master *Senacherib*. For though the Chancellour, Steward, and Secretary, sent by *Ezechias*, desired *Rabsaces* to speak unto them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the *Jewish*, yet he with a louder voice directed his speech to the multitude in their own language. And for the first, he made them know, That if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their King, that they would in a short time be inforced to eat their own dung, and drink their own urine: Secondly, he altogether disabled the King of *Egypt*, from whom the *Judæans* hoped for succour; and compared him to a broken staffe, on which whosoever leaneth, pierceth his own hand: Thirdly, that the gods who should help them, *Ezechias* had formerly 2 Kin 18. 21.

broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brasen Serpent, which had been preserved ever since *Moses* time: and withall he bade them remember the gods of other Nations, whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and thrown down; and for God himself, in whom they trusted, he perswaded them by no means to rely upon him, for he would deceive them. But finding the people silent (for so the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had understood that the King of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerful Army, he himself left the *Assyrian* forces in charge to others, and sought *Senacherib* at *Libna* in *Judæa*, either to inform him of their resolution in *Jerusalem*, or to confer with him concerning the Army of *Tarhaca* the *Arabian*. Soon upon this there came letters from *Senacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly advised, and partly threatned to submit himself, using the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerful God, as before. But *Ezechias* sending those Counsellers to the Prophet *Esay*, which had lately been sent to *Rabsaces*, received from him comfort, and assurance, that this heathen Idolater should not prevail; against whom the King also besought aid from Almighty God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of *Senacherib*'s letter, before the Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true, *That the King of* Ashur *had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the works of mans hands, even wood and stone, &c.*

2 Kin. 19.

The reason that moved *Senacherib* to desire to possess himself in haste of *Jerusalem*, was, that he might thereinto have retraited his Army, which was departed as it seemeth from the siege of *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, for fear of *Terhaca*: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprise (which in these Books of the *Kings*, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paralipomenon*, speak but of the affairs of the *Jews* in effect) yet the ancient *Berosus*, and out of him *Josephus* and Saint *Hierom*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Senacherib* King of *Arabia* and *Assyria*: which he might justly do, because *Tiglath* his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekah* King of *Israel*: as *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and the rest of *Arabia Petræa* adjoyning: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Sethon* King of *Egypt*, to be *Vulcan*'s Priest; and reporteth that the reason of *Senacherib*'s return from *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, which he also besieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in sunder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoiled the rest of their Weapons in that kind, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Tarhaca*, remembred by *Josephus* and *Berosus*, was the more urgent. Saint *Hierome* upon the seven and thirtieth of *Esay*, out of the same *Berosus*, as also in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Josephus* citeth somewhat otherwise than his words lye, reports *Senacherib*'s retrait in these words: *Pugnasse autem* Senacherib *Regem Assyriorum contra Ægyptios, & obsedisse Pelusium, jamque extructis aggeribus urbi capiendæ, venisse* Taracham *Regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & una nocte juxta Jerusalem, centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Assyrii pestilentia corruisse, narrat* Herodotus: *& plenissime* Berosus *Chaldaicæ scriptor Historiæ, quorum fides de propriis libris petenda est; That* Senacherib *King of the* Assyrians *fought against the* Ægyptians, *and besieged* Pelusium, *and that when his Mounts were built for the taking of the City,* Tarhacas *King of the* Æthiopians *came to help them, and that in one night, near* Jerusalem, *one hundred eighty five thousand of the* Assyrian *Army perished by pestilence; of these things* (saith Hierome) * Herodotus *reports: and more at large* Berosus *a writer of* Chaldæan *Story, whose credit is to be taken from their own Books.* Out of *Esay* it is gathered, that this destruction of the *Assyrian* Army was in this manner: *Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noise, a whirlwind, and a tempest and a flame of devouring fire.* But *Josephus* hath it more largely out of the same *Berosus*, an authority (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted; Senacheribus *autem ab Ægyptiaco bello revertens, offendit ibi exercitum quem sub* Rabsacis *imperio reliquerat peste divinitus immissâ deletum, primâ nocte post eaquam Urbem oppugnare cœperat, absumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum octoginta quinque millibus Militum; qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam quæ Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo post per insidias Seniorum è filiis suis,* Adramelechi, *&* Selennari, *vitam amisit: occisus in ipso Templo quod dicitur* Arasci, *quem præcipuo cultu dignabitur; quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulsis, & in Armeniam fugientibus,* Asaracoldas *minor filius in Regnum successit;* Senacherib (*saith* Josephus) *returning from the* Ægyptian *War, found there his Army, which he had left under the command of* Rabsaces, *destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begun to assault*

Herod. l. 2. p. 69.

Tol. ant. l. 10. c. 1. Her. Tom. 1. 2.

* To wit in part, for Herodotus mentioneth nothing either of Tarhaca nor of Jerusalem, nor of the Army there.

Esay 36.

Jos. ant. l. 10. c. 1.

Selennar otherwise Sharezer, who slew him, as he was praying to Nesroc his god. 2 King. 19.

assault the Town: one hundred fourscore and five thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with their Chieftains and Colonels. With which destruction being terrified, and withall afraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, he made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sons, Adramelch *and* Selenner *or* Sharezer, *he lost his life in the Temple dedicated to* Arasces, *or* Nesroth; *Whom he especially worshiped. These his Sons being for their paracide chased away by the people, and flying into* Armenia, 2 King. 19 37. 1 Esd. 4. 1. Asaracoldas *his younger Son succeeded in the Kingdome.* Who in the beginning of his reign sent new troops out of *Assyria* to *Samaria*, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his Grand-father *Salmanassar.* What this *Nesroth* was, it is uncertain: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certain, that *Venus Urania* was worshiped by the *Assyrians*; and so was *Jupiter Belus*, as *Dion*, *Eusebius*, and *Cyrillus* witnesse. Many fancies there are, what cause his Sons had to murther him; but the most likely it is, that he had formerly dis-inherited those two, and conferred the Empire on *Assarhaddon. Tobit* tels us, that it was fiftie five dayes after *Senacherib's* returne, ere he was murthered by his Sons, during which time he slew great numbers of the *Israelites* in *Nineve*, till the most just God turned the sword against his own breast. Lyr.

§. III.

Of Ezechias *his sickness and recoverie; and of the* Babylonian *King that congratulated him.*

AFter this marvellous deliverie, *Ezechias* sickned, and was told by *Isaiah* that he must dye: but after he had besought God with tears for his delivery, *Isaiah*, as he was going from him, returned again, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recovery after three dayes, and a prolongation of life for fifteen years. But *Ezechias* somewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth for a sign to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiah*, the shadow of the Sunne cast it self the contrary way, and went back ten degrees, upon the Dyall of *Achaz.* The cause that moved *Ezechias* to lament (saith Saint *Hierome*) was, because he had as yet no son, and then in despair that the *Messias* should come out of the house of *David*, or at least of his Seed. His disease seemeth to be the pestilence, by the medicine given him by the Prophet, to wit, a masse of Figs, laid to the Boteh or Sore. 2 Kin. 20.

This wonder when the Wise-men of *Chaldæa* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the first of that house, he sent to *Ezechias*, to be informed of the cause: at which time *Ezechias* shewed him all the Treasure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Isaiah*, who told him; *The dayes are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and whatsoever thy Fathers have laid up in store to this day, shall be carried into Babel*; nothing shall be left, saith the Lord. It may seeme strange, how *Ezechia* should have got any treasure worth the shewing: for *Senacherib* had robbed him of all, the year before. But the spoyl of the same *Senacherib* his Camp repayed all with advantage, and made *Ezekia* richer upon the sudden than ever he had been: which unexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time *Ezekia* had rest, and spending without noise that addition which God had made unto his life, he dyed having reigned nine and twenty years. One only offensive War he made, which was against the *Philistims*, with good success. Among his other acts (shortly remembred in *Ecclesiasticus*) he devised to bring water to *Jerusalem.* Esay 39. Eccles. 28.

In two respects they say that he offended God: the one, that he rejoyced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemy: the other, that he so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moved *Ezechias* (speaking humanely) to entertain the Embassadours of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recovery of his health; as also in that *Merodach* had weakned the house of *Senacherib*, his fearfull enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant under *Senacherib* in *Babylon*, usurped that State himself, in the last year of that King, and held it by strong hand against his son *Assarhaddon*; who was not onely simple, but impaired in strength, by the molestation of his brothers. This advantage *Merodach* espied, and remembring that their ancestor *Phul Belochus* had set his own Master *Sardanapalus* besides the cushion, thought it as lawfull for himself to take the opportunity which this Kings weakness did offer, as it had been for *Belochus* to make use of the others wickedness, and so, finding himself beloved of the *Babylonians*, and sufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazzard, and prevailed, the assertion of this history is made by the same arguments

ments that were in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here again rehearse. So of this new race, which cut asunder the Line of *Ninus*, there were onely five Kings.

Phul Belochus	reigned	48	years.
Tiglath Philassar		27	
Salmanassar		10	
Senacherib		7	
Assarhaddon		10	

But forasmuch as the last year of *Salmanassar* was also the first of *Senacherib* his son, we reckon the time, wherein the house of *Phul* held the *Assyrian* Kingdom, to have been an hundred and one years, of which, the last five and twenty were spent with *Ezechia*, under *Salmanassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Assarhaddon*.

§. IV.

The Kings that were in Media *during the reign of* Ezechia: *Of the difference found between sundry Authors in rehearsing the* Median *Kings. Other contemporaries of* Hezekia: *Of* Candaules, Gyges, *and the Kings descended from* Hercules.

IN the time of *Ezekia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were so, that variety of names, by which these Kings were called in several Histories, hath caused them to seem more than indeed they were; or whether the sons reigning with the fathers, have caused not onely the names of Kings, but the length of Time wherein they governed *Media*, to exceed the due proportion, or whether the Copies themselves of *Ctesias* and *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, have been faulty, as neither of these two Authors is over-highly commended of trustiness; so it is, that the names, number, and length of reign, are all very diversly reported of these *Median* Kings, that follow *Arbaces*: therefore it need not seem strange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as contemporaries with *Ezechia*. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those writers that vary from *Eusebius*, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here set down the roll of Kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as sundry Authors have delivered it.

Annius his *Metasthenes* orders them and their reigns thus:

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Mandanes		50	
Sosarmon		30	
Articarmin		50	
Arbianes		22	
Artæus		40	
Artines		22	
Astybarus, with his son *Apanda*		20	
Apanda alone		30	
Darius with *Cyrus*		36	

Diodorus Siculus following *Ctesias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metasthenes* follow *Diodore*, with some little variation, that he might not seem a borrower) placeth them thus;

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Mandanes		50	
Sosarmus		30	
Articas		50	
Arbianes		22	
Arsæus		40	
Artines		22	
Artabanus		40	

Astybara } the continuance of these two he
Astyages } doth mention.

Mercator hath laboured, with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with *Eusebius*. But forasmuch as it seems to me an impossible matter, to attain unto the truth of his forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon *Ctesias* and *Metasthenes*, I will lay the burden upon *Eusebius*, who lived in an age better furnished than ours, with books of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Eusebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus* his *Arbianes*, I will not stay to search. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Eusebius*, reigned in this order.

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Sosarmus		30	
Medidus		40	
Cardiceas		15	
Deioces		54	
Phraortes		24	
Cyaxares		32	
Astyages		38	

These names, and this course of succession I retain; but adde unto these, *Cyaxares*, the son of *Astyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and sometimes follow *Herodotus*, in setting down the length of a Kings reign, otherwise than *Eusebius* hath it: of which variations I will render my reasons in due place.

The twenty nine years of *Ezekia* were concurrent,

concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four firſt that were choſen Governours of *Athens* for ten years, that is, of *Charops*, *Æſimedes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the firſt of theſe I hear nothing, ſave that *Rome* was built in his firſt year; of which perhaps himſelf did not hear. Of the ſecond and third I find only the names. The fourth made himſelf known by a ſtrange example of juſtice, or rather of cruelty, that he ſhewed upon his own Daughter. For he finding that ſhe had offended in unchaſtity, cauſed her to be lockt up with an Horſe, giving to neither of them any food: ſo the Horſe, conſtrained by hunger devoured the unhappy Woman.

In *Rome*, the firſt King, and founder of that City *Romulus*, did reign both before, and ſomewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the laſt King ruled in the ſame age.

This Region was firſt called *Mæonia*. *Lydus* the ſon of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we believe ſuch authority as we find. This Kingdom was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Alcæus* the ſon of *Hercules*, by *Jardana*, a bond-woman. The race of theſe *Heraclidæ* continued reigning fifty five years (in which two and twenty Generations paſſed) the ſon continually ſucceeding the father. *Candaules* the ſon of *Myrſus* was the laſt of his race, who doated ſo much upon the beauty of his own wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges* the ſon of *Daſcylus* to behold her naked body, and placed the unwilling man ſecretly in her chamber, where he might ſee her preparing to bedward. This was not ſo cloſely carried, but that the Queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and underſtanding the matter, took it in ſuch high diſdain, that ſhe forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treaſon. So *Gyges* being brought again into the ſame chamber by the Queen, ſlew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdom of *Lydia*. He reigned thirty eight years, beginning in the laſt of *Ezekia* one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his ſon *Ardys* reigned nine and forty years; then *Sadyattes* twelve; *Halyattes*, fifty ſeven, and finally *Cræſus* the ſon of *Halyattes*, fourteen years: who loſt the Kingdom, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Perſia*.

And here by the way we may note that as the *Lydian* Kings whom *Cræſus* his Progenitor diſpoſſeſt, are deduced from *Hercules*, ſo of the ſame *Hercules* there ſprang many other Kings, which governed ſeveral Countreys very long; as in *Aſia*, the *Myſians*, in *Greece*, the *Lacædemonians*, *Meſſenians*, *Rhodians*, *Corinthians* and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*, as likewiſe from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracuſans*: beſides many great and famous, though private families.

But of the *Heraclidæ* that reigned in *Lydia*, I have not troubled my ſelf to take notice of the time of their ſeveral reigns: for little is found of them beſide the bare names, and the folly of this laſt King *Candaules*.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, *between the deliverance of* Iſrael *from thence, and the reign of* Ezekiah *in* Juda *when* Egypt *and* Juda *made a league againſt the* Aſſyrians.

§. I.

That many names of Egyptian *Kings, found in Hiſtory, are like to have belonged only to Viceroys. An example proving this out of* William *of* Tyre *his Hiſtory of the Holy War.*

THe emulation and quarrels ariſing in theſe times, between, the mighty Kingdoms of *Egypt* and *Aſſyrians*, do require our pains, in collecting the moſt memorable things in *Egypt*, and ſetting down briefly the ſtate of that Countrey, which had continued long a flouriſhing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Aſſyria* for the maſtery. Of *Cham* the ſon of *Noah*, who firſt planted that Country, and of *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings that reigned there, untill the *Iſraelites* were thence delivered, more hath been ſaid already than I can ſtand to; though I hold it no ſhame to fail in ſuch conjectures. That which I have delivered, in ſpeaking mine opinion of the *Egyptian* Dynaſties, muſt here again help me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are ſaid to have reigned

reigned in *Egypt*, vvere none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, such as *Joseph* vvas, and such as vvere the Soldans in latter ages. Therefore I will not onely forbear to seek after those, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of *Egyptian* Priests, delivering them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will save the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names onely are found; the years of their reigns, and other circumstances proving them to have been Kings indeed, being not recorded.

But that I may not seem before hand to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amisse, to give unto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of Historie doth afford, First therefore, we ought not to believe those numbers of Generations, which the lying Preists have reckoned up, to magnifie their Antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham* our *Saviour Christ* was removed onely forty two descents; which makes it evident, that in farre shorter time, namely before the *Persian* Empire, there could not have passed away twice as many successions in *Egypt*: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, having reigned longer than forty years. It follows that we should square the number of the *Egyptian* Kings in some even proportion, to those which did bear rule in other Countries. As for the rest whose names we find scattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to read the nineteenth book of the Holy Warr, written by *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, may easily perswade himself, that it is not hard to find names enow, of such as might be thought to have reigned in *Egypt*, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here insert as breifly as I can, some things making to that purpose, for the pleasure and information of such as will not trouble themselves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elahdech* the Caliph ruled in *Egypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a subtile man, made himself Soldan, by force and cunning, chasing away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was Soldan before and after him. This *Dargan* ministred matter of quarrel to *Amalrick* King of *Jerusalem*; and sustained, with little losse, an invasion, which *Amalrick* made upon *Egypt*. hereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former Soldan hoped to make his partie good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter *Egypt*. Briefly, *Sanar* sueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damasco*, for ayde, who sends an Armie of his Turks, under the command of *Syracon*, against the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The victorie was *Dargans*; but he enjoyed it not: For in few dayes after, he was slain by treason, whereby *Sanar* did recover his Dignitie: which to establish, he slew all the kindred and freinds of *Dargan*, that he could find in the great Citie of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the *Caliph Elhadech* gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the administration of the kingdome, whilest he might have the profit of it, and his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would think) do neerly touch the *Caliph* himselfe. *Syracon* with his Turks, whom *Sanar* had gotten to come into *Egypt*, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They seize upon the Town of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arrivall of more companie from *Damasco*, for the conquest of all *Egypt*. The *Soldan* perceives their intent, and finds himself not strong enough to expell them, much lesse to expell the Turkish Armie that was likely to second them: He therefore sends Messengers to King *Almarick* of *Jerusalem*, whom with large promises he gets to bring him ayde, and so drives out the Turks: Of all this trouble the great *Caliph* hears nothing, or not so much as should make him look to the playing of his own game.

A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadech* particularly in his own Title. *Syracon*, Captain of the Turks that had been in *Egypt*, goes to the *Caliph* of *Baldach* (who was opposite to him of *Egypt*, each of them claiming as heir to *Mahomet* that false Prophet, the Soveraigntie over all that were of the Saracen Law) and tels him the weakness of the *Egyptian*, with his own abilitie of doing service in those parts; offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all *Egypt*, with the Western parts, under the subjection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Eastern Provinces are up in Arms, and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, descendeth into *Egypt*. The noyse of this great expedition so affrighteth King *Almarick*, that with all his forces he hasteth into *Egypt*, well knowing how neerly it concerned him and his kingdome of *Jerusalem*, to keep the Saracens from joyning all under one head. *Sanar* the Soldan perceiving the faithfull care of the Christians his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him:

him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drave the enemies out of the Countrie. But this victory was not ſo ſoon gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which moſt concerns our preſent purpoſe) that of ſo deſperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, ſeems to know nothing. May we not think him to have been King in title onely, who meddled ſo little in the Government? The Soldan, finding that the Chriſtians (without whoſe help all was loſt) could not well ſtay ſo long as his neceſſities required, makes large offers to King *Almarick*, upon condition that he ſhould abide by it. He promiſeth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the Sarazens, perhaps, called it a Penſion) which the Kings of *Jeruſalem* ſhould receive out of *Egypt*, for this behoveful aſſiſtance. But the Chriſtians underſtanding that the Soldan (how much ſoever he took upon him) was ſubject to a higher Lord, would make no bargain of ſuch importance with any other than the *Caliph* himſelf. Hereupon *Hugh* Earl of *Cæſarea*, and a Knight of the Templers, are ſent unto *Elhadech* to ratifie the covenants. Now ſhall we ſee the greatneſs of the *Caliph* and his eſtate.

Theſe Embaſſadours were conveighed by the Soldan to *Cairo*, where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great Troops of Souldiers. The firſt entrance was through dark Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopians*, which with all diligence did reverence to the Soldan as he paſſed along. Through theſe ſtreights the Warders lead them into goodly open Courts, of ſuch beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of Embaſſadours, but were inforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they ſaw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beams, all wrought over with emboſſed Works, curious Pavements, Fiſhponds of Marble with clear Waters, and many ſorts of ſtrange Birds, unknown in thoſe parts of the World, as comming perhaps from the Eaſt Indies, which then was undiſcovered. The further they went, the greater was their magnificence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuches conveyed them into other Courts within theſe, as far excelling the former, as the former did ſurpaſs ordinary houſes. It were tedious perhaps to rehearſe how the further they entred, the more high ſtate they found, and cauſe of marvaile; ſuffice it, that the good Archbiſhop, who wrote theſe things, was never held a vain Author. Finally they were brought into the *Caliph*'s own lodgings, which were yet more ſtately and better guarded; where entring the Preſence, the Soldan having twice proſtrated himſelf, did the third time caſt off his Sword that he wore about his neck, and throw himſelf on the ground before the Curtain, behind which the *Caliph* ſate. Preſently the traverſe wrought with Gold and Pearls was opened, and the *Caliph* himſelf diſcovered, ſitting with great Majeſty on a Throne of Gold, having few of his moſt inward ſervants and Eunuches about him. When the Soldan had humbly kiſſed his Maſters feet, he briefly told the cauſe of his comming, the danger wherein the Land ſtood, and the offers that he made unto King *Almerick*, deſiring the *Caliph* himſelf to ratifie them in preſence of the Embaſſadors. The *Caliph* anſwered, That he would throughly perform all which was promiſed. But this contented not the Embaſſadors: They would have him to give his hand upon the bargain; which the *Egyptians* that ſtood by thought an impudent requeſt. Yet his greatneſs condeſcenced at length, after much deliberation, at the earneſt requeſt of the Soldan, to reach out his hand. When the Earl of *Cæſaria* ſaw that the *Caliph* gave his hand neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth ſeeks no holes to hide it ſelf; Princes that will hold Covenant, muſt deal openly, nakedly, and ſincerely; Give us therefore your bare hand, if you mean that we ſhall truſt you, for we will make no bargain with your Glove. Much adoe there was about this: for it ſeemed againſt the Majeſty of ſuch a Prince to yield ſo far. But when it would none otherwiſe be, with a ſmiling chear (though to the great grief of his Servants), he vouchſafed to let the Earl take him by the bare hand; and ſo rehearſing the covenants word by word, as the Earl ſpake them, he ratified all; diſmiſſing finally the Embaſſadors with ſuch rewards as teſtified his greatneſs.

In this Caliph and his Sultan, we may diſcern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we ſee a Prince of great eſtate, ſitting in his Palace, and not vexing himſelf with the great preparations made againſt him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: we ſee his Viceroy, in the mean ſeaſon, uſing all Royal power; making War and Peace; entertaining and repelling Armies of ſtrangers; yea, making the Land of *Egypt* tributary

to a forrain Prince. What greater authority was given to *Joseph*, when *Pharaoh* said unto him, *Thou shalt be over mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the Kings throne will I be above thee. Behold I have set thee over all the Land of Egypt?*

I do not commend this form of Government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine Author, where he thinks, that the *Egyptians*, ever since *Joseph's* time, have felt the burden of that servitude which he brought upon them, when he bought them and their Lands for *Pharaoh*. Herein I find his judgement good; that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customs practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that even the *Ptolemies* (excepting *Ptolomæus Lagi*, and his son *Philadelphus*, founder and establisher of that race) were given, all of them wholly, to please their own appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdom to Women, *Eunuches*, and other Ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Country afforded, were indeed sufficient to invite the Kings thereof unto a voluptuous life, and the awful regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their Princes, gave them security, whereby they might the better trust their Officers with so ample commission. But of this matter, I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroys governing *Egypt*, is set down by *Moses*, and that a lively example of the same is found in *William* of *Tyre*, who lived in the same age, was in few years after Chancellor of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and had full discourse with *Hugh* Earl of *Cæsaria* touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away with a vain opinion, to believe that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians* have honoured with that stile; but rest contented with a Catalogue of such, as we find by circumstance, likely to have reigned in that Countrey; after whom it follows that we should make inquiry.

§. II.

Of Acherres; *whether he were* Uchoreus *that was the eighth from* Osymandyas. *Of* Osymandyas *and his Tomb.*

IN this business I hold it vain to be too curious. For who can hope to attain to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius* from both of them; and late Writers that have sought to gather the truth out of these and others, find no one with whom they can agree? In this case *Annius* would doe good service, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholding to him when others do either say nothing, or that which may justly be suspected. I will therefore hold my self contented with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, and those antiquities removed so far out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, it shall suffice that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius* have not been silent, and that *Reyneccius* hath taken pains to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or else found scattering in others.

From the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, unto the reign of *Thuoris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the Greeks call *Proteus*) there is little or no disagreement about the *Egyptian* Kings. Wherefore I set down the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and give to every one the same length of reign.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded unto *Chencres*, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seems to *Reyneccius* to be the same whom *Diodorus* calls *Uchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King named *Osymandyas*, from whom *Uchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reineccius* conjectures was the great *Osymandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Uchoreus*: for the distance between them was more than eight generations. *Mercator* judgeth *Osymandyas* to have been the husband of *Ancheres*, *Orus* the seconds daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Josephus*) doth omit his name, and insert his wives into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wives right. As for *Uchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to find him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdons*, not to signifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that Greek word else doth) the eighth, but to be an

Egyp-

Egyptian name, belonging alſo to *Vchoreus*, who might have had two names, as many of the reſt had. I will not vexe my braines in the unprofitable uſe of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Oſymandyas*, was wrought upon his monument; the moſt thereof in figures, which I thinke the *Egyptians* did fabulouſly expound. For whereas there was portrayed a great Army, with the ſeige of a Town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this the *Egyptians* ſaid to denote the conqueſt of *Bactria* made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly peice of work, which *Diodore* ſo particularly deſcribes, to have been erected for a common place of buriall to the ancient Kings and Queens of *Egypt*, and to their Viceroyes; whilſt yet they were not ſo ambitious, as every one to have his own particular monument, ſtriving therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many ſtatues therein placed, by the Wars, the judgement ſeate, the receiving of Tribute, the offering ſacrifice to God, the account of revenues, and plenty of all cattell and food: all which were there curiouſly wrought, ſhewing the ſeverall Offices of a Governour. On the Tomb of *Oſymandy* as was this inſcription. *I am* Oſymandyas *King of Kings; if any deſire to know what I am, or where I lye, let him exceed ſome of my works.* Let them that hope to exceed his works, labour to know what he was. But ſince by thoſe words, *Or where I lye*, it ſhould ſeem that he lay not there interred, we may lawfully ſuſpect that it was *Joſeph*, whoſe body was preſerved among the Hebrews, to be buried in the land of *Canaan*, and this empty monument might King *Orus*, who out lived him, erect in honour of his high deſerts, among the royall ſepulchres. To which purpoſe the plenty of Cattel and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name of *Oſymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; ſeeing *Joſeph* had one new name given him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dream, and might, upon further occaſions, have another to his increaſe of honour. As for that ſtile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerberg*, as the *Turkiſh Baſſaes* are called, that is, Great above the Great.

Now although it be ſo, that the reckoning fals out right, between the times of *Joſeph* & *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whoſe Viceroy *Joſeph* was) yet will I hereby ſeek, neither to fortifie mine own conjecture, as touching *Joſeph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Vchoreus*. For it might well be that *Memphis* was built by ſome ſuch King as was *Gehoar*, Lieutenant unto the Caliph *Elcaim*; who having to his Maſters uſe conquered *Egypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not far from old *Memphis*, the great Citie of *Cairo* (corruptly ſo pronounced) naming it *El Cahira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Miſtreſſe, though he himſelf were a *Dalmatian* ſlave. *John Leo. hiſt. Africa. l. 1. & 2.*

§. III.

Of Cherres, Armeus, Rameſſes, *and* Amenophis. Of Myris, *and the Lake that bears his name.*

WHen *Archerres* had reigned eight years, *Cherres* ſucceeded and held the kingdome fifteen years: then reigned *Armeus* five years, and after him *Rameſſes* threeſcore and eight. Of *Armeus and Rameſſes* is that Hiſtorie underſtood by *Euſebius*, which is common among the *Greeks*, under the names of *Danaus* and *Egyptus*. For it is ſaid that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtained the Kingdome of *Argos:* that he had fifty Daughters, whom upon ſeeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brothers fiftie ſons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the firſt night; that onely *Hipermneſtra*, one of his Daughters, did ſave her husband *Linceus*; and ſuffered him to eſcape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudy ſiſters, when they dyed, were enjoyned this fooliſh puniſhment in Hell, to fill a leaking veſſel with water.

The reign of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus* was *Danaus*, and *Rameſſes*, *Ægyptus*, is more than *Reineccius* believes: he rather takes *Armeus* to have been *Myris*, or *Meris*, who cauſed the great lake to be made which bears his name. For my own part, as I can eaſily beleive, that he which fled out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, was a man of ſuch qualitie as the Soldan *Sanar*, of whom we ſpake before; ſo do I not find how in ſo ſhort a reign, as five years, a work of that labour could be finiſhed, which was required unto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his own Sepulchre and his wives being ſome part, it is manifeſt that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whoſe age is uncertain, and of whoſe reigns we have no aſſurance, I may truly ſay, that their great vvorks are not enough to prove them of the houſe of *Pharaoh*, ſeeing that greater deeds are more abſolute, than

were thoſe of *Joſeph*, who bought all the people of *Egypt* as bondmen, and all their land for bread; of *Gehoar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Country Tributary; were performed by none of them.

It ſhall therefore be enough to ſet down the length of their reigns whom we find to have followed one another in order of ſucceſſion: but in rehearſing the great acts which were performed, I will not ſtand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris*, is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thouſand ſix hundred furlongs in compaſs, and fifty fadoms deep. It ſerved to receive the waters of *Nilus*, when the overflow, being too great, was harmful to the Country: and to ſupply the defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, when the river did not riſe high enough. In opening the ſluces of this lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were ſpent fifty talents; but the lake it ſelf defraied that coſt; ſeeing the tribute impoſed upon fiſh taken therein was every day one talent, which *Myris* gave to his Wife to buy ſweet Ointments and other Ornaments for her body. In the middeſt of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchres of *Myris* and his Wife, and over each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fifty paces high; having on the tops their ſtatues, ſitting in Thrones. I find not the deſcription of this Lake in Maps, anſwerable to the report of Hiſtorians: yet it is very great. The years of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* divided, by inſerting one *Armeſis* (whom *Euſebius* omits) that ſhould have reigned one year and odd moneths of the time: but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After *Rameſſes*, his ſon *Amenophis* held the Kingdom forty years. Some give him only nineteen years; and *Mercator* thinks him to have been the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I have already ſpoken in the firſt Book.

§. IV.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynaſty of the Larthes.

Ethoſis, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fifty five years. To him are aſcribed the famous acts of that antient *Seſoſtris*. But the ſtate of the World was not ſuch at theſe times, that ſo great an expedition as the old *Seſoſtris* made, could have been either eaſily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he paſſed, had it now been performed; as any man will perceive, if he look upon my Chronological Table, and conſider who lived with this *Zethus*. With this King began the Dynaſty of the *Larthes*; which *Reineccius* conjectures to have had the ſame ſignification, wherein the old Kings of *Hetruria* were called *Lartes*, (the *Hetrurians* being iſſued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Egypt*) and to have ſignified as much as *Imperator*, or *General*. The Wars in which theſe Kings were Generals, I take to have been againſt the *Æthiopians*: for ſure I am, that they troubled not the Country of *Palæſtina*, that lay next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the deſart ſands, on the other hand, to ſeek matter of conqueſt, in the poor Countries of *Africa*. But theſe Generals (if the *Larthes* were ſuch) were not many. Five only had that title; and the laſt of theſe took it, perhaps, as hereditary from the firſt; in ſuch ſort as the *Roman* Emperours were proud, for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the moſt unſuitable conditions of *Heliogabalus*, made his ſucceſſors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynaſties (as appears by this particular) took name from the Kings; that the Kings alſo did adminiſter the government themſelves, and that therefore I am deceived in aſcribing ſo much unto the Viceroys. But it is to be conſidered, that what is ſaid of theſe *Larthes*, depends only upon conjecture, and that the authority of the Regents, or Viceroys, might be great enough, though ſome few Kings took the conduct of Armies into their own hands. For ſo we find in *John Leo*, that the Soldan of *Egypt* (after ſuch time as the Soldan *Saladine*, murdering the Caliph, got the Soveraignty to himſelf) had under him a Viceroy, ſtiled *Eddaguadare*, who had authority to place, or diſplace, any Magiſtrates, or Officers; and that this mans Family was almoſt as great as the Soldans own. Yet was there alſo the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord General of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might, as he thought good, ſpend of the Soldans treaſure. So might the office of the Viceroys continue, though the Kings themſelves, taking the charge, or title of Generals upon them, did ſomewhat abridge the greatneſs of that ſecond place. As for the names of the Dynaſties, it ſkills not whence they were drawn; whether from their Country, as thoſe of the *Thebans* and *Diapolitans*; or from ſome eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many think, that the ſeventeenth

John Leo 8.

Dynaſty

Dynaſty was called of the Shepheards, becauſe *Joſeph* governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themſelves that reigned; as this was ſaid to be of the *Larthes* or Generals. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larthes* or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, forasmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Seſac*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the buſineſs which we left.

Rameſes was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethoſis*, threeſcore and ſix years. He is miſtaken for that ſecond *Seſoſtris*, of whom I have ſpoken in the firſt book. I find nothing worth rehearſal of this *Rameſes*, or of *Amenophis* and *Annemenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned forty, the latter ſix and twenty years. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by theſe as hereditary.

Thuoris, the laſt of the *Larthes*, reigned only ſeven years; yet is he thought to have been that *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, ſaying, That he took *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the ſack of *Troy*, reſtored her to *Menelaus*. I need ſay no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuoris* his reign laſted not ſo long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her reſtitution.

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by ſome) together with *Thon*, and others mentioned by *Greek* Writers in this buſineſs, or in other ſuch matters, may ſeem to be under-Officers: for ſuch only are like to have had their reſidence about *Pharos*, and the ſea-coaſt where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is ſaid that he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himſelf into all ſhapes: whereby is ſignified his crafty head, for which he is grown into a Proverb. The Poets feigned him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Neptune*'s Seal-fiſhes, for belike he was ſome under-Officer to the Admiral, having charge of the Fiſhing about the Iſle of *Pharos*, as was ſaid before.

Remphes the ſon of *Proteus* is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as alſo by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramſinitus*, and tells a long tale fit to pleaſe children, of his covetouſneſs, and how his treaſure-houſe was robbed by a cunning thief, that at laſt married his Daughter. But of this a man may believe what he liſt. How long this King reigned I know not, nor think that either he or his father did reign at all.

§. V.

Of the Egyptian *Kings, whoſe names are found ſcattering in ſundry Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of* Egypt, *according to* Cedrenus. *Of* Vaphres *and* Seſac.

MAny other names of *Egyptian* Kings are found ſcattered here and there; as *Tonepherſobis*, of whom *Suidas* delivers only the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the ſame that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Euenes*, noted by occaſion of a great Phyſician that lived under him; *Bunchyris*, recorded by the ſame *Suidas* for his great juſtice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as, that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gave name to the Iſle of *Thule*, which ſome take to be *Iſeland*; and that he conſulted with the Devil, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, deſiring to know, who before him had been, or after him ſhould be ſo mighty as himſelf. The anſwer or confeſſion of the Devil was remarkable; which I find Engliſhed in the tranſlation of *Pleſſis* his work *Of the trueneſs of Chriſtian Religion*. The *Greek* Verſes are ſomewhat otherwiſe, and much more imperfect in thoſe Copies that I have of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the ſenſe is all one; which is this:

Firſt God, *and next* The Word, *and then* The Spirit,
Which Three be One, *and joyn in* One *all Three:*
Whoſe force is endleſs. Get thee hence frail Wight,
The man of Life unknown excelleth thee.

I ſhould have thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found ſomewhat more in *Suidas* than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the form of invocation which *Thulis* uſed, and that clauſe of his giving name to the Iland: though in this laſt point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as alſo *Cedrenus* is, or (at leaſt) ſeems to me, in giving to this King ſuch profound antiquity of reign. Indeed the very name of that book, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Geneſis*, is alone enough to breed ſuſpicion of ſome impoſture: but the Frierly ſtuffe that he alledgeth out of it, is ſuch as would ſerve to diſcredit himſelf, were it not otherwiſe apparent that he was a man both devout, and of good judgment in matters that fell within his compaſs. I will here ſet down the liſt of old

old *Egyptian* Kings delivered by him, and leave the censure to others.

The first King of *Egypt* that he sets down, is *Mizraim* the son of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedegree thus: *Nimrod* the son of *Chus* was also called *Orion*, and further took upon him the name of the Planet *Saturn*, had to Wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own Linage, and by her three sons; *Picus*, surnamed *Jupiter*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*. *Picus* chasing his Father out of *Assyria* into *Italy*, reigned in his stead thirty years, and then gave up that Kingdom to *Juno* his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his son: after which *Belus*, who reigned only two years, *Ninus* had the Kingdom, and married his own Mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italy* to visit his old Father *Saturn*; *Saturn* forthwith resigned the Kingdom unto him. *Picus Jupiter* reigned in *Italy* threescore and two years, had threescore and ten Wives or Concubines, and about as many children: finally dyed, and lyes buried in the Isle of *Crete*. The Principal of *Jupiter*'s sons were *Faunus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercury*: he reigned in *Italy*, after his Father, five and thirty years, and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into *Egypt*, with abundance of Treasure, where, after the death of *Misraim*, he got the Kingdom, and held it nine and thirty years. After *Mercury* *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt*, four years and a half. Then *Sol*, the son of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty years and a half. There followed in order *Sosis*, *Osiris*, *Orus* and *Thules*, of whom we spake before: the length of their several reigns is not set down. After *Thules*, was the great *Sesostris* King twenty years. His successor was *Pharaoh*, called *Nare-cho*, that held the Crown fifty years, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharaoh*, to a very long posterity.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set down as I find them: let their credit rest upon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are said to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certain note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vain curiosity, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence, in omitting such as might have been added.

Clem. Strom. l. 1. Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.

Vaphres, the father in law to *Salomon*, and *Sesac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, lead us again into fair way, but not far. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* for it. These give us not the length of his reign; but we know that he lived in the times of *David* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Army, took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gave it to his daughter, *Salomon's* wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his son did favour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept so many Wives and Concubines, besides this *Egyptian* Princess. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath been written that I find of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his reign, which must have been six and twenty years, if he were that *Smendis* with whom *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynasty*.

1 Kings 9 16 & 11. v. 18 19, &c.

Now forasmuch as it would serve to no great purpose, that we knew the length of *Sesac* his reign, and of theirs that followed him, unless therewithall we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, upon which the rest have dependance; this course I take. From the fourth year of *Jehojakim* King of *Juda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was slain, I reckon upwards the years of the same *Neco*, and of his Predecessors, unto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which accompt, the first year of *Sesac* is found concurrent with the twentieth of *Salomon's* reign, and the twenty sixt of *Sesac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*, wherein *Sesac* spoiled the Temple, and dyed, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer than *Joas* the *Israelite*, and *Crassus* the *Roman* did; who after him spoiled the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

To fill up the time between *Sesac* and *Neco*, I have rather taken those Kings that I find in the *Greek* Historians, than them which are in *Eusebius* his Catalogue. For of those that are delivered by *Eusebius*, we find no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, save only of *Bocchoris*, who is remembred by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a King. Hereunto I may add, that the succession is often interrupted in *Eusebius* by *Æthiopians*, which got the Kingdom often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appears by the Prophet *Esay*, that the Counsellors of *Pharaoh* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, insomuch that they said of *Pharaoh*, *I am the son of the wise, I am the son of the ancient King.* But that which overthrows the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the Kings of *Juda*. For though it please him well to see how the reigns of *Josias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed mars all, the reign of *Josias* being misplaced. This errour grows from his omitting to compare the reigns of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion *Joram* King of *Israel* is made to reign three

Esay 19, 11

years

years after *Ahazia* of *Juda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanaſſar* before *Hezechia* was King: and in a word, all, or moſt of the Kings have their beginnings placed in ſome other year of their collaterals than the Scriptures have determined.

§. VI.

Of Chemnis, Cheops, Cephrenes, *and other Kings recited by* Herodotus *and* Diodorus Siculus, *which reigned between the times of* Rehoboam *and* Ezechia.

FOllowing therefore the *Greek* Hiſtorians, I place *Chemnis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chembis*, firſt in the rank of thoſe that were Kings after *Seſac*. He reigned fifty years, and built the greateſt of the three Pyramides, which was accounted one of this Worlds Wonders. The Pyramis hath his name from the ſhape, in that it reſembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottom upwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemnis* being four-ſquare, had a Baſe of ſeven acres every way, and was about ſix acres high. It was of a very hard and durable ſtone, which had laſted, when *Diodore* ſaw it, about a thouſand years, without complaining of any injury that it had ſuffered by weather in ſo long ſpace. From the reign of *Chemmis*, unto the age of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, wherein *Diodore* lived, are indeed a thouſand years; which doth give the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemnis* is placed. As for this and other Pyramides, late Writers do teſtifie, that they have ſeen them yet ſtanding.

Diodor. l. 1. After *Chemnis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his Brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his ſon *Chabreus* *Herod. l.* 2. ſucceeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreas*) and *Cephrenes* after him. Theſe are ſaid to have been brethren; but the length of their reigns may argue the latter to have been ſon to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fifty years; *Cephrenes* fifty ſix. Theſe were, as *Chemmis* had been, builders of *Pyramides*, whereby they purchaſed great hatred of their people, who already had overlaboured themſelves in erecting the firſt. Theſe Pyramides were ordained to be Tombs for thoſe that raiſed them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is ſaid to have caſt out their bodies, and to have called their Monuments by the name of an Heardſman that kept his Beaſts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entituling a poor fellow to their works, was held to be the caſting out of their bodies; otherwiſe it is hard to conceive how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoid the like ſlavery laid upon them by the younger brother or ſon, ſhould have power or leiſure to take ſuch revenge upon his Predeceſſor. To the like malice may be aſcribed the tale deviſed againſt *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father wanting money, did proſtitute her, and that ſhe getting of every man that accompanied her, one ſtone, did build with them a fourth Pyramis, that ſtood in the midſt of the other three. Belike ſhe was an inſolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery for her ſake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raiſing a Monument with the ſuperfluity of her Fathers proviſions.

Mycerinas the ſon of *Cephrenes* reigned after his Father ſix years. He would have built as his fore-goers did, but prevented by death, finiſhed not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King, for that he did ſet open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept ſhut. But an Oracle threatned him with a ſhort life of ſix years only, becauſe of this his devotion; *For* (ſaid the Oracle) *Egypt ſhould have been afflicted an hundred and fifty years, which thy Predeceſſors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou haſt releaſed it, therefore ſhalt thou live but ſix years.* It is very ſtrange, that the gods ſhould be offended with a King for his piety; or that they ſhould decree to make a Country impious, when the people were deſirous to ſerve them; or that they having ſo decreed, it ſhould lye in the power of a King to alter deſtiny, and make the ordinance of the gods to fail in taking full effect. But theſe were *Egyptian* gods. The true god was doubtleſs more offended with the inſtitution of ſuch Idolatry, than with the interruption. And who knows whether *Chemnis* did not learn ſomewhat at *Jeruſalem* in the laſt year of his Father *Seſac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to thoſe that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* ſuperſtition? Moſt ſure it is, that his reign, and the reigns of *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* were more long and more happy than that of *Mycerinas*, who, to delude the Oracle, revelled away both dayes and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into dayes, and ſo doubled the time appointed: a ſervice more pleaſing to the Devil, than the reſtitution of Idolatry durſt then ſeem, when it could ſpeed no better. I find in *Reineccius* fifty years aſſigned to this King; which I verily believe to have been ſome errour of the print, though I find it not corrected among other ſuch overſights: For I know no Author

that

that gives him so many years, and *Reineccius* himself takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned *Mycerinus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bocchorus is placed next unto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by divers Authors, as one that loved justice; and may be taken for that *Banchyris* whom *Suidas* commends in that kind: *Eusebius* reckons 44. years of his reign.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Æthiopian* follows in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certain ages after him. *Herodotus* quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Asychis*; who made a sharp law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paid. This *Asychis* made a Pyramis of brick, more costly and fair, in his own judgment, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Asyckis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anysis*, a blind man, before the *Æthiopian*. The reigns of these two are perhaps those many ages which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted between *Bocchorus* and him that followed them. But all this could make but six years; and so long doth *Functius*, so long doth *Reineccius* hold, that these two Kings between them both did govern. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it unprobable that the reigns of two Kings should have been so soon spent; he may do it by taking some years from *Sethon* or *Psammiticus*, and adding them to either of these. To add unto these without subtracting from some other, would breed a manifest inconvenience: for-asmuch as part of *Sesac* his reign, must have been in the fifth of *Rehoboam*, as also the last of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, and the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine own part, I like it better to allow six years only to these two Kings, than to lose the witness of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speak of *Sennacherib*'s War, at which time *Sethon* was King of *Egypt*. I will not therefore add years unto these obscure names; for by adding unto these men three years, we shall thrust the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him in his *Egyptian* Kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great envy to leave both *Asychis* and *Anysis* out of the roll, which were easily done by placing *Sesac* lower,, and extending his life yet six years further, or more (if the like abridgment shall be required of *Psammiticus* his reign) into the years of *Rehoboam*.

1 *King.* 14. 25. 2 *Chron.* 12. *v.* 2.

Of *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian*, who took the Kingdom from *Anysis*, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fifty years. He was a merciful Prince, not punishing all capital offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whose toil he both got much wealth into his own hands, letting out their service to hire, and performed many works of more use than pomp, to the singular benefit of the Countrey. *Zonoras* calls this King *Sua*; the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hosea*, the last King of *Israel*, made a league with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserve the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seems, that the encroaching power of the *Assyrian* grew terrible to *Egypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulassar* and *Salmanassar* having eaten so far into *Syria*, in the reign of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his dayes (for his reign began in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himself did make the first entrance into *Palæstina*. This caused *So* to animate the half-subdued people against their Conquerors; but the help which he and his Successor gave them was so faint, that *Sennacherib*'s Embassador compared the *Egyptian* succour to a broken staffe of Reed. Such indeed had *Hosea* found it, and such *Ezechia* might have found it, had he not been supported by the strong staffe of him that ruleth all Nations with a rod of iron. It appeareth by the words of *Rabsake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, *for Chariots and Horse-men*; but this power, whatsoever it was, grew needful, within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it self, which *So* left unto *Sethon* his Successor, having now fulfilled the fifty years of his reign. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this King; saying, that he left the Country, and willingly retired into *Æthiopia*, because it was often signified unto him in his dreams, by the god which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his reign should be neither long nor prosperous, unless he slew all the Priests in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he resigned his Kingdom. Surely, these *Egyptian* gods were of a strange quality, that so ill rewarded their servants, and invited Kings to do them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewise did) worship Dogs as gods, when their chief gods had the

2 *King.* 18. 25.

property

property of Dogs, which love their Masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should have feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it might be some device of the fearful old man, who seeing his Realm in danger of an invasion, sought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and withdrawing himself into *Æthiopia*, where he had been bred in his youth. What if I should say, that the *Æthiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an Army against *Sennacherib*, when he meant to invade *Egypt* within two or three years after? but I will not trouble my self with much enquiry. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabacus* was not indeed an *Æthiopian* (for in his time lived the Prophet *Esay*, who mentioneth the antiquity of *Pharaohs* house) but only so surnamed for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the Kingdom from *Anysis*, who was his opposite. The quiet and mild form of his government, his holding the Kingdom so long without an Army, and many other circumstances argue no less. But whether finally he betook a private life, or whether he fore-went his life and Kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and speak of *Sethon* his next Successor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembred by *Herodotus*, by a sure token of his having been King.

§. VII.

Of Sethon *who reigned with* Ezechia, *and sided with him against* Sennacherib.

THE first year of *Sethon's* reign falls into the twelfth of *Ezechia*, which was the fift of *Sennacherib*. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdoms of *Assyria* and *Egypt*, being then ingaged in a War, the issue whereof was to determine whether of them should rule or serve. The *Assyrian* had the better men of War; the *Egyptian* better provision of necessaries: the *Assyrian* more Subjects; the *Egyptian* more Friends: and among the new conquered half Subjects of *Assur*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Assyrian* in outward shew.

Of this last sort were *Ezechia* and his people; who knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them against his own great Enemy, preferred the friendship of so near and mighty a Neighbour, before the service of a terrible, yet far removed King. But herein was great difference between *Ezechia* and his Subjects: For the good King fixing his especial confidence in God, held that course of policy, which he thought most likely to turn to the benefit of his Country; the multitude of *Judæa* looking into the fair hopes which this *Egyptian* league promised, were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not need to fear any more of those injuries which they had suffered by the *Assyrians*; and so became forgetful of God, *taking counsel, but not of him.* The Prophet *Esay* complained much of this presumption; giving the people of *Juda* to understand, That *the* Egyptians *were men, and not God, and their Horses flesh, and not spirit*; that God himself should defend *Israel* upon repentance, and that Assur *should fall by the sword, but not of man.* As for the *Egyptians* (said the Prophet) *they are vanity, and they shall help in vain, their strength is to sit still.* *Esay* 30. 2. *Esay* 31. v. 3. and 8. *Esay* 30. 7. *Esay* 3 4.

According to the Prophets words it came to pass. For in the treaty of Confederacy that was held at *Zoan*, all manner of contentment and assurance was given to the *Jews* by *Sethon*, or his Agents, who filled them with such reports, of Horses and Chariots, that they did *not look* (as *Esay* saith) *unto the holy One of* Israel, *nor seek unto the Lord. But he yet is wisest.* *Esay* 31. 1, 2

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Army, and wakened them out of these dreams; for *Sethon* their good Neighbour, as near as he was, did seem far off, being unready, when his help was most needful. It may seem that he purposed rather to make *Palæstina*, than *Egypt*, the stage whereon this great War should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Assyrians* and *Jews*, weakning one another, should yeild unto him a fair advantage over both. Yet he fought with money; for he sent Horses and Camels laden with treasure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Esay* calleth *a people that cannot profit.* These *Arabians* did not profit indeed; for (besides that it seems by the same place of *Esay*, that the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any help appeared from *Tirhaca*) all the strong Cities of *Juda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Jerusalem* it self, which were in sore distress, till the sword of God and not of Man, defeated the *Assyrian*, who did go, *for fear, to his Tower*, that is, he fled to *Nineve*, where he was slain. *Esay* 30. 6. *Esay* 31. 9.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against *Egypt*, where the men of War, being offended with *Sethon* their King, who had taken away their allowance, re-

fused to bear arms in defence of him and their Country; that *Sethon* being *Vulcan's* Priest bemoaned himself to his god, who by dream promised to send him helpers; that hereupon *Sethon*, with such as would follow him, (which were craftsmen, shop-keepers, and the like) marched towards *Pelusium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Camp of *Senacherib* by night, did so gnaw the bows, quivers, and straps of his mens armour, that they were fain the next day to fly away in all haste, finding themselves disarmed. In memory hereof (saith *Herodotus*) the statue of this King is set up in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouse in his hand, with this inscription, *Let him that holds me serve God.* Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Priests, wherein how far they swarved from the truth, being desirous to magnifie their own King, it may easily be perceived. It seems that this Image of *Sethon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did forbear to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Jews* was then well known to the world, whereof every child could have told how much falshood had been mingled with the truth.

We find this history agreeable to the Scriptures, thus far forth; That *Senacherib* King of the *Assyrians* and *Arabians*, (so *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peradventure some borderers upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made War upon *Egypt*, and was miraculously driven home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleasure that *Vulcan* did unto his Priest, happy it was (if *Sethon* were a Priest) that he took his god now in so good a mood: For within three or four years before this, all the Priests in *Egypt* should have been slain, if the merciful King had not spared their lives, as it were half against the gods will. Therefore this last good turn was not enough to serve as an example, that might stir up the *Egyptians* to piety, seeing that their devotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I think, that this Image did represent *Senacherib* himself, and that the Mouse in his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expressing things) the shameful issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Army, by means which came no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, shewed upon this ungodly King, was indeed a very good motive to piety. But the Embleme, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chief Temple in that Town where this Image was erected) might give occasion to such a fable; the Divel helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Devil, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon* finding himself in danger, did call upon his gods, that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had most devotion. But so had other of his predecessors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the *Jews* (even such of them as were most given to Idolatry) would have been ashamed of the confidence which they reposed *in the Chariots of Egypt, because they were many, and in the Horsemen, because they were very strong*; had it been told them, that *Sethon*, instead of sending those Horse-men and Chariots, was beseeching *Vulcan* to send him and them good luck; or else (for these also were *Egyptian* gods) addressing their prayers to some Onyon or Cat. Howsoever it was, doubtless the Prophecy of *Esay* took effect, which said, *They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor do them good, but shall be a shame & also a reproach.* Such is commonly the issue of humane wisdom, when resting secure upon provision that it self hath made, it will no longer seem to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to have been set down by *Eusebius* under the name of *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian*; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reign of *Sethon*. These have well observed that *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Country, or at least an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the war last spoken of; the *Æthiopians* (as they are englished) over which he reigned, being indeed *Chushites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one King for another. But whereas they think that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka* is placed in the room of *Sethon*, and therefore give to *Sethon* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Æthiopian* (as he is called) began his reign over *Egypt*, by *Eusebius* his accompt, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezechia*, in the first year of *Manasses* King of *Juda*. Therefore he or his years have no reference to *Sethon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned; *Functius* peremptorily citing no Author, nor alledging reason for it, sets him down thirty three years; many omit him quite; and they that name him are not careful

ful to examine his continuance. In this caſe, I follow that rule which I propounded unto my ſelf at the firſt, for meaſuring the reigns of theſe *Egyptian* Kings. The years which paſſed from the fifth of *Rehoboam*, unto the fourth of *Jehojakim*, I ſo divide among the *Egyptians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author in whom he is found, the reſt is to be conferred upon him whoſe length of reign is uncertain; that is, upon this *Sethon*. By this accompt I find the thirty three years that are ſet down by *Funcius*, to agree very nearly, if not preciſely, with the time of *Sethon*'s reign; therefore I conform my own reckoning to his, though I could be content to have it one year leſs. The reaſon of this computation I ſhall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Pſammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the courſe of this Hiſtory will ſhortly bring me, the *Egyptian* affairs growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meet that I return.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manaſſes, *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

The wickedneſs of Manaſſes. *His impriſonment, repentance, and death.*

MAnaſſe the Son of *Ezechias*, forgetting the piety of his Father, and the proſperity which followed him, ſet up, repaired, adorned and furniſhed all the Altars, Temples and high Places, in which the Devil was by the Heathen worſhipped. Beſides, he himſelf eſteemed the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, with all the Hoaſt of heaven, as gods, and worſhipped them: and of all his acts the moſt abominable was, that he burnt his ſons for a Sacrifice to the Devil *Moloch* or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhinnon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Devils.

He alſo gave himſelf to all kind of Witchcraft and Sorcery, accompanied and maintained thoſe that had familiar Spirits, and all ſorts of Enchanters: beſides, he ſhed ſo much innocent bloud, as *Jeruſalem* was repleniſhed therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverent Prophet *Eſay* (who was alſo of the Kings race, and as the *Jews* affirm, the Father-in-law of the King) he cauſed the Prophet near unto the Fountain of *Siloe*, to be ſawn in ſunder with a wodden Saw, in the eightieth year of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monſtrous than hath been heard of. The Scriptures indeed are ſilent hereof, yet the ſame is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Iſidore*, *Euſebius*, and others, too many to rehearſe, and too good to be ſuſpected. *Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captains of the Hoaſt of the Kings of* Aſhur, *which took* Manaſſe, *and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains,* 2 Chron. 33. 11. *and carried him to Babel:* Where, after he had lyen twenty years as a captive, and diſpoiled of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continual prayer, the God of infinite mercy had reſpect, and moved the *Aſſyrians* heart to deliver him:

It is alſo likely that *Merodach*, becauſe he loved his father *Ezechias*, was the eaſilier perſwaded to reſtore *Manaſſe* to his liberty and eſtate. After which, and when he was again eſtabliſhed, remembring the miſeries which followed his wickedneſs, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed form, deteſted his former fooliſh and devilliſh Idolatry, and caſt down the Idols of his own erecting, prepared the Altar of God, and ſacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Jeruſalem*: and dyed after the long reign of fifty five years. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manaſſe* was held in a cage of iron by the *Aſſyrians*: and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may believe as it ſhall pleaſe their fancies.

Juſt. Martyr Cedrenus c. 91. Glycas pa. 275. Tertull. de Pat.

§. II.

Of troubles in Egypt *following the death of* Sethor. *The reign of* Pſammiticus.

THat the wickedneſs of King *Manaſſes* was the cauſe of the evil which fell upon

on his Kingdome and perſon, any Chriſtian muſt needs believe: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the ſtate of things in thoſe parts of the World ſuch, at that time, as would have invited any Prince (and did perhaps invite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleaſure, upon reſpect born to his own ends, deſirous to enlarge his Empire) to make attempt upon *Juda*. For the kingdom of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar whereon the ſtate of *Juda* leaned, about theſe times was miſerably diſtracted with civill diſſention, and after two years ill amended by a diviſion of the government between twelve Princes. After ſome good agreement between theſe, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their collegues, and were all finally ſubdued by him, who made himſelf abſolute King of all. This *Inter-regnum*, or meer *Anarchie* that was in *Egypt*, with the diviſion of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Diodore* who omitteth *Sethon*, between the reign of *Sabacus* and *Pſammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth ſet the *Ariſtocratie*, or twelve Governours immediatly before *Pſammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occaſion of this diſſention ſeems to have bin the uncertainty of title to that Kingdom (for that the crown of *Egypt* paſſed by ſucceſſion of bloud, I have often ſhewed) which ended for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not ſettled untill one had obtained the Soverainty.

Theſe twelve Rulers governed fifteen years in good ſeeming agreement, which to preſerve, they made ſtrait covenant and alliances one with another, being jealous of their eſtate, becauſe an Oracle had foretold, that one of them ſhould depoſe all the reſt, noting him by this token, that he ſhould make a drink-offering in *Vulcan's* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whileſt this unity laſted, they joyned together in raiſing a Monument of their Dominion; which was a Labyrinth, built near unto the Lake of *Meris*; a work ſo admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, vvho beholding it, affirms) no vvords could give it commendation anſwerable to the ſtatelineſſe of the vvork it ſelf, I vvill not here ſet down that unperfect deſcription vvhich *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to ſay that he prefers it far before the Pyramides, one of vvhich (as he ſaith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, or any of the faireſt vvorks in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to have bin the work of *Marus* or *Menides*, a King vvhich lived five generations before *Proteus*, that is before the Warr of *Troy*, and from this Labyrinth (ſaith he) *Dædalus* took the pattern of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reyneccius* takes him to have bin *Annemenes*, which reigned immediately before *Thuoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*, for *Dædalus* & *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was King. Belike *Reyneccius*, deſiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Chæremon* and others, that are found in *Joſephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children to the ſtory of *Amaſis* and *Actiſanes* the *Æthiopian* mentioned by *Diodore*; held it conſequent, after he had conjectured *Manethon's Amenophis* to be *Diodorus* his *Amaſis*; that *Sethon* ſhould be *Actiſanes*, and that *Annemenes* ſhould be *Marus*. If in this caſe I might intrude a conjecture, the times which we now handle are thoſe about which *Reyneccius* hath erred in making ſearch *Amaſis* was *Anyſis*, *Actiſanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of theſe twelve Princes to whom *Herodotus* gives the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Actiſanes* the *Æthiopian* depoſed *Amaſis*; *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian* depoſed *Anyſis*; *Actiſanes* governed well, and was mild in puniſhing offenders; ſo likewiſe was *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next King after *Actiſanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (ſaving *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the ſame work, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to hear the truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein *Diodore* believed the Prieſts, might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanity, which was familiar with them in multiplying their Kings, and boaſting of their antiquities. Here I might add, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other circumſtances remembred by *Herodotus*, in ſpeaking of this building, do help to prove that it was the work of theſe twelve Princes. But I haſten to their end.

Joſ. con. App. 1.

At a ſolemn feaſt in *Vulcan's* Temple, when they were to make their drink-offerings, the Prieſt, forgetting himſelf, brought forth no more than eleven Cups, Hereupon, *Pſammiticus*, who ſtanding laſt, had not a Cup, took off his brazen Helmet; and therewith ſupplyed the want, This cauſed all the reſt to remember the Oracle, and to ſuſpect him as a Traytor, yet, when they found that it was done by him upon ſet purpoſe or ill intent, they forbear to kill him, but being jealous of their eſtate, they baniſhed him into the mariſh Countries by the Sea ſide. This Oracle, and the event is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which

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I believe to have bin none other: In the reſt *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, ſaying that *Pſammiticus* hired Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whoſe aid he vanquiſht his Companions, and made himſelf ſole King.

The years of his reign, according to *Herodotus*, were fifty four; according to *Euſebius*, forty four; *Mercator*, to reconcile theſe two, gives forty four years to his ſingle reign, and ten to his ruling joyntly with the Princes before ſpoken of. Indeed, he that was admitted, being a man grown (for he cannot in reaſon be ſuppoſed to have been then a young fellow) into the number of the twelve Governours, muſt be thought to have lived unto extream age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threeſcore and nine years. I therefore yield rather to *Euſebius*; but will not adventure to cut five years from the *Ariſtocraty*: though peradventure *Pſammiticus* was not at firſt one of the twelve, but ſucceeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of ſome Prince that dyed, and was ten years companion in that government.

Another ſcruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The years of the *Egyptians*, as we find them ſet down, are more by one, than ſerve to fill up the time between the fift of *Rehoboam* and the fourth of *Jehojakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we muſt abate one year from *Sethon's* reign, that was of uncertain length, or elſe (which I had rather do, becauſe *Funccius* may have followed better authority than I know, or than himſelf alledgeth, in giving to *Sethon* a time ſo nearly agreeing with the truth) we muſt confound the laſt year of one reign with the firſt of another. Such a ſuppoſition were not inſolent. For no man can ſuppoſe, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are ſet down in Chronologicall tables, reigned preciſely ſo many years as are aſcribed unto them, without any fractions: it is enough to think that the ſurpluſage of one mans times ſupplyed the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the laſt year of thoſe fifteen, wherein the twelve Princes ruled, with the firſt of *Pſammiticus*; who ſurely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himſelf Lord alone all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the firſt in *Egypt* who entertained any ſtrait amity with the *Greeks*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gave large rewards and poſſeſſions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by beſtowing them in the left wing of his Army, whileſt his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made in *Syria*. Upon this diſgrace it is ſaid, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thouſand, forſook their natural Country of *Egypt*, and went into *Æthiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind Meſſages, nor by the King himſelf, who over-took them on the way; but when he told them of their Countrey, their Wives and Children, they anſwered, that their weapons ſhould get them a Countrey, and that nature had enabled them to get other Wives and Children.

It is alſo reported of him, That he cauſed two Infants to be brought up in ſuch ſort, as they might not hear any word ſpoken; by which means, he hoped to find out what Nation or Language was moſt ancient; foraſmuch as it ſeemed likely, that nature would teach the children to ſpeak that Language which men ſpake at the firſt. The iſſue hereof was, that the children cryed, *Beccus*, *Beccus*, which word being found to ſignifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, ſerved greatly to magnify the *Phrygian* antiquity. *Goropius*, *Becanus* makes no ſmall matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*; in which the word *Becker* ſignifies (as Baker in Engliſh) a maker of bread. He that will turn over any part of *Goropius* his works, may find enough of this kind, to perſwade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarks uſed none other tongue than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confuſion of languages at *Babel*, the name it ſelf of *Babel* being alſo *Dutch*, and given by occaſion of this confuſion; for that there they began to babble and talk one knew not what.

But I will not inſiſt upon all that is written of *Pſammiticus*. The moſt regardable of his acts was the ſiege of *Azotus* in *Palæſtina*, about which he ſpent nine and twenty years. Never have we heard (ſaith *Herodotus*) that any City endured ſo long a ſiege as this; yet *Pſammiticus* carryed it at the laſt. This Town of *Azotus* had been won by *Tartan* a Captain of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it ſeemeth, relieved, but in vain, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out ſo well.

§. III.

What reference theſe Egyptian matters might have to the impriſonment and enlargement of Manaſſes. *In what part of his reign* Manaſſes *was taken priſoner.*

WEre it certainly known, in what year of his reign *Manaſſes* was taken priſoner,

ſoner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty, I think we ſhould find theſe *Egyptian* troubles to have been no ſmall occaſion both of his captivity and enlargement: God ſo diſpoſing of humane actions, that even they, who intended onely their own buſineſs, fulfilled onely his high pleaſure. For either the civil Wars of *Egypt* that followed upon the death of *Sethon*, or the renting of the Kingdom, as it were, into twelve pieces, or the War between *Pſalmmiticus* and his Collegues, or the expedition of *Pſalmmiticus* into *Syria*, and the ſiege of *Azotus*, might miniſter unto the *Babylonian*, either ſuch cauſe of hope to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts, or ſuch neceſſity of ſending an Army into thoſe parts, to defend his own, as would greatly tempt him to make ſure work with the King of *Juda*. The ſame occaſion ſufficed alſo to procure the delivery of *Manaſſes*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Joſephus* hath it) by ſubtilty, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, win his Countrey, but onely waſt it. So that the *Jews*, having learned wit by the ill ſucceſs of their folly, in redeeming *Amazia*, were like to be more circumſpect, in making their bargain upon ſuch another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Egyptian* matters preſented more weighty argument of hope and fear, than the little Kingdom of *Juda* could afford) had no reaſon to ſpend his forces in purſuing a ſmall conqueſt, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he ſhould compell his mightieſt enemies to come to ſome good agreement; when by quiting his preſent advantage over the *Jews*, he might make his way the fairer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the year of *Manaſſes* his reign, wherein he was taken priſoner; or concerning his captivity it ſelf, how long it laſted, the Scriptures are ſilent, and *Joſephus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Torniellus* three opinions: the one of *Bellarmine*, who thinks that *Manaſſes* was taken in the fifteenth year of his reign; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronology*, who affirms, that it was in his twenty ſeventh year; the third of *Rabbi Kimki* upon *Ezechiel*, who ſaith, that he was forty years an Idolater, and lived fifteen years after his repentance. The firſt of their conjectures is upheld by *Torniellus*, who rejects the ſecond, as more unprobable, and condemns the third as moſt falſe. Yet the reaſons alledged by *Torniellus* in defence of the firſt, and refutation of the opinion, are ſuch, as may rather prove him to favour the *Cardinal* as far as he may, (for where need requires, he doth freely diſſent from him) than to have uſed his accuſtomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gave his judgment. Two arguments he brings to maintain the opinion of *Bellarmine:* the one, that *Ammon* the ſon of *Manaſſes*, is ſaid by *Joſephus* to have followed the works of his fathers youth; the other, that had *Manaſſes* grown old in his ſins, *it is like that he ſhould have continued, as he did*, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of theſe arguments, I ſee no reaſon why the ſins of *Manaſſes* might not be diſtinguiſhed from his repentance in his old age, by calling them *works of his youth*, which appeared when he was twelve years old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimki*) untill he was but fifteen years from death. Touching the ſecond; howſoever it be a fearfull thing, to caſt off unto the laſt thoſe good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us again; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the ſins which are not forſaken before the age of two and fifty years, ſhall be puniſhed with finall impenitencie. But againſt theſe two collections of *Torniellus*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, That *Manaſſes* continued longer in his wickedneſſe than *Bellarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimki* hath affirmed. In the ſecond book of *Kings*, the evill which *Manaſſes* did, is remembred at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; ſo that his amendment may ſeem to have taken up no great part of his life? the ſtorie of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth Chapter: *Concerning the reſt of the Acts of* Manaſſes, *and all that he did, and his ſin that he ſinned, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of* Juda? the other place is in the four and twentieth Chapter of the ſame Book, where, in rehearſing the calamities with which that Nation was puniſhed in the time of *Jehojakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manaſſes*, it is ſaid; *Surely by the commandement of the Lord came this upon* Juda, *that he might put them out of his ſight, for the ſins of* Manaſſes, *according to all that he did, and for the innocent bloud that he ſhed (for he filled* Jeruſalem *with innocent bloud) therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* Who ſo conſiders well theſe places, may find ſmall cauſe to pronounce it moſt falſe, That the repentance and amendment of *Manaſſes* was no earlier than fifteen years before his death; or moſt probable, That when he was twenty ſeven years old, he repented, and

2 King. 21. 17.

2 King. 24. 3. 4.

and becomming a new man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer diſpute about this matter, ſeeing that the truth cannot be diſcovered. It ſufficeth to ſay, that two years of civill diſſentions in *Egypt* fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened by partition of the Soveraigntie: the war of *Pſammiticus* againſt his Aſſociates: and four and twenty years of the nine and twenty, wherein the ſiege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manaſſes*, did leave no one part of his reign (after the firſt fifteen years) free from the danger of being oppreſſed by the *Babylonian*, whoſe men of war had continuall occaſions of viſiting his Countrey. All which I will adde hereto, is this; that the fifteenth of *Manaſſes* was the laſt year of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his reign, or (accounting from the death of *Aſarhaddon*) the twentieth: The ſeven and twentieth of *Manaſſes* was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twenty third of *Pſammiticus*. and the fifth of *Nabulaſſar*, the ſon of *Merodach*, in *Babylon:* but which of theſe was the year of his impriſonment, or whether any other, I forbear to ſhew mine opinion, leſt I ſhould thereby ſeem to draw all matters over-violently to mine own computation.

This was the firſt great maſterie that the *Babylonians* had of the kingdome of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promiſed Tribute to *Salmanaſſar*, yet *Ezechias* never payed it. True it is, that he hoped to ſtay *Senacherib's* enterpriſe againſt him, by preſenting him with three hundred talents of ſilver, and thirty of gold, beſides the plate which covered the doores and pillars of the Temple. 2 *Kin.* 18.

But *Manaſſes* being preſſed with great neceſſitie, could refuſe no tolerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impoſe upon him; among which it ſeems, that this was one, (which was indeed a point of ſervitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whileſt they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not only by his fortifiing with men of war all the ſtrong Cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather againſt *Pſammiticus*, whoſe party he had forſaken than againſt the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controverſie) but likewiſe by that oppoſition, which *Joſias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in favour of *Nabulaſſar*, which had been againſt all reaſon and policie, if it had not been his dutie by covenant. Of this I will ſpeak more in convenient place.

§. IV.

Of the firſt and ſecond Meſſenian *Wars, which were in the reigns of* Ezechia *and* Manaſſes, *Kings of* Juda.

NOw concerning ſuch actions as were performed abroad in the world, about theſe times of *Manaſſes*, the moſt remarkable were the *Meſſenian* Wars; which happened in this age, and being the greateſt action performed in *Greece*, between the *Trojan* and *Perſian* Wars, deſerve not to be paſſed over with ſilence.

The firſt *Meſſenian* War began and ended in the daies of *Ezechia*; the ſecond in the reign of *Manaſſes:* but to avoyd the trouble of interrupting our Hiſtorie, I have thought it beſt to rehearſe them both in this place. Other introduction is needleſſe, than to ſay, that the poſteritie of *Hercules*, driving the iſſue of *Pelops* and the *Achæans* out of their ſeats, divided their lands between themſelves, and erected the kingdomes of *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Meſſene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a vvhile, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and ſought one anothers ruine with bloody wars; whereof theſe *Meſſenian* were the greateſt.

The pretended grounds of the *Meſſenian* war are ſcarce worth remembrance, they were ſo ſlight. Ambition was the true cauſe of it: vvherewith the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo tranſported, that any thing ſerved them as a colour to accompliſh their greedy deſires. Yet other matter was alledged; namely, that one *Polychares* a *Meſſenian* had ſlain many *Lacedæmonians*, for which the Magiſtrates of *Sparta* deſiring to have him yeilded into their hands, could not obtain it. The *Meſſenians* on the other ſide, excuſed *Polychares*, for that he was grown frantick, through injuries received from *Euæphnes* a *Lacedæmonian*. This *Euæphnes* had bargained to give paſture to the Cattel of *Polychares*, and was therefore to receive part of the increaſe: but not contented with the gain appointed, he ſold the Cattel, and ſlaves that keep them, to Merchants; which done, he came with a fair tale to his friend, ſaying, that they were ſtollen. Whilſt the lye was yet ſcarce out of his mouth, one of the ſlaves that had eſcaped from the Merchants came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedæmonian* being thus deprehended, confeſſed all, and promiſed large amends; which to receive he carried the ſon of *Polychares* home with him, but having him at home, he villanouſly ſlew him. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* having refuſed, after long ſute made by the wretched Father,

Father, to do him right against this Theife and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrel out of those things which he did in that madness, whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Messenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compremise, or stand unto the judgement of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the general Council of *Greece*, or to any other fair course. But the *Lacedæmonians*, who had a great desire to occupie the fair Country of *Messene*, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough to have some shew for their doings; which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and so without sending any defiance, secretly took an oath to hold War with *Messene* till they had mastered it: which done, they seized upon *Amphia*, a frontier Town of that Province, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercy, very few escaped.

Hereupon the *Messenians* took Arms, and were met by the Enemy. A furious battel was fought between them, which ended not until dark night, with uncertain victory. The *Messenians* did strongly encamp themselves; The *Lacedæmonians*, unable to force their Camp, returned home. This War began in the second year of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the first of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, having lasted twenty years. The two enemy Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces, the *Lacedæmonians* wasting the inland parts of *Messene*; and the *Messenians*, the Sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both sides, were called in to help. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, took part with *Messene*; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subjects of their own, aid from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a second, third, and fourth battel were fought, with as great obstinacy as the first; saving that in the fourth battel the *Lacedæmonians* were enforced to turn their backs; in the other fights, the victory was still uncertain, though in one of them the *Messenians* lost *Euphaes* their King, in whose stead they chose *Aristodemus*.

Many years were spent ere all this blood was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of money to entertain Souldiers, caused the war to linger. And for the same reasons, did the *Messenians* forsake all their inland towns, excepting *Ithome*, which was a Mountain with a Town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to do. But, as some Authors tell us, the *Lacedæmonians* were so obstinate in this War, because of their vow, that having absented themselves ten years from *Sparta*, their wives sent them word, that their City would grow unpeopled, by reason that no children had been born them in all that time: Whereupon they sent back all their ablest young men, promiscuously to accompany the young women, who got so many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* refers the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time. But in process of this *Messenian* War, when the Devil in an Oracle had advised the *Messenians* to sacrifice a Virgin of the stock of * *Ægyptus*, that so they might be victorious against the *Lacedæmonians*; the lot falling upon the Daughter of one *Lyciscus*, *Epibolus* the Priest, willing to save her, said, she was only a fostered child, and not born of the wife of *Lyciscus*: which answer giving delay to the execution of the Maid, *Lyciscus* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Aristodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his own Daughter: but a young Nobleman, being in love with the Maid, when otherwise he could not prevail, said openly that she was no Virgin, but that he had defloured her, & got her with child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up his innocent Daughters belly to disprove the Lovers slander: at the grave of which Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other superstitions, into dispair of prevailing against the *Lacedæmonians*, he slew himself, to the great hurt of his Countrey, which he loved most dearly. For after his death the *Messenians* lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craved peace, which they obtained with most rigorous conditions. Half the yearly fruits of their Land they were bound to send unto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wives, to make solemn lamentations at the death of every *Spartan* King; they were also sworn to live in true subjection to the *Lacedæmonians*; and part of their Territory was taken from them, which was given to the *Asmæi*, and such as had followed the *Spartans* in this War.

Diod. l. 7.

* This Ægyptus was the youngest son of Crespho by Merope, the daughter of Cypselus King of Arcadia: of which Crespho the chief Nobility of the Messenians was propagated.

This peace being made upon so uneven terms, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty years it continued (the *Messenians* not finding how to help themselves) and then brake out into a new and more furious War than the former. The able young men, that were grown up in the room of those *Messenians* whom the former War had consumed, began to consider their own strength and multitude, thinking themselves equal to the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore scorned

Strab. l. 6. Oros. l. 2. c. 21.

to

to ſerve ſuch Maſters as had againſt all right, oppreſſed their Fathers. The chief of theſe was *Ariſtomenes*, a Noble Gentleman of the houſe of *Ægyptus*; who perceiving the uniform deſires of his Country-men, adventured to become their Leader. He therefore ſounding the affections of the *Argives* and *Arcadians*, which he found throughly anſwerable to his purpoſe, began open war upon the State of *Lacedæmon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedæmonians* haſted to quench the fire before it ſhould grow too hot, with ſuch forces as they could raiſe of their own without troubling their friends, meaning to deal with their enemies, ere any ſuccour were lent them. So a ſtrong battel was fought between them, and a doubtfull; ſave that the *Meſſenians* were pleaſed with the iſſue, foraſmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords to think them their equalls. Particularly; the valour of *Ariſtomenes* appeared ſuch in this fight, that his people would have made him their King: but he, refuſing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one year another battel was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedæmonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and ſome other friends to help; the *Meſſenians* had the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This alſo was a long and bloudy fight; but *Ariſtomenes* did ſo behave himſelf, that finally he made the Enemies run for their lives. Of ſuch importance was this victory, that the *Lacedæmonians* began to bethink themſelves of making ſome good agreement. But one *Tyrtæus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-inforced their ſpirits with his Verſes. After this, *Ariſtomenes* took by ſurpriſe a Town in *Laconia*, and vanquiſhed in fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did ſet upon him in hope to have recovered the booty.

But all thoſe victories of *Ariſtomenes* periſhed, in the loſs of one battell, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or ſurely the profit, fell upon the *Lacedæmonians*, through the treaſon of *Ariſtocrates*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Meſſenians* expoſed to a cruel butchery. The loſs was ſo great, that together with *Andania* their principal City, all the Towns of *Meſſene*, ſtanding too far from the Sea, were abandoned for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be ſafe abroad, was conveyed into a place of ſafety. Here the *Lacedæmonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven years. For beſides that *Era* it ſelf was a ſtrong piece, *Ariſtomenes* with three hundred ſtout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the ſiege. He waſted all the fields of *Meſſene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away Corn, Wine, Cattel, and all proviſions, neceſſary for his own people, the Slaves and houſhold ſtuffe he changed into money, ſuffering the owners to redeem them. To remedy this miſchief, the *Lacedæmonians* made an Edict, that neither *Meſſene*, nor the adjoyning parts of their own Countrey, ſhould be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almoſt undone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtæus* appeaſed this uprore with pleaſing Songs. But *Ariſtomenes* grew ſo bold, that he not onely ranged over all the fields, but adventured upon the Towns, ſurpriſed, and ſackt *Amyclæ*, and finally cauſed the enemies to encreaſe and ſtrengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing theſe and other ſervices, thrice *Ariſtomenes* was taken priſoner; yet ſtill he eſcaped. One eſcape of his deſerves to be remembred, as a thing very ſtrange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to ſet upon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up ſenſeleſs, and carried away priſoner, with fifty of his Companions. There was a deep natural Cave into which the *Spartans* uſed to caſt head-long ſuch as were condemned to dye for the greateſt offences. To this puniſhment were *Ariſtomenes* and his companions adjudged. All the reſt of theſe poor men dyed with their falls; *Ariſtomenes* (howſoever it came to paſs) took no harm. Yet was it harm enough to be impriſoned in a deep Dungeon, among dead carkaſſes, where he was like to periſh through hunger and ſtench. But after a while he perceived by ſome ſmall glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Fox that was gnawing upon a dead body. Hereupon he bethought himſelf, that this beaſt muſt needs know ſome way to enter the place and get out. For which cauſe he made ſhift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the tail with one hand, ſaved himſelf from biting with the other hand, by thruſting his coat into the mouth of it. So letting it creep whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, untill the way was too ſtrait for him; and

then dismissed it. The Fox being loose, ran through a hole at which came in a little light; and there did *Aristomenes* delve so long with his nails, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some fugitives of *Messene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Aristomenes* was returned home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was received. But when the *Corinthian* forces that came to help the *Lacedæmonians* in the siege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their Captains slain, and their Camp taken; then was it easily beleived, that *Aristomenes* was alive indeed.

Thus eleven years passed whilest the enemies hovering abour *Era*, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Aristomenes* vvith small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slave that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdness the vvife of a *Messenian*, and vvas entertained by her, vvhen her husband vvent forth to vvatch. It happened in a rainy-winter-night, that the husband came home unlooked for, vvhilst the Adulterer vvas vvithin. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him by vvhat good fortune hee vvas returned so soon. He told her, that the storm of foul vveather vvas such, as had made all his fellows leave their Stations, and that himself had done as the rest did; as for *Aristomenes*, he vvas vvounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad neither vvas it to be feared, that the enemies vvould stir in such a dark rainy night as this was. This slave that heard these tidings, rose up secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedæmonian* Camp with the news. There he found *Emperamus* his Master commanding in the Kings absence. To him he uttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarm was presently taken; and the extream darkness, together with the noise of wind and rain, hindred all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruel fight; one part being incited by meer hope ending a long work, the other enraged by meer desperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompenced partly by the assistance which women and children (to whom the hatred of servitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowness of the streets and other passages, which admitted not many to fight at once. But the *Messenians* were in continual toyl; their Enemies fought in course, refreshing themselves with meat and sleep, and then returning supplyed the place of their weary fellows vvith fresh Companions. *Aristomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men for vvant of relief vvere no longer able to hold out, (as having been three days and three nights vexed vvith all miseries, of labour, vvatchings, fighting, hunger and thirst, besides continual rain and cold) gathered together all the weaker sort, whom he compassed round with armed men, and so attempted to break out through the midst of the Enemies. *Emperamus* General of the *Lacedæmonians* was glad of this; and to further their departure, caused his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a fair passage to these desperate mad-men. So they issued forth, and arrived safe in *Arcadia*, where they were most lovingly entertained.

Upon the first bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Aristocrates* their false-hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Aristomenes* had placed his followers in safety, he chose out five hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret hast into *Sparta*, hoping to find the Town secure, and ill manned, the people being run forth to the spoyl of *Messene*. In this enterprise, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedæmonians* would be glad to recover their own, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred *Arcadians* that offered to joyn with him; but *Aristocrates* marred all, by sending speedy advertisement thereof to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epistle which *Anaxander* sent back to *Aristocrates* was intercepted by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falshood, which being published in open assembly, the *Arcadians* stoned him to death, and casting forth his body unburied, erected a monument of his treachery, with a note, That the Perjurer cannot deceive God.

Of *Aristomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people, to the charge of his son *Gorgus* and other sufficient Governours, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, he resolved himself to make aboad in those parts, hoping to find the *Lacedæmonians* work at home. His daughters he bestowed honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus*, who reigned in the Ile of *Rhodes*, took to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the daughter of the best man in *Greece*. Finally *Aristomenes* went with his

his daughter to *Rhodes*, when he purpoſed to have travelled unto *Ardys* the Son of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Meſſenians* vvere invited by *Anaxilas* (vvhoſe great Grandfather vvas a *Meſſenian*, and vvent into *Italy* after the former war) being Lord of the *Rhegians* in *Italy*, to take his part againſt the *Zanclæans* in *Sicily*, on the other ſide of the Streights. They did ſo; and vvinning the Town of *Zancle*, called it *Meſſene*, vvhich name it keeps to this day.

This ſecond *Meſſenian* vvar ended in the firſt year of the twenty eighth *Olympiad*. Long after vvhich time, the reſt of that Nation, vvho ſtaying at home ſerved the *Lacedæmonians*, found means to rebell; but vvere ſoon vanquiſhed, and being driven to forſake *Peloponneſus*, they vvent into *Acarnania*; vvhence likewiſe, after few ages, they were expelled by the *Lacedæmonians*, and then followed their ancient Country-men into *Italy* and *Sicily*; ſome of them went into *Africa*, where they choſe unto themſelves a ſeat.

It is very ſtrange, that during two hundred and fourſcore years, this baniſhed Nation retained their name, their ancient cuſtoms, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forſaken Country; with a deſire to return unto it. In the third year of the hundred and ſecond *Olympiad*, the great *Epaminondas*, having tamed the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, revoked the *Meſſenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponneſus*. There did *Epaminondas* reſtore unto them their old poſſeſſion, and help them in building a fair City; which by the name of the Province, was called *Meſſene*, and was held by them ever after, in deſpight of the *Lacedæmonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth ſtood in fear.

§. V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia *and* Media, *while* Manaſſes *reigned. Whether* Deioces *the* Mede *were that* Arphaxad *which is mentioned in the Book of* Judith. *Of the Hiſtory of* Judith.

ARdys King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are ſpoken of by *Pauſanias*, as reigning ſhortly after the *Meſſenian* war, *Ardys* ſucceeding unto his father *Gyges*, began his reign of nine and forty years, in the ſecond of the five and twentieth *Olympiad*. He followed the ſteps of his father, vvho encrouched upon the *Ionians* in *Aſia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like maner *Ardys* wan *Priene*, and aſſailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his reign, the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their own country by the *Scythians*, over-ran a great part of *Aſia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grandchild, by whom they were driven out. They had not onely broken into *Lydia*, but wan the City of *Sardes*; though the Caſtle or Citadel thereof was defended againſt them and held ſtill for King *Ardys*; whoſe long reign was unable, by reaſon of this great ſtorm, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King until the third year of the nine and twentieth *Olympiad*, which was ſix years after the *Meſſenian* war ended; the ſame being the laſt years of *Manaſſes* his reign over *Juda*.

Deioces the father of this *Phraortes*, vvas King of *Media*, three & fifty of theſe five and fifty years in which *Manaſſes* reigned. This *Deioces* was the firſt that ruled the *Medes* in a ſtrict form, commanding more abſolutely than his Predeceſſours had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had given to the people ſo much licence, as cauſed every one to deſire the wholeſome ſeverity of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioces* anſwered their deſires to the full. For he cauſed them to build for him a ſtately Palace; he took unto him a Guard; for defence of his perſon; he ſeldom gave preſence; vvhich alſo vvhen he did, it vvas vvith ſuch auſterity, that no man durſt preſume to ſpit or cough in his ſight. By theſe and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly upheld the Majeſty which his predeceſſours had almoſt letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royal Office, he did uprightly and ſeverely adminiſter juſtice, keeping ſecret ſpies to inform him of all that vvas done in the Kingdom. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion by encroaching upon others, but ſtudied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this King, and ſuch as were before him, ſeems to have bred that opinion which *Herodotus* delivers, that *Deioces* was the firſt who reigned in *Media*. *Herod. l. 1.*

This was he that built the great City of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he ſhould be that king *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the ſtory of *Judith*, as alſo *Ben Merodach*, by the ſame account, ſhould be *Nabuchodonoſor* the *Aſſyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was ſlain, and *Holofernes* ſent to work wonders upon *Phul* and *Lud*, and I

know not what other Countries. For I reckon the laſt year of *Deioces* to have been the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwiſe, ſome earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, ſome later, in the reign of *Nabulaſſar*, who is alſo called *Nabuchodonoſor*.

In fitting this book of *Judith* to a certain time, there hath been much labour ſpent with ill ſucceſs. The reigns of *Cambyſes*, *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, have been ſought into, but afford no great matter of likelyhood and now of late, the times foregoing the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, have been thought upon, and this age that we have in hand, choſen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing beſt with the ſtory; though others herein cannot (I ſpeak of ſuch as fain would) agree with him. Whilſt *Cambyſes* reigned, the Temple was not re-built, which in the ſtory of *Judith* is found ſtanding and dedicated. The other two *Perſian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the *Jews*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonoſor*, whoſe part they refuſed to take, and who ſent to deſtroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath ſome conveniences, aptly fitting this Hiſtory; and above all, the opinion of a few ancient Writers (without whoſe judgment the authority of this Book were of no value) having placed this argument in the *Perſian* Monarchy, inclines the matter to the reign of this vain-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the buſineſs. Manifeſt it is, and granted, that in the time of this Hiſtory, there muſt be a return from captivity lately foregoing; the Temple re-built; *Joachim* High Prieſt; and a long peace of threeſcore and ten years, or thereabout, enſuing. All theſe were to be among the Jews. Likewiſe on the other ſide, we muſt find a King that reigned in *Nineve*, eighteen years at the leaſt; that vanquiſhed and ſlew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jews* refuſed to aſſiſt; one that ſought generally to be adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples, of ſuch as were accounted gods, to be deſtroyed; one whoſe Viceroy or Captain General knew not the Jewiſh Nation, but was fain to learn what they were of the bordering people.

Of all theſe circumſtances; the Prieſthood of *Joachim*, with a return from captivity, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manaſſes* before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the re-building of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reign of *Xerxes*; the reſt of circumſtances requiſite, are to be found all together, neither before nor after the captivity of the *Jews*, and deſolation of the City. Wherefore the brief deciſion of this controverſie is, *That the book of* Judith *is not Canonical.* Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was poſſible in ſo deſperate a caſe. For he ſuppoſeth, that under *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps reſtored and re-edified the City of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonoſor* might be another. This granted; he adds, that from the twelfth year to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that is, five or ſix years, the abſence and ill fortune of *Xerxes* in his *Grecian* expedition (which he ſuppoſeth to have been ſo long) might give occaſion unto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonoſor*, having vanquiſhed and ſlain *Arphaxad*, might then ſeek to make himſelf Lord of all, by the Army which he ſent forth unto *Holoſernes*. So ſhould the *Jews* have done their duty, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Sovereign Lord, and reſiſting one that rebelled againſt him; as alſo the other circumſtances rehearſed before, be well applyed to the argument. For in theſe times, the affairs of *Jury* were agreeable to the Hiſtory of *Judith*, and ſuch a King as this ſuppoſed *Nabuchodonoſor*, might well enough be ignorant of the *Jews*, and as proud as we ſhall need to think him: But the ſilence of all Hiſtories, takes away belief from this conjecture: and the ſuppoſition it ſelf is very hard, that a Rebell, whoſe King was abroad, with an Army conſiſting of ſeventeen hundred thouſand men, ſhould preſume ſo far, upon the ſtength of twelve hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand Archers on horſe back, as to think that he might do what he liſt, yea that there was none other God than himſelf. It is indeed eaſie to find enough that might be ſaid againſt this device of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any neceſſity of holding the book of *Judith* to be Canonical, I would rather chooſe to lay aſide all regard of prophane Hiſtories, and build ſome defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all do, the text it ſelf. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Perſian* Kings, *Bellarmine* (whoſe works I have not read, but find him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proved by many arguments. That ſhe lived not in the Reign of *Manaſſes*, *Torniellus* hath proved very ſubſtantially, ſhewing how the Cardinal is driven, as it were to break through a wall, in ſaying that the text was corrupted, where it ſpake of the

the deſtruction of the Temple foregoing her time, that the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonoſor*, found out by *Torniellus*, are the children of meer fantaſie, it is ſo plain that it needs no proof at all. Wherefore we may truly ſay, that they, which have contended about the time of this Hiſtory, being well furniſhed of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themſelves (like naked men in a ſtony field) have chaſed *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni ſoliſque vias*, in an age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Surely, to find out *the borders of* Japheth, Judit 2.23 & 25. *which were towards the South, and over againſt* Arabia; or the Countries of *Phul* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I think it would as much trouble Coſmographers, as the former queſtion hath done Chronologers. But I will not buſie my ſelf herewith; having already ſo far digreſſed, in ſhewing who lived not with *Manaſſes*, that I think it high time to return unto mine own work, and rehearſe what others I find, to have had their part, in the long time of his Reign.

§. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in theſe times.

THe firſt year of *Manaſſes* was the laſt *Romulus*; after whoſe death, one year the *Romans* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabyne* choſen, a peaceable man, and ſeeming very religious in his kind. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed only in Wars, to ſome good civility, and a more orderly faſhion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with ſuperſtition; as perſwading them, that he had familiarity with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies which he delivered unto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all theſe devices of *Numa* were in his own judgement, no better than meer deluſions, that ſerved only as rudiments to bring the ſavage multitude of theeves and out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to ſome form of milder diſcipline, than their boyſterous and wild natures were otherwiſe apt to entertain. This appeared by the Books that were found in his grave, almoſt ſix hundred years after his death, wherein the Superſtition taught by himſelf was condemned as vain. His grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffins or Cheſts of ſtone were in it, with an inſcription in Greek and Latine letters, which ſaid, that *Numa Pompilius*, the ſon of *Pompo*, King of the *Romans*, lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his body being utterly conſumed. In the other were his Books, wrapped up in two bundles of wax; of his own conſtitutions ſeven, and other ſeven of Philoſophy. They were not onely uncorrupted, but in a manner freſh and new. The Pretour of the City deſiring to have a ſight of theſe Books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refuſed to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a ſolemn oath that they were againſt the Religion then in uſe. Hereupon the Senate, without more adoe, commanded them to be openly burnt. It ſeems that *Numa* did mean to acquit himſelf unto wiſer ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not been ſo fooliſh as to believe the Doctrine wherein he inſtructed his own barbarous times. But the poyſon wherewith he had infected *Rome*, when he ſate in his Throne, had not left working, when he miniſtred the Antidote out of his grave. Had theſe Books not come to light untill the days of *Tully* and *Cæſar*, when the miſt of ignorance was ſomewhat better diſcuſſed: likely it is that they had not only eſcaped the fire, but wrought ſome good (and peradvenure general) effect. Being as it was, they ſerved as a confutation, without remedy, of Idolatry that was inveterate.

Numa reigned three and forty years in continual peace. After him *Tullus Hoſtilius* the third King was choſen, in the ſix and fortieth of *Manaſſes*, and reigned two and thirty years, buſied, for the moſt part, in War. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cauſe to fear, that might grow unto them from the *Thuſcanes*, cauſed them to bethink themſelves of a courſe, whereby without effuſion of ſo much bloud, as might make them too weak for a common enemy, it might be decided, who ſhould command, and who obey.

There were in each Camp three Brethren, Twins, born at one birth (*Dionyſius* ſays that they were Couſin Germans) of equal years and ſtrength, who were appointed to fight for their ſeveral Countries. The end was, that the *Horatii*, Companions for the *Romans*, got the victory, though two of them firſt loſt their lives. The three *Curatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livy* tels it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when

two

two of their opposites were slain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending fear, did run away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts, could not follow him with equal speed, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning upon them, he slew them, as it had been in single fight, man after man, ere they could joyn together and set upon him at once. *Dionysius* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling very particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatii* was slain, then one of the *Curatii*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly sever the one from the other, as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old *Roman* History, both in regard of the action it self, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in a wager, against *Alba*; and in respect of the great increase which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the City of *Alba* did immediately become subject unto her own Colony, and was shortly after, upon some treacherous dealing of their Governour, utterly razed, the people being removed unto *Rome* where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother City, had been chief, became ere long dependent upon *Rome*, though not subject unto it, and divers petty States adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the works of sundry ages, and few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) until such time as the fourth Empire, that is now in the infancy, shall grow to be the main subject of this History.

The seventh year of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the first of *Manasses*. Also the three last Governours for ten years, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same Kings time. Of these I find only names, *Leocrates*, *Abslander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* yearly Rulers were elected.

These Governours for ten years were also of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was shortned, and from term of life reduced unto ten years, it being thought likely that they would govern the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to live private men under the command of others. I follow *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in applying their times unto those years of the *Olympiads*, wherein the Chronological Table, following this work, doth set them. For he not only professeth himself to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwaies the years of the *Greeks*, how they did answer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of this History. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the first year of the seventh *Olympiad*, and affirms, that the same was the first year of *Charops* government of *Athens*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who sets the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner. Dion. Ha. lib. 1. & 2. 43. & 45.

In the reign of *Manasses* it was, that *Midas*, whom the Poets feigned to have had Asses ears, held the Kingdom of *Phrygia*. Many fables were devised of him; especially that he obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch might immediately be changed into Gold: by which means he had like to have been starved (his meat and drink being subject to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from this miserable faculty, by causing him to wash himself in the River *Pactolus*, the stream whereof hath ever since, forsooth, abounded in that precious metall. Finally, it is said he dyed by drinking Bulls blood; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) observed the Moons Eclipse at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milesians*, or, (as *Eusebius* hath it) the *Athenians* having obtained some power by Sea, founded *Macicratis* a City on the East of *Egypt*. *Psammiticus* herein seems to have assisted them, who used all means of drawing the *Greeks* into *Egypt*, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Miletus* nor *Athens* were now of power sufficient to plant a Colony in *Egypt* by force.

About this time *Archias* and his companion *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded *Syracusæ* in *Sicily*, a City in after times exceeding famous. Plut. & Eusch.

The City of *Nicodemia*, sometime **Astacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Zipartes* native of *Thrace*. *Sybilla* of *Samus*, according to *Pausanias*, lived much about this time. * Whence in Strabo there is sinus Astacenus a part of Propontis where this City standeth.

About these times also was *Croton* founded upon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracusæ*. *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient, and so doth *Pausanias*. Paus. l. 5. Hal. l. 3. Strab. l. 6.

About the same time the *Parthenians* being of age, and banished *Lacedæmon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italy*; where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but *Justine* and *Pausanias* find it built before, and by Justin. l. 3. Paus. l. 10.

them

them conquered and amplified: and about the ſame time, *Manaſſe* yet living, the City *Phaſelis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Umbrii*, now *Urbin* in *Italy*. About which time alſo *Chalcedon* in *Aſia*, over againſt *Byzantium* (now *Conſtantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenſes*, who therefore were upbraided as blind, becauſe they choſe not the other ſide of *Boſphorus*. It were a long work to rehearſe all that is ſaid to have been done in the five and fifty years of *Manaſſes*: that which already hath been told is enough; the reſt being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reſerving only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulaſſar*, to the buſineſs that will ſhortly require more mention of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manaſſes *to the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem.

§. I.

Of Ammon *and* Joſias.

2 Kin. 21. 2 Chro. 33. AMmon the ſon of *Manaſſe*, a man no leſs wicked than was his Father before his converſion, reſtored the exerciſe of all ſorts of Idolatry: for which God hardned the hearts of his own ſervants againſt him, who ſlew him after he had reigned two years. *Philo*, *Euſebius*, and *Nicephorus* give him ten years, following the Septuagint.

Joſias ſucceeded unto *Ammon*, being but a child of 8. years old, he began to ſeek after the God of *David* his Father; and in his 2 Kin. 22. 2 Chro. 34. twelfth year he purged *Juda* and *Jeruſalem* *from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten Images: and they brake down in his ſight the Altars of* Baalim: He cauſed all the Images, as well thoſe which were graven, as molten, to be ſtampt to powder, and ſtrewed on their graves that had erected them; and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. He alſo ſlew thoſe that ſacrificed to the Sun and Moon, and cauſed the Chariots and Horſes of the Sun to be burnt. Of *Joſias* it was propheſied in the time of *Jeroboam* the firſt, when he erected the Golden Calf at *Bethel*, that a child ſhould be born unto the houſe of *Da-* 1 Kin 13. *vid*, *Joſias* by name, and upon thee (ſaid the Prophet, ſpeaking to the Altar) ſhall he ſacrifice the Prieſts of the high places, that burn Incenſe upon thee: a prophecy very remarkable.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, he rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Prieſt found the Book of *Moſes*, called *Deutronomy*, or, of the Law, which he ſent to the King: which when he had cauſed to be read before him, and conſidered of the ſevere commandements therein written, the proſperity promiſed to thoſe that obſerve them, and the ſorrow and extirpation to the reſt, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to ask counſel of the Propheteſs *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Book; who anſwered the meſſengers in theſe words: *Thus ſaith the* 2 Chro. 34. *Lord, Behold, I will bring evil upon the place,* 24. *and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curſes that are written in the Book which they have read before the King of* Juda, *becauſe they have forſaken me, and burnt Incenſe to other* 2 King. 22. *gods.* Only for the King himſelf, becauſe he 15. was a lover of God and his Laws, it was pro- 2 Chro. 34. miſed that this evil ſhould not fall on *Juda* and *Jeruſalem* in his daies, but that he himſelf ſhould inherit his grave in peace.

Joſias aſſembled the Elders, cauſed the Book to be read unto them, made a covenant with the Lord, and cauſed all that were found in *Jeruſalem* and *Benjamin* to do the like, promiſing thereby to obſerve the Laws and Commandements in the Book contained.

The execution done by *Joſias* upon the Altar, Idols, Monuments, and bones of the falſe Prophets at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to have extended unto thoſe Countries, that had been part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. Yet I do not think, that any victory of *Joſias* in war got poſſeſſion of theſe places; but rather that *Ezechias*, after the flight and death of *Senacherib*, when *Merodach* oppoſed himſelf againſt *Aſarhaddon*, did uſe the advantage which the faction in the North preſented unto him, and laid hold upon ſo much of the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, as he was able to people. Otherwiſe alſo it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himſelf

ſelf unable to deal with *Pſammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raiſe the ſiege of *Azotus*, though the Town held out nine and twenty years) did give unto *Manaſſes*, together with his liberty, as much in *Iſrael* as himſelf could not eaſily defend. This was a good way to break the amity that the Kings of *Juda* had ſo long held with thoſe of *Egypt*, by caſting a bone between them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendſhip of the Jews, which had been loſt by injuries done, in ſeeking to bereave them of their own. When it is ſaid, that *Manaſſes* did after his deliverance from impriſonment, *put Captains of War in all the ſtrong Cities of* Juda; it may be that ſome ſuch buſineſs is intimated, as the taking poſſeſſion and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifeſt that he took much pains, in making *Jeruſalem* it ſelf more defenſible; yet I ſhould rather believe, that he, having already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himſelf againſt the *Egyptians*, whoſe ſide he had forſaken, than that he travelled in making ſuch proviſions only for his minds ſake. The earneſtneſs of *Joſias* in the King of *Babel* his quarrel, doth argue, that the compoſition which *Manaſſes* had made with that King or his Anceſtor, was upon ſuch friendly terms, as required not only a faithful obſervation, but a thankfull requital. For no perſwaſions could ſuffice to make *Joſias* ſit ſtill, and hold himſelf quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharao Necho* King of *Egypt* paſſed along by him, to war upon the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*.

2 Chro. 33 14

The laſt year of *Joſias* his reign it was, when as *Necho* the ſon of *Pſammiticus*, came with a powerful Army towards the border of *Judæa*, determining to paſs that way, being the neareſt toward *Euphrates*, either to ſtrengthen the paſſages of that River about *Carchemiſh*, or *Cercuſium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Diocleſian* is ſaid by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to have done,) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it ſelf. For it ſeemeth that the travail of *Pſammiticus* had not been idlely conſumed about that one Town of *Azotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in poſſeſſion of no ſmall part of *Syria*, eſpecially in thoſe quarters that had formerly belonged unto the *Adades* Kings of *Damaſco*.

2 Chro. 35 20.

Neither was the induſtry of *Necho* leſs than his Fathers had been, in purſuing the war againſt *Babel*. In which war, two things may greatly have availed the *Egyptians*, and advanced their affairs and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better Souldiers than *Egypt* of it ſelf could afford; and the danger wherein *Aſſyria* ſtood, by the force of the *Medes*, which under the command of more abſolute Princes, began to feel it ſelf better, and to ſhew what it could do. Theſe were great helps, but of ſhorter endurance than was the war; as in place more convenient ſhall be noted. At the preſent it ſeems, that either ſome preparation of the *Chaldæans* to reconquer, did enforce, or ſome diſability of theirs to make reſiſtance, did invite the King of *Egypt* into the Countries bordering upon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Necho* aſcended with a mighty Army.

Theſe two great Monarchs, having their Swords drawn, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Joſias* adviſed with himſelf to which of theſe he might adhere, having his Territory ſet in the midway between both, ſo as the one could not invade the other, but that they muſt of neceſſity tread upon the very face and body of his Country. Now though it were ſo that *Necho* himſelf deſired, by his Embaſſadours, leave to paſs along by *Judæa*, proteſting that he directed himſelf againſt the *Aſſyrians* only, without all harmful purpoſe againſt *Joſias*; yet all ſufficed not, but the King of *Iſrael* would needs fight with him. 2 Chro 35.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendſhip of *Egypt* could bring to thoſe that had affiance therein: as that of *Hoſea* the laſt King of *Iſrael*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Aſſyrian*, and wholy truſted to *Sabacus* or *Sous* King of *Egypt*, was utterly diſappointed of his hopes, and in concluſion loſt both his life and eſtate, which the *Aſſyrian* ſo rooted up and tare in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities alſo that fell upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezechia*, whilſt that good King and his people relied upon *Sethon*; and more lately, the impriſonment of *Manaſſes*, were documents of ſufficient proof, to ſhew the ill aſſurance that was in the help of the *Egyptians*, who (near neighbours though they vvere) vvere alwaies unready, vvhen the neceſſities of their friends required their aſſiſtance. The remembrance hereof might be the reaſon why *Neco* did not ſeek to have the Jews renew their ancient league vvith him, but only craved that they would be contented to ſit ſtill, and behold the paſtime between him and the *Aſſyrians*. This was an eaſie thing to grant; ſeeing that the countenance of ſuch an Army, as did, ſoon after this, out-face *Nabulaſſar* upon his own

own borders, left unto the *Jews*, a lawful excuſe of fear, had they forborn to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I believe that this religious and vertuous Prince *Joſias*, was not ſtirred up only by politick reſpects, to ſtop the way of *Neco*; but thought himſelf bound in Faith and Honour, to do his beſt in defence of the *Babylonian* Crown; whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by Covenant made at the enlargement of *Manaſſes*, or by the gift of ſuch part as he held in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occaſion to ſhew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendſhip was, and to the *Egyptians*, what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemy.

Some think that this Action of *Joſias* was contrary to the advice of *Jeremy* the Prophet; which I do not find in the Prophecie of *Jeremy*, nor can find reaſon to believe. Others hold opinion that he forgat to aſk the Counſel of God: and this is very likely; ſeeing he might believe that an enterpriſe grounded upon fidelity and thankfulneſs due to the King of *Babel*, could not but be diſpleaſing unto the Lord. But the wickedneſs of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken ſuch root, as all the care of *Joſias* in reforming the Land, could not pluck up) was queſtionleſs far from hearkening how the matter would ſtand with Gods pleaſure, and much farther from enquiring into his ſecret Will, wherein it was determined that their good King, whoſe life ſtood between them and their puniſhment, ſhould now be taken from among them, and that in ſuch ſort, as his death ſhould give an entrance to the miſeries enſuing. So *Joſias* levying all the ſtrength he could make, near unto *Megiddo*, in the half Tribe of *Manaſſes*, encountred *Neco*: and there he received the ſtroke of death, which lingring about him till he came to *Jeruſalem*, brought him to the Sepulchres of his Anceſtors. His loſs was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Juda*, eſpecially of *Jeremy* the Prophet, who inſerted a ſorrowful remembrance thereof in his Book of Lamentations.

Lam 4.20.

§. II.

Of Pharao Neco *that fought with* Joſias: *Of* Jehoahaz *and* Jehojakim *Kings of* Iſrael.

OF theſe Wars, and particularly of this Victory, *Herodotus* hath mention among the Acts of *Neco*. He tells us of this King, that he went about to make a Channel, whereby Ships might paſs out of *Nilus* into the Red Sea. It ſhould have reached above an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middeſt of the work, an Oracle foretold that the *Barbarians* ſhould have the benefit of it, which cauſed *Neco* to deſiſt when half was done. There were conſumed in this toylſome buſineſs twelve hundred thouſand *Egyptians*; a loſs great enough to make the King forſake his enterprize, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howſoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet, and levied a great Army, wherewith he marched againſt the King of *Babel*. In this Expedition, he uſed the ſervice, as well of his Navy, as of his Land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, ſave only this victory againſt *Joſias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdolus*, and the *Jews Syrians*; which is a ſmall error, ſeeing that *Judæa* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Magdolus* or *Magdala* is taken to have been the ſame place (though diverſly named) in which this battel was fought. After this, *Necus* took the City of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Carchemiſh*, by *Euphrates*, and made himſelf Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Joſephus* witneſſeth. *Joſ. Ant. Jud lib. 10. cap. 7.*

Particularly we find, that the *Phœnicians* one of the moſt powerful Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they ſurrounded all *Africa*, ſetting ſail from the Gulf of *Arabia*, and ſo paſſing along all the coaſt, whereon they both landed, as need required, and ſowed Corn for their ſuſtenance in that long voyage, which laſted three years. This was the firſt Navigation about *Africa*, wherein that great Cape, now called *Of good hope*, was diſcovered; which after was forgotten, until *Vaſco de Gama* the *Portingal* found it out, following a contrary courſe to that which the *Phœnicians* held; for they beginning in the Eaſt, ran the way of the Sun, South and then Weſtward, after which they returned home by the pillars and ſtreights of *Hercules* (as the name was *Herod. l. 4.*

then) called now the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africk* ſtill on the right hand; but the *Portingals*, beginning their voyage not far from the ſame ſtreights, leave *Africk* on the Larboord, and bend their courſe unto the Eaſt. That report of the *Phœnicians*, which *Herodotus* durſt not believe, how the Sun in this journey was on their right hand, that is, on the North ſide of them, is a matter of neceſſary truth; and the obſervation then made hereof, makes me the better to believe, that ſuch a voyage was indeed performed. But leaving theſe diſcourſes of *Neco* his magnificence, let us tell what he did, in matters more importing his eſtate. The people of *Juda*, while the *Egyptians* were buſie at *Charchemiſh*, had made *Jehoahaz* their King, in the room of his father *Joſias*. The Prophet *Jeremy* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the ſhort reign of *Shallum* King of the ten Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Iſrael* reigned but one moneth; *Jehoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldeſt ſon of *Joſias*: Wherefore it may ſeem that he was ſet up as the beſt affected unto the King of *Babel*; the reſt of his houſe being more inclined to the *Egyptian*, as appears by the ſequel. An Idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as *Neco* had diſpatched his buſineſs in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affairs of *Judæa*. This Country was now ſo far from making any reſiſtance, that the King himſelf came from *Riblah* in the land of *Hamath*, where the matter went ſo ill on his ſide, that *Neco* did caſt him into bonds, and carry him priſoner into *Egypt*, giving away his Kingdom to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The City of *Riblah*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place unhappy to the Kings and Princes of *Juda*, as may be obſerved in divers examples. Yet here *Jehojakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdom; an ill gain, ſince he could no better uſe it. But however *Jehojakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharao* ſped well, making that Kingdom Tributary, without any ſtroke ſtricken; which three moneths before was too ſtout to give him peace, when he deſired it. Certain it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater task lying upon his hands, than would permit him to waſt his forces upon *Judæa*: but now the reputation of his good ſucceſs at *Megiddo*, and *Charchemiſh*, together with the diſſention of the Princes *Joſias* his ſons (of whom the eldeſt is probably thought to have ſtormed at the preferment of his younger brother) gave him power to do even what ſhould pleaſe himſelf. Yet he did forbear to make a conqueſt of the Land, perhaps upon the ſame reaſon, which had made him ſo earneſt in ſeeking to hold peace with it. For the *Jews* had ſuffered much in the *Egyptians* quarrel, and being left by theſe their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven of neceſſity to forſake that party, and to joyn with the enemies; to whom if they ſhewed themſelves faithful, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them; ſeeing they were ſuch a people as would not upon every occaſion ſhift ſide, but endure more than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth ſhould lay upon them: ſo good a Patron did he mean to be unto them. Nevertheleſs, he laid upon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of ſilver, and one Talent of gold; that ſo he might both reap at the preſent ſome fruit of his pains taken, and leave unto them ſome document in the future, of greater puniſhment than verbal anger, due to them, if they ſhould rebel. So he departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the unfortunate King *Jehoahaz*, who died in his Captivity.

Jer. 22. 32

2 *King.* 34 31.

The reign of *Jehoahaz* was included in the end of his Fathers laſt year; otherwiſe it would hardly be found, that *Jehojakim* his ſucceſſor did reign ten whole years; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather caſt the three moneths of this ſhort reign, into the firſt year of the brother, than into the fathers laſt, the ſame arguments that ſhall maintain his opinion, will alſo prove the matter to be unworthy of diſputation; and ſo I leave it.

Jehojakim in impiety was like his brother, in faction he was altogether *Egyptian*, as having received his Crown at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickedneſs of theſe laſt Kings being expreſſed in Scriptures none otherwiſe, than by general words, with reference to all the evil that their Fathers had done, makes it apparent, that the poyſon wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manaſſes* had infected the Land, was not ſo expelled by the zealous goodneſs of *Joſias*, but that it ſtill cleaved unto the chief of the people, *Yea unto the Prieſts alſo*; and therefore it was not ſtrange, that the Kings had their parts therein. The Royal authority was much abaſed by the dangers wherein the Countrey ſtood, in this troubleſome age: the Princes did in a manner what they liſted; neither would the Kings forbear to profeſs, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jehojakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it, which made him inſolent and cruel;

2 *Chron.* 36. 14.

as

as we find by that example of his dealing with *Uria* the Prophet: though herein also the Princes do appear to have been instigators. This holy man denounced Gods judgements against the City and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poor man fled into *Egypt*: but such regard was had unto *Jehojakim*, that *Uria* was delivered unto his Embassadour, and sent back to the death; contrary to the custom used, both in those dayes, and since, among all civil Nations, of giving refuge unto strangers, that are not held guilty of such inhuman crimes, as for the general good of mankind should be exempted from all priviledge.

It concerned *Pharao* to give all contentment possible to *Jehojakim*: for the *Assyrian* Lyon, that had not stirred in many years, began about these times to roar so loud upon the banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Nilus*, threatning to make himself Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawn the house of *Merodach* from opposing the *Egyptian* in his conquest of *Syria*, require our consideration in this place, before we proceed to commit them together at *Carchemish*, where shortly after this the glory of *Egypt* is to fall.

§. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon *and* Media. *How it came to pass that the Kings of* Babel *could not give attendance on their business in* Syria; *which caused them to lose that Province.*

MErodach the son of *Baladan*, who taking the advantage that *Sennacherib's* misadventure and death, together with the dissention between his children, presented, made himself King of *Babylon*, was eleven years troubled with a powerful Enemy, *Asarhaddon* the son of *Sennacherib*, reigning over the *Assyrians* in *Nineve*; from whom whilest he could not any other way divert his cares, he was fain to omit all business in *Syria*, and (as hath been formerly shewed) to make over unto *Ezechia* some part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asarhaddon* did not only set him free, but gave unto him some part of *Assyria*, if not (as is commonly, but less probably thought) the whole Kingdom. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Assyrians*, I will not here stand to enquire: his long reign following, and his little intermedling in matters of *Syria*, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or establishing that which he had gotten. *Josephus* gives him the honour of having won *Nineve* it self, which we may believe; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soon following, that great City was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded upon some capitulation: and refused afterwards to continue subject, when the Kings, being of the *Chaldæan* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some think that this was the *Assyrian* King, whose Captains took *Manasses* prisoner, but I rather believe those that hold the contrary, for which I have given my reasons in due place. To say truth, I find little cause why *Merodach* should have looked into those parts, as long as the *Jews* were his friends, and the *Egyptians*, that maligned the Northern Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was until the time of *Psammiticus*, about the end of this Kings Reign, or the beginning of his son.

Ben Merodach the son and successour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good consent of Authors, and that speak little of his doings. The length of his Reign is gathered by inference to have been one and twenty years; for so much remaineth of the time that passed between the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephews Reigns (which is a known sum) deducting the years of his Father, and of his son *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasses* Prisoner, and released him. He sped ill in *Syria*; where *Psammiticus*, by the vertue of his Mercenary *Greeks*, did much prevail. This may have been some cause that he released *Manasses*, and did put into his hands some part more of the Kingdom of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumstances alledged before.

Nabulassar that reigned in *Babylon* after his Father *Ben Merodach*, had greater business in his own Kingdom, than would permit him to look abroad: insomuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or over-sight of *Psammiticus* and *Necho*, that they did not occupy some good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* invaded *Assyria*, and besieged *Nineve*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remove by the coming of the *Scythians*, who in these ages did overflow those parts of the world, laying hold upon all that they could master by strong hand. Of these *Scythians*, and the Lordship that they held in *Asia*, it is conve-

that I ſpeak in this place; ſhewing briefly afore-hand, how the *Medes*; upon whom they firſt fell, were buſied in the ſame times with hopes of conquering *Aſſyria*.

Phraortes, the ſon of *Deioces*, King of the *Medes*, having by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceived at length a fair poſſibility of making himſelf Lord of *Nineve*.

Herod lib 1 That City (as *Herodotus* reports it) having been a Soveraign Lady was not forſaken of all her dependants; yet remained in ſuch caſe, that of her ſelf ſhe was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howſoever *Merodach* had gotten poſſeſſion of this imperial ſeat, and made it ſubject as was the reſt of the Country, yet it found the means to ſet it ſelf at liberty: as after this again it did, when it had been regained by *Nabulaſſar* his Grand-child.

Sharp war, and the very novelty of ſudden violence, uſe to diſmay any State or Country, not inured to the like: but cuſtom of danger hardeneth even thoſe that are unwarlike. *Nineve* had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had ſuffered, and reſiſted, all the fury, wherewith either Domeſtical tumults between the ſons of *Sennacherib*, or forreign war of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the leſs wonderful, that *Phraortes* did ſpeed ſo ill in his journey againſt it. He and the moſt of his Army periſhed in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumſtances (perhaps they undervalued their forces, and brought a leſs power than was needful.) It is enough, that herein we may believe *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the ſon of *Phraortes*, a braver man of War than his Father, wan as much of *Aſia* the leſs, as lay Eaſtward, from the River of *Halys*; he ſought revenge upon the *Aſſyrians* for the death of his father, and beſieged *Nineve* it ſelf, having a purpoſe to deſtroy it. I rather believe *Euſebius*, *That he took the City, and fulfilled his diſpleaſure upon it*, than *Herodotus*, *That the Scythian Army came upon him whileſt he lay before it*. For where equal authorities are contradictory (as *Euſebius*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet having ſeen other Authors that are now loſt, it is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it beſt, to yield unto the beſt likelihoods.

To think that the *Scythians* came upon *Cyaxares*, whileſt he lay before *Nineve*, were to accuſe him of greater improvidence than ought to be ſuſpected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to ſuppoſe that he was fain to leave the Town, when a War ſo dangerous fell upon his own Country, doth well agree both with the condition of ſuch buſineſs as that *Scythian* expedition brought into thoſe parts, and with the State of the *Chaldæan* and *Aſſyrian* affairs enſuing.

The deſtruction of this great City is both foretold in the Book of *Tobit*, and there ſet down as happening about theſe times; of which Book whoſoever was the Author, he vvas ancient enough to know the ſtory of thoſe ages, and hath committed no ſuch error in reckoning of times, as ſhould cauſe us to diſtruſt him in this. As for the Prophecy of *Nahum*, though it be not limited unto any certain term, yet it appears to have taken effect, in the final deſtruction of *Nineve* by *Nabuchodonoſor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a conqueſt of *Egypt*, foregoing this calamity, vvhereof vve vvill ſpeak in due place. Some that aſcribe more authority than the reformed Churches yield, to the book of *Tobit*, are careful, as in a matter of neceſſity, to affirm, that about theſe times, *Nineve* was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory over it to *Ben Merodach*: a needleſs conjecture, if the place of *Euſebius* be vvell conſidered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulaſſar* the ſon of *Ben Merodach* did ſeize upon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about ſuch time as the Country of *Aſſyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* War overwhelmed *Media*. For then was the Conqueſt wrought out ready to his hand; the ſwelling ſpirits of the *Ninevites* were allayed, and their malice to *Babylon* ſo much aſſwaged, that it might be thought a great favour, if *Nabulaſſar*, appointing unto them a peculiar King, took him and them in protection: though afterwards to their confuſion, this unthankful People and their King rebelled again, as ſhall be ſhewed in the Reign of *Nabuchodonoſor*.

§. IV.

The great expedition of the Scythians, *who ruled in* Aſia *eight and twenty years.*

‖. 1.

The time of his expedition.

NOw that I have ſhewed what impediment was given by the *Aſſyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much diſabled to perform any action of worth upon the *Egyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I ſpeak of that great *Scythian* expedition,

pedition, which grievouſly afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the Countries adjacent, in ſuch wiſe, that part of the trouble redounded even to the *Egyptians* themſelves. Of the *Scythian* people in general, *Herodotus* makes very large diſcourſe, but interlaced, as of matter ill known, with many Fables; of this expedition he tells many particulars, but ill agreeing with conſent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needleſs to recite them; for they are far enough diſtant from the buſineſs in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may ſeem very ſtrange, needeth ſome anſwer in this place: leſt otherwiſe I ſhould either ſeem to make my ſelf too bold with an Author, in citing him after a manner different from his own tale; or elſe to be too forgetful of my ſelf, in bringing to act upon the Stage, thoſe perſons, which I had already buried. Eight and twenty years, he ſaith, that the *Scythians* reigned in *Aſia*, before *Cyaxares* delivered the Country from them. Yet he reports a War between *Cyaxares* and *Haliattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the ſiege of *Nineve*; the ſiege of *Nineve* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tells, how the *Scythians*, having vanquiſhed the *Medes*, did paſs into *Syria*, and were encountred in *Paleſtina* by *Pſammiticus* King of *Egypt*, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. Theſe narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of them, be true; though not in ſuch order of time, as he hath marſhalled them. For *Pſammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to reign: and *Cyaxares* had ſpent half of his forty years, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*, ſo that he could not, after thoſe *Lydian* Wars, reign eight and twenty years together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Euſebius* doth alſo call *Pſammis* the ſon of *Pharao Neco*, by the name of *Pſammiticus*; and this King *Pſammis* may, by ſome ſtrained conjecture, be thought to have been he that met with the *Scythians*: for he lived with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Euſebius* himſelf refers all that buſineſs of the *Scythian* irruption into *Palæſtina* to *Pſammiticus* the Father of *Necho*, whom he leaves dead before the Reign of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not rely upon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwiſe than to believe him, that ſuch things were in theſe ages, though not in ſuch order as he ſets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can, thoſe memorials which I find of this expedition ſcattered in divers places: a work neceſſary, for that the greatneſs of this action was ſuch, as ought not to be omitted in general Hiſtory; yet not eaſie, the conſent of thoſe that have written thereof, being nothing near to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the reign of *Ardys* King of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* overran that Kingdom, and were not expelled, until *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardys* got the upper hand of them. In theſe times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sardiattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to find the eight and twenty years, wherein the *Scythians* reigned over *Aſia*. Now foraſmuch as *Pſammiticus* the *Egyptian* had ſome dealings with the *Scythians*, even in the height of their proſperity, we muſt needs allow more than one or two of his laſt years unto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Reign in *Lydia*, being three and twenty years compleat after the death of *Pſammiticus*, leaves the ſpace very ſcant, either for the great victories of the *Scythians*, neceſſarily ſuppoſed before they could meet the *Egyptian* in *Syria*, or for thoſe many loſſes, which they muſt have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increaſe this difficulty, the victorious Reign of *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Babylon*, is of no ſmall moment. For how may we think it poſſible, that he ſhould have adventured the ſtrength of the Kingdom againſt the *Egyptians* and *Jews*, had he ſtood in daily fear of loſing his own, to a more mighty Nation, that lay upon his neck? To ſpeak ſimply as it appears to me, the victories aſcribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* over theſe warlike people, were not obtained againſt the whole body of their Army, but were the defeatures of ſome troops that infeſted their ſeveral Kingdoms; other Princes, and among theſe *Nabulaſſar* having the like ſucceſs, when the pleaſures of *Aſia* had mollified the courages of theſe hardy Northern Lads. Wherefore we may probably annex the eight and twenty years of the *Scythians* rule, to as many almoſt the laſt of *Nabulaſſar*'s Reign, in compaſs whereof their power was at the greateſt. This is all that I can ſay of the time, wherein *Aſia* ſuffered the violence of their oppreſſors.

§. II.

What Nations they were that brake into Aſia; *with the cauſe of their Journey.*

TOuching the expedition it ſelf, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians* being driven out of their Country by the *Scythians*, invaded and waſted ſome part of *Aſia*; and that the *Scythians*, not contented with having won the land of the *Cimmerians*, did

did follow them, I know not why, into far removed quarters of the World, ſo (as it were by chance) falling upon *Media* and *Egypt*, in this purſuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and baſe people; the *Scythians*, as miſchievous and fooliſh; or elſe *Herodotus*, and ſome other of his Country-men, great ſlanderers of thoſe, by whom their Nation had been beaten, and *Ionia*, more than once, grievouſly ranſackt. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is ſo well known, and their many Conqueſts ſo well teſtified in Hiſtories of divers Nations, that the malice of the *Greeks* is inſufficient to ſtain them with the note of Cowards. Theſe were the poſterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greateſt part of our Weſtern World; and whoſe re-flow did overwhelm no ſmall portion of *Greece* and *Aſia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely inform himſelf of their original and actions, may peruſe *Goropius Becanus* his *Amazonica*, of many things in which Book, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is ſaid to have ſpoken of all *Goropius* his works, *that it is eaſie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them:* There we find it proved, by ſuch arguments and authorites as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Linage and Nation; howſoever diſtinguiſhed in name, by reaſon of their divers tribes, profeſſions, or perhaps dialect of ſpeech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whoſe Country whether he placeth in the Weſt, as near unto the Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being far from the Sun, and covered with eternal darkneſs; certain it is that he would have them near neighbours to Hell: for he had the ſame quarrel to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them ſeem a kind of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to inſert into his Works the names of ſuch as lived in his own time, making ſuch mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himſelf deſerved. And for this reaſon it is proved by *Euſtathius*, that the *Cimmerians* were ſo diſgraced by him, becauſe they had waſted his Country. Perhaps that invaſion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his diſcourſe with *Helen*, was the very ſame, which *Euſebius* noteth to have happened ſomewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together invaded *Aſia*.

This is certain, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerii* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often break into *Greece* and *Aſia*; which though it be not in expreſs terms written, that they did with joynt-forces, yet ſeeing they invaded the ſelf-ſame places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journey of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned alſo by *Euſebius*, was by the ſtreights of the *Cimmerians*, as we find in *Diodore*, who further telleth us, that the *Scythians* therein gave them aſſiſtance. *Diod. lib. 4. c. 2.* The ſame Author, before his entry into thoſe diſcourſes of the *Amazons*, which himſelf acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have been Wives of the *Scythians*, and no leſs War-like than their Huſbands; alledging the example of that Queen who is ſaid to have ſlain the great *Perſian Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their Wives along with them to the wars; and how deſperate the courage was of thoſe Women; the terrible deſcent of them into *Italy*, when *Marius* the *Roman* overthrew them, gives proof ſufficient. I will not here enter into a diſcourſe of the *Amazons*; another place will give me better leiſure to ſpeak of them: but ſeeing that they are noted by divers Hiſtorians to have belonged unto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may therefore the better approve *Goropius* his concluſion, That theſe three Nations were one, at leaſt that they were near alies. *Diod. lib. 3. c. 11.*

Now as concerning the expulſion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to have been none other than the ſending of a Colony of them forth into *Aſia*, with an Army of *Scythians* to help them, in purchaſing a new ſeat, and eſtabliſhing the Plantation.

The *Sarmatians* alſo were companions in this journey. For the City of *Novograd* in *Ruſſia* (which Country is the ſame that was called *Sarmatia*) ſtood in their way homewards, as ſhall anon be further ſhewed. So that all the North was up in Arms: and therefore it is no marvel though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the ſame people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encountred by the *Romans*. For they iſſued from the parts about the Lake *Mæotis*; they were then likewiſe aſſiſted (ſaith *Plutarch* in the moſt likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their neighbours; they had in their Army above three hundred thouſand fighting men, beſides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandred over many Countries, beating all down before them; and finally, *Plutarch's the life of Marius.*

finally, thinking to have ſetled themſelves in *Italy*, they divided their Company, for the more eaſie paſſage thither, and were conſumed in three terrible battels by the *Roman* Conſuls. Meer neceſſity enforced theſe poor Nations to trouble the World, in following ſuch hard adventures. For their Country being more fruitful of men than of ſuſtenance, and ſhut up on the North ſide with intollerable cold, which denied iſſue that way to their over-ſwelling multitudes; they were compelled to diſcharge upon the South, and by right or wrong to drive others out of poſſeſſion, as having title to all that they had power to get, becauſe they wanted all, that weaker, but more civil, people had. Their ſturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardneſs, gave them great advantage over ſuch as were accuſtomed unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thouſand ſuperfluities. Wherefore moſt commonly they prevailed very far; their next neighbours giving them free paſſage, that they might the ſooner be rid of them; others giving them, beſides paſſage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great preſents; ſo as the farther they went on, the more pleaſant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

§. III.

Of the Cimmerians *War in* Lydia.

THe firſt Company of theſe, conſiſting for the moſt part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had ſtill on the right hand; leaving on the other ſide, and behind them, the great Mountains of *Caucaſus*. Theſe having paſſed through the Land of *Colchis*, that is now called *Mengrelli*, entred the Country of *Pontus*, and being arrived in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the *Promontory*, whereon *Synope*, a famous Haven Town of the *Greeks*, was after built. Here it ſeems that they beſtowed the weakeſt and moſt unſerviceable of their train, together with the heavieſt part of their carriages, under ſome good guard: as drawing near to thoſe Regions, in conqueſt whereof they were to try the utmoſt hazzard. For in like ſort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I ſpake even now) diſpoſe of their impediments, leaving them in a place of ſtrength, where *Antwerp* now ſtands, when they drew near unto *Gaul*, upon which they determined to adventure themſelves in the purchaſer. From *Sinop*, the way unto *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was fair and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ladg of Mountains, or any deep Rivers at all to ſtay their march: for *Iris* and *Halys* they had already paſſed.

Herod. l. 4

What battels were fought between theſe Invaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable ſucceſs the one or other part wan and loſt, I find not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardys*, the *Cimmerians* got poſſeſſion of *Sardes* the capital City of *Lydia*; only the Caſtle holding out againſt them. Further I obſerve, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardys* Kings of *Lydia*, before this invaſion, and by *Halyattes* and *Cræſus* in the times following, all that *Ardys* did againſt the *Cimmerians*, and all, ſave burning the *Mileſians* Corn fields, that was done in twelve years by *Sadyattes* his ſon (who perhaps had his hands ſo full of this buſineſs, that he could turn them to nothing elſe) is quite omitted: whereby it may ſeem, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in thoſe Wars, but were glad enough that they did loſe all.

Certainly the miſeries of War are never ſo bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forſaking their own ſeats, labour to root out the eſtabliſhed poſſeſſors of another Land; making room for themſelves, their wives and children. They that fight for the maſtery, are pacified with tribute, or with ſome other ſervices and acknowledgements; which had they been yielded at the firſt, all had been quiet, and no ſword bloudied. But in theſe migrations, the aſſailants bring ſo little with them, that they need all which the defendants have; their Lands and Cattel, their houſes and their goods, even to the cradles of the ſucking Infants. The mercileſs terms of this controverſie, arm both ſides with deſperate reſolution: ſeeing the one part muſt either win, or periſh by famine; the other defend their goods, or loſe their lives without redemption. Moſt of the Countries in *Europe* have felt examples thereof; and the mighty Empire of *Rome* was overthrown by ſuch invaſions. But our Iſle of *Britain* can beſt witneſs the diverſity of Conqueſts; having by the happy victory of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all Civil Arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but ſlenderly inſtructed therein before; whereas the iſſue of the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* Wars, was, as were the cauſes, quite contrary. For theſe did not ſeek after the Dominion onely, but the entire poſſeſſion of the Country, which the *Saxons* obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the Britiſh Race, and defacing all memorial of the ancient inhabitants through the

the greater part of the Land. But the *Danes* (who are also of the *Cimmerian* bloud) found such end of their enterprize, as it may seem that the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Asia*, did arrive unto. So that by considering the process of the one, we shall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battels the *Danes* won, yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Many the *Saxons* won upon the *Danes*, yet not so great, as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firm footing. But in course of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred such acquaintance between them, as bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced in one mild temper, no small number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons* in *England*, where great slaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their own Country wide enough to receive them, as having disburthened it self of many thousands, that were sent to seek their graves abroad. And such (as I think) was the end of the *Cimmerian* War in *Lydia*; whereunto though some victory of *Halyattes* may have hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to have done most, in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should fear to add hereunto my further conjecture, which is, that the matter was so compounded between the *Cimmerians* and *Halyattes*, that the River of *Halys* should divide their Territories. For *Halys* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the Eastern side of the River was the Country of the *Amazons*, that is indeed, of the *Cimmerians*, and other *Scythian* people; whose wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrel ensuing between *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is said) fought in defence of certain *Scythians*, upon whom the *Median* sought revenge. And it stands with reason, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weakened with mutual slaughters, should have joyned in a league of mutual defence for their common safety: though otherwise it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the *Median* to extend his Kingdom so far Westward, whatsoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the War between these two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I find it of little weight, and less probability. He tells of *Scythians*, that being chased out of their Country by faction, came unto *Cyaxares*, who committed unto them certain Boys, to be instructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feat of *Archery*. Now it so fell out (saith he) that these *Scythians* using much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did nevertheless other-whiles miss of their game, and came home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholerick, bitterly reviled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boys that was under their charge, whom, dressing like Venison, they presented unto him; which done, they fled unto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a War that lasted six years between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one King demanding these Fugitives to be delivered into his hand, the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the *Scythians* to betake themselves to either of these Kings, unto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly, they had reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he shewed in the massacring of their Country-men that were in his Kingdom, of whom it is now meet that we should speak. *Herod. lib. 1.*

§. IV.

The War of the Scythians *in the higher* Asia.

AS the *Cimmerians* held their course Westerly, along the shores of the *Euxine* sea, so the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took the other way, and having the *Caspian* sea on their left hand, passed between it and *Caucasus*, through *Albania*, *Colthene*, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of *Servan* and *Georgia*, and so they entred into *Media*. The *Medes* encountred them in Arms, but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whilest *Psammiticus* reigned in *Egypt*. If it were in the sixt year of *Nabulassar*'s Reign over *Babylon* (supposing him to have reigned five and thirty; otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then do the eight and twenty years of their Dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonosor* was King; so giving him good leave to provide securely for the invasion of *Syria*; which

which expedition he began while his Father yet lived, as *Joſephus* out of *Beroſus* relates the Hiſtory.

Now the *Medes*, deſirous to ſave themſelves as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no luſt to a ſecond trial of the ſword, refuſed not to undergo the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing diſhonourable, that would ſerve to remove theſe troubleſome gueſts into ſome other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding ſtill the Countries pleaſanter and better, the further that they marched into the South, did ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded, that a little more travail would add a great deal more to their content. For they relyed ſo much upon their own valour, that they feared no reſiſtance, and being the braveſt men, they thought it reaſon that they ſhould dwell in the beſt Region. That *Phraortes* perſwaded them into *Egypt*, I do not think; *Babylon* was near enough; whither if he could ſend theſe Locuſts to graze, then ſhould not his unfriendly Neighbours have cauſe to laugh at his misfortune. What ſhift *Nabulaſſar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not read. But it is well known that his Dominions lay in the middeſt between *Media* and *Egypt*; as alſo, that they made all thoſe parts of *Aſia* Tributary; wherefore we may very well believe, that they watered their horſes in his Rivers, and that he alſo was content to give them provender.

Pſammiticus hearing of their progreſs (like the jealous Husband of a fair Wife) took care that they might not look upon *Egypt*, leſt the ſight thereof ſhould more eaſily detain them there, than any force or perſwaſion that he could uſe would ſend them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, preſuming more on the great gifts which he meant to beſtow upon them, than on his Army that ſhould keep them back. *Egypt* was rich; and half the riches had not been ill ſpent in ſaving all. Yet *Pſammiticus* took the moſt likely courſe, whereby to make his part good againſt them by ſtrong hand, in caſe they had been ſo obſtinate as to refuſe all indifferent compoſition. For he lay cloſe upon the edge of the Wilderneſs in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southermoſt border of *Paleſtina*: whence he never advanced to meet with the *Scythians*, but gave them leave to feel as much of the ſcalding Sun-beams, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat upon them. When they were come as far as *Aſcalon*, the next City to *Gaza*, then did he aſſay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work ſo much the better, by how much the worſe they were pleaſed with the heat of a Climate ſo far different from their own. *Pſammiticus* had at his back a vaſt wilderneſs, over the ſcorching ſands whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary diſtempers, could ill have endured to purſue him through unknown ways, had they fought with him and prevailed, eſpecially the Kingdom of *Egypt* being ready to entertain him with relief, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, & taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to viſit their acquaintance in the high Countries. The *Egyptian* King (beſides that hee preſerved his own Eſtate from a dangerous adventure, by hyring this great Army to depart from him) found all his Coaſt well repayed in the proceſs of his wars in *Syria*, where the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to moleſt him, being more than ever troubled themſelves with the return of their oppreſſors. For the *Scythians*, reſolving now to ſeek no further, began to demand more than the tribute formerly impoſed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grievous exactions, they preſumed to live at diſcretion upon the Country, taking what they liſted from the owners; and many times (as it were to ſave the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This tyrannous Dominion they long uſed over the higher *Aſia*, that is, over the Country lying between the *Caſpian* and *Red Seas*: and between *India* and *Aſia* the leſs. Happy it was for the poor people, that in ſo large a ſpace of ground, there was room enough for theſe new comers otherwiſe the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon thoſe private men, to whoſe wealth any *Scythian* did bear a fancy, would have lighted in general upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellowes. Yet it ſeems that the heavieſt burthen lay upon *Media*; for it was a fruitfull Countrey, not far from their own home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the conſtitution of their bodies there alſo it was that they had the fatal blow, by which their inſolent Rule was taken from them.

Cyaxares King of the *Medes*, who in this extremity was no better than a Rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his Land lay unmanured and waſte, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppreſſions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force reſolved to prove what might be done by *Herod. lib. 1.*

ſtratagem. The managing of the buſineſs is thus delivered in brief; That he, and his *Medes*, feaſted the better part of the *Scythians*, made them drunk, and ſlew them; recovering hereby the poſſeſſion of all that they had loſt.

Such another ſlaughter was committed upon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was revenged by their Countrymen, with greater cruelty than ever they had practiſed before. That the *Scythians* which eſcaped this bloody feaſt made any ſtir in *Media*, I do not find; neither do I read that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by invaſion from *Scythia* in time following.

This is the more ſtrange, for that the Army returning home out of *Media*, was very ſtrong, & encountred with oppoſition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no leſs than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyaxares* to free his Countrey, took good effect, with leſs blood-ſhed than hath been ſuppoſed. For if he ſurpriſed all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good compoſition. Many of them doubtleſs in eight and twenty years had ſo well ſetled themſelves, that they were deſirous of reſt, & might be permitted, without any danger, to remain in the Country; many (of whom I ſhall ſpeak anon) having done what they could in the buſineſs, for which they came forth, were willing to return home with what they had gotten; ſuch as were not pleaſed with either of theſe two courſes, might go joyn with the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, or ſeek their fortunes in other Provinces among their own *Companions*. Whereas all the Families of the North are ſaid to have been with *Nebuchadnezzar*, it may be underſtood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, upon hope of gain, or deſire to keep what they had already gained, were content to become ſubject unto *Nabulaſſar*; mens love of their wealth being moſt effectual, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certain, that *Nebuchadnezzer*, as ever after, ſo in his firſt beginning of war, did beat the *Egyptians*, who in ages foregoing had been accuſtomed to deal with the *Babylonians* after another faſhion: and this new ſucceſs of that King may be imputed, in regard of human means, to ſuch addition as this of new forces.

Herod. lib. 4.

Jer. 35. 9.

Of the *Scythian* Army returning out of *Media*, divers authors report a Story, which confirms me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to aſſiſt their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new ſeat, and eſtabliſhing their plantation. For theſe had left their wives behind them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come again. The *Scythian* women, to comfort themſelves in their husbands abſence, became bed-fellows to their ſlaves. Theſe got a luſty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their return. If they were onely the children of ſlaves, which compounded an Army (as *Herodotus* would have it, who tels us, that the *Scythians* were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it muſt needs be that they were very boys, or elſe that the Women did very little while continue chaſt. Wherefore I rather believe that tale as it is told by the *Ruſſes* themſelves, who agreeing in the reſt with the conſent of Hiſtories, make that report of their Anceſtors returning homewards, which I will ſet down, as I find it in Maſter *Doctor Fletcher* his exact diſcourſe of the *Ruſs Commonwealth*. *They underſtood by the way, that their Chrolopey, or Bond-ſlaves, whom they left at home, had in their abſence poſſeſſed their towns, lands, houſes, wives, and all; At which news being ſomewhat amazed, and yet diſdaining the Villany of their ſervants, they made the more ſpeed home, and ſo not far from* Novograd *met them in warlike manner marching againſt them. Whereupon adviſing what was beſt to be done, they agreed alſo to ſet upon them with no other ſhew of weapon but with their horſe-whips (which as their manner is, every man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their ſervile condition, thereby to terrifie them, & abate their courage. And ſo marching on, and laſhing all together with their whips in their hands, they gave the onſet; which ſeemed ſo terrible in the ears of their Villains, and ſtrook ſuch a ſenſe into them of the ſmart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheep before the Drivers, In memory of this victory, the* Novogradians ever *ſince have ſtamped their Coin (which they call a* Dingoe Novogradskoy, *currant through all* Ruſſia) *with the figure of a Horſeman ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand.* It may ſeem, that all the women of that Country have ſared the worſe ever ſince, in regard of the univerſal fault: For ſuch a Pudkey or whip, as terrified thoſe ſlaves, curiouſly wrought by her ſelf, is the firſt preſent that the *Muſcovian* wife, even in time of wooing, ſends to him that ſhall be her husband, in token of ſubjection, being well aſſured to feel it often on her own loins. But this was a Document unto the *Scythians*, or rather *Samarians* (for *Novograd* ſtands in the Country that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of abſenting themſelves any more ſo long from their wives; which after this, I find not that they did.

Ruſſ. Com. mond. cap. 4.

Thus

Thus much I thought good to ſet down of the *Scythian* expedition; not only becauſe it is the moſt memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Hiſtories, & terrible to many Countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cauſe of the *Egyptians* prevailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Judæa*, which continues yet a while the center of our diſcourſe.

§. V.

Of Princes living in divers Countries, in theſe ages.

HAving thus far digreſſed from the matters of *Juda*, to avoyd all further occaſion of doing the like, I will here inſert a note of ſuch Kings, and men of mark, as were between the death of *Manaſſes*, and the ruin of *Jeruſalem*. Of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*, I have ſpoken as much as I thought needful. In *Rome*, *Tullus Hoſtilius* held the Kingdom until the one and twentieth year of *Joſias*; at which time *Ancus Martius* ſucceeding, reigned four and twenty years. After him *L. Tarquinius Priſcus*, a newcome ſtranger, but very rich, prevailed ſo far by his graciouſneſs among the people, that he got the Kingdom to himſelf, diſappointing the ſons of *Ancus*, over whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth year of *Zedekia*, and reigned eight and thirty years. In this time it was, namely, in the ſecond year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the *Lacedæmonians* bethinking them how to be avenged of the *Arcadians*, who gave ſuccour to the *Meſſenians* againſt them in the former war, entred their Territory, took the City of *Phigalia* or *Phialia*, from whence their Garriſons were ſoon after beaten out. *Cypſelus* expelling the race of the *Bacidæ*, made himſelf Lord of *Corinth* about theſe times, and governed it in peace thirty years; leaving for ſucceſſour his ſon *Periander*, one of the ſeven Sages, but a cruel Tyrant: who among other vile acts, ſlew his own wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, ſtripped all the *Corinthian* women ſtark naked, burning their apparel, as an acceptable offering to her Ghoſt. Hereby we may perceive, that the wiſdom of the *Greeks* was not excellent in thoſe days, when ſuch a one as this could be admired as excelling all the Country.

In theſe times alſo were *Zaleucus* and *Draco*, famous lawgivers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italy*, the other in the City of *Athens*. The Laws of *Draco* were ſo rigorous, that he was ſaid to have written them with blood: for he rewarded every ſmall offence with death. Wherefore his Conſtitutions were ſoon abrogated, and power given to *Solon* by the *Athenians*, to make new in their ſtead. But the Laws of *Zaleucus* were very mild. He forbad any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *unleſs it were when ſhe was drunk*; or to go forth of the Town by night, unleſs it were to ſome ſweet-hearts bed; or to dreſs her ſelf up in immodeſt bravery, unleſs it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleaſant ordinances he effected his deſire: for none would ſeem, in breaking the Statutes, to be in ſuch caſe as challenged the diſpenſation. It is noted in this man as a ſingular example of juſtice, that when his own ſon had committed adultery, and was therefore to loſe both his eyes, he did not cauſe him to be pardoned, but gave one eye of his own to ſave the young man (who alſo loſt one) from utter blindneſs.

I ſhall not therefore need ſo far to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in purſuing of actions collateral to the Hiſtory, for inſerting them in their order of time. The *Chaldæans* will ſoon fall under the *Perſians*; ere long, encounter with the *Greeks*; the *Greeks*, with the *Romans*; the *Romans*, with many Nations. Concerning all theſe, as they ſhall ſucceſſively preſent themſelves, in their flouriſhing Eſtate, it will be enough to recapitulate the moſt memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minority. But in the long ſpace of more than thirteen hundred years, which paſſed between the calling of *Abraham*, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, we find little matter, wherein the Hiſtory of *Iſrael* had any dealing with other Nations, than the very neareſt borderers. Yet read we of many Kingdoms, that in theſe many ages were erected and thrown down; as likewiſe many memorable acts were performed in *Greece* and elſewhere, though not following one another at any near diſtance; all which muſt have been quite omitted, or elſe reſerved unto a very unſeaſonable rehearſal, had they not been diſpoſed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency, may pardon the neceſſity.

§. VI.

The oppreſſion of Judæa, *and deſtruction of* Jeruſalem *by the* Chaldæans.

NOw to return to the Jewiſh Story, from whence we have ſo far digreſſed. In the third year of *Jehojakim*, *Nabuchodonoſor*

the second, his Father yet living, entred *Judæa* with a great Army, who besieging and forcing *Jerusalem*, made *Jehojakim* his vassal in despight of *Necho*, that had established him King, and took with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a child, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. Also he took a part of the Church treasures; but stayed not to search them throughly; for *Necho* hasted to the succour of *Jehojakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonosor* in *Judæa*: wherein this great *Babylonian* had no disposition to hazard himself and his Army, it being a Country of an evil affection towards him, as also far off from any succour or sure place of retrait. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of *Scythian* horse-men in his Army, it was the more wisely done of him, to fall back, out of the rough, mountainous, and over-hot Country, into places that were more even and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father happening at the same time, gave him just occasion to return home, and take possession of his own Kingdom, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more unto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the *Egyptian* was not ready to follow him so far, and to bid him battel, until the new year came in; which was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Necho*. In this year the *Babylonian* lying upon the Bank *Euphrates* (his own territory bounding it on the North-side) attended the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a resolved contention for victory, *Necho* was slain, and his Army remaining forced to save it self; which full ill it did, by a violent retrait. This victory *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatsoever the *Egyptians* held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The *Egyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Jehojakim* held himself quiet, as being friend in heart unto the *Egyptians*, yet having made his peace with the *Chaldæan* the year before; who contented with such profit as he could then readily make, had forborn to lay any Tribute upon *Juda*. But this cool reservedness of *Jehojakim*, was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The *Egyptian* King *Psammis*, who succeeded unto *Necho*, began to think upon restoring *Jehoahaz*, taken prisoner by his Father, and setting him up as a Domestical Enemy, against his ungrateful brother. Against all such accidents, the *Judæan* had prepared the usual remedy practised by his forefathers: for he had made his own son *Jechonia* King with him long before, in the second year of his own Reign, when the Boy was but eight years old. As for this rumour of *Jehoahaz* his return, the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it should prove idle, saying: *He shall not return thither, but he shall die in the place whither they had led him captive, and shall see this Land no more.* The *Egyptians* indeed, having spent all their Mercenary forces, and received that heavy blow at *Carchemish*, had not remaining such proportion of sharp steel, as of fair gold, which without other help, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Psammis Apres*, who reigning after *Psammis*, did once adventure to shew his face in *Syria*; but after a big look, he was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a battel. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with brave words, telling such frivolous tales, as men that mean to do nothing, use, of their glorious acts fore-passed, against *Josias* and *Jehoahaz*. In this case it was easie for *Jehojakim* to give them satisfaction, by letting them understand the sincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to work more roundly. He sent a peremptory message to *Jehojakim*, willing him not to stand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himself a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto such fearful threats, as made the poor *Judæan* lay aside all thoughts of *Pharaoh*, and yield to do, as the more mighty would have him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* three years. At this time *Jeremy* the Prophet cried out against the *Jews*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twenty years exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stopt their ears against him, and the rest of the Prophets, he now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seventy years. The same calamity he threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumæans*, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drink out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forsaken; and after the seventy years expired, that the *Babylonians* themselves should taste of the same Cup, and be utterly subverted by the *Medes*, and the *Judæans* permitted to return again into their own Fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* seems to have been in the fourth year of this *Jehojakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrought all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to read them unto the People, and afterwards to the Princes, who offered them to the

2 Chro. 36. 9.

Jer. 22. 10. & 11.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 7.

Jer. 25.

Dan. 1. Jer. 25.

the King: but fearing the Kings fury, they had firſt ſet *Jeremy* at liberty, and adviſed him and *Baruch* to hide themſelves.

Jehojakim, after he heard a part of it, and perceived the ill newes therein delivered, made no more adoe, but did cut the Book in peices and caſt it into the fire. All which *Jeremy* cauſed to be new written with this addition; that the dead body of *Jehojakim* ſhould be caſt out, expoſed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the froſt, and there ſhould be none of his ſeed to ſit on the Throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Jehojakim* reſted ſecure of all danger, as Tributary to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Egyptian*; the mighty City of Tyre oppoſed it ſelf againſt the *Chaldæan* forces, and upon juſt confidence of her own ſtrength, deſpiſed all preparation that could be made againſt her. Now foraſmuch as the terme of ſeventy years was preſcribed unto the deſolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Jeruſalem*, and other towns and countries; it is apparent, that they which referre the expugnation of this City unto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, have ſure authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewiſe it followes of neceſſity, that the ſiege thereof began in the ſeventh of his Reign, as having laſted thirteen years.

Here I will take leave to intrude a brief note, concerning the ſeveral beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath riſen much diſputation. The third year of *Jehojakim*, was the laſt of *Nabulaſſar*, who being delivered from other cares, took notice of ſuch as had revolted from him unto *Pharao Necho*, and ſent this Noble Prince his ſon, with an Army into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the ſame year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Jehojakim*, was the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which *Jeremy* affirmeth in expreſſe words; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquered *Egypt*; & then began ro reign as a great Monarch, finding none that durſt offend him. The ſecond from this year it was, wherein he ſaw that viſion, of the Image conſiſting of ſundry Metals; which did prefigurate the ſucceſſion of great Kingdomes, that ſhould rule the Earth, before the comming of Chriſt. I will not ſtand to diſpute about this, which is the beſt concluſion that I find, of long diſputations: but return unto the ſiege of *Tyre*, which began in the ſeventh of his Reign.

Dan. 1. 1. Jer. 25. 1.

The City of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an Iſland, that was divided from the main, by a deep and broad channell of the Sea. The *Chaldæans* had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the *Tyrians*, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to uſe them, excelled all other Nations; and every wind, from one part or other, brought needfull proviſions into the City. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheleſſe the judgments of God (denounced againſt it by *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezechiel*) had threatned the deſtruction; & the obſtinate reſolution of *Nabuchodonoſor* had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of reſiſtance, undertook a vaſt peice of work, even to fill up the Sea that parted the Iſland from the Continent. The City of old *Tyrus*, that ſtood oppoſite to the new, upon the firm Land, and the mountain of *Lybanus* neer adjoyning that was loaden with Cedars, and abundance of other trees, might furniſh him with materials. Thirteen years were ſpent in this laborious, and almoſt hopeleſſe buſineſſe. Which needeth not ſeem ſtrange: for *Alexander* working upon that foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonoſor's* Peere, and being withall aſſiſted by a ſtrong Fleet, was yet ſeven moneths ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to cover a ſhelve; with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were conſume, the work of *Nabuchodonoſor*, who laid his foundations in the bottom of the deep; ſtriving as it were, to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant, whereas the *Macedonian* did only ſtop the throat of it. Every man knows, God could have furthered the accompliſhment of his own threats, againſt this place (though it had not pleaſed him to uſe, either Miracle, or ſuch of his more immediate weapons, as are Earthquakes, and the like) by making at leaſt the Seas calm, and adding the favorable concurrance of all ſecond helps. But ſo it pleaſeth him oftentimes, in chaſtiſing the pride of man, to uſe the hand of man; even the hand of man ſtriving, as may ſeem, againſt all reſiſtance of nature and fortune. So in this exceſſive labour of the *Chaldæans*, *Every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was made bare*. Yet *Nabuchodonoſor* would not give over till he was maſter of the Town.

Eſay 23. Jerem. 27. Ezek 26.

Ezek 29.

When he was entred upon this deſperate ſervice; whether it were ſo, that ſome loſſes received, ſome mutiny in his Army, or (which is moſt likely, and ſo *Joſephus* reports it) ſome glorious rumour of the *Egyptians*, gave courage

Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 7.

courage to his evill willers; *Jehojakim* renounced his subjection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gave him no leisure to doe much hurt: but with part of his Army marched directly into *Judea*, where the amazed King made so little resistance (the *Egyptians* having left him, as it were, in a dream) that he entred *Jerusalem*, and layed hands on *Jehojakim*, whom he first bound and determined to send to *Babylon*, but changing counsell, he caused him to be slain in the place, and gave him the sepulchre of an Asse, to be devoured by beasts and ravenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his place *Jehojakim* or *Jechonias* his son; whom, after three moneths and ten dayes *Nabuchodonosor* removed, and sent prisoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardochæus* and *Josedech*, the high Priest. The mother of *Jechonias*, together with his servants Eunuches, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the land, were also then carried away Captives. This *Jechonias*, following the counsell of *Jeremy* the Prophet, made no resistance; but submitted himself to the Kings will: wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was best for himself; though at the present it might seem otherwise, to such as considered the evill that befell him, rather than the greater evill that he thereby avoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded, which was good. But it seems that he was partaker, at least of his Fathers faults, if not an instigator, which was the cause, that his submitting himself to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate: for so we read in generall words, that *he did evill in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done.* In his stead *Nabuchodonosor* established *Mathania* his Uncle in the Kingdom of *Iuda*, and called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to say, as *the justice of God.* For like as *Neco* King of *Egypt* had formerly displaced *Iehoahaz*, after his Father *Josias* was slain, and set up *Jehojakim*, the son of another mother, so *Nabuchodonosor* slew *Jehojakim*, who depended on the *Egyptians*, and carrying his son *Jechonias* Prisoner to *Babel*, gave the Kingdom to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Jehoahaz*, whom *Neco* took with him into *Egypt*. From *Zedechias* he required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which *Zedechias* gave him, and called the living God to witnesse in the same, that he would remain assured to the Kings of *Chaldæa.*

In the first year of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one signifying those *Judæans* that were carried away captive, the other those that stayed and were destroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a book all the evill that should fall upon *Babylon*, which book or scrole he gave to *Sheraiah*, when he went with the King *Zedechias* to *Babylon*, to visit *Nabuchodonosor*; willing him first to read it to the Captive *Jewes*; and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing these words: *Thus shall* Bable *be drowned, and shall not rise from the evill that I will bring upon her.* This journey of *Zedechias* to *Babel* is probably thought to have been in a way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further think, that he had some sute there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his return all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seems) to those unquiet courses, from which *Jeremy* dehorted both him and them. The prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent unto the five Kings, of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre* and *Zidon*, by those Messengers which came to visit *Zedechias:* making them know, that if they and the Kings of *Juda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they should then possesse and enjoy their own countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by fire and pestilence.

He also foretold them, that those Vessels which as yet remained in *Jerusalem*, should also travell after the rest, and at length they should be restored again.

The same year *Ananias*, the false Prophet, took off the woodden Chain which *Jeremy* wore in sign of the Captivity of the *Jews*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two years God would break the strength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he laid on all Nations; restore *Jechonias* and all the *Jewes*, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But *Jeremy*, instead of his woodden yoke, wore a Coller of yron: and in sign that *Ananias* had given a deceitfull and false hope to the people, he foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which seized upon him in the second Moneth. After this, when *Zedechias* had wavered long enough between Faith and Passion, in the eighth year of his reign, he practised more seriously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his Neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrians*, and others that were promised great aydes of the *Egyptians*: in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonosor* had

had knowledge, he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, toward *Jeruſalem*, and beſieged it. *Jeremy* perſwaded *Zedechias* to render the City and himſelf: but being confident of the help from *Egypt*, and being perſwaded by his Counſellors and falſe Prophets, that it was impoſſible that the kingdome of *Juda* ſhould be extirpate, untill the comming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecy of *Jacob*) he deſpiſed the words of *Jeremy*, and impriſoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the King that the City ſhould be taken and burnt; that the King ſhould not eſcape, but be taken priſoner, and brought to the preſence of *Nabuchodonoſor*; that he ſhould not periſh by the ſword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his naturall death.

Gen 49. 10 Jer. 32. & 34

Jeruſalem being the following year ſurrounded by *Nabuchodonoſors* Armie; the King of *Egypt*, *Pharao Hophra*, according to *Jeremy*, (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entred the border of *Juda* with his Army to ſuccour *Zedechias*, of whoſe revolt he had been the principall Author. But *Jeremy* gave the *Jewes* faithfull counſell, willing them not to have any truſt in the ſuccours of *Egypt*: for he aſſured them that they ſhould return again, and in no ſort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldæans* removed from *Jeruſalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, theſe vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterpriſe, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, returned into *Egypt*, as if they had already done enough, leaving the poor people of *Jeruſalem* to their deſtined miſeries.

Jer. 34. Herod. lib 2.

In the mean while the *Jewes*, who in their firſt extremity had manumiſed their *Hebrew* Bond-men (as Gods law required at the year of *Jubile*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now upon the breaking up of the *Chaldæan* Army, repent them of their Charity: and thinking all had been at an end, held them perforce to their former ſlavery. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the ſiege, the Prophet *Jeremy*, when the ſtate of *Jeruſalem* began now to grow to extremity, counſelled *Zedechias* to render himſelf unto them; aſſuring him of his own life, and the ſafety of the City, if he would ſo do. But his obſtinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and perjurie, had provided for him.

Levit. 25. 39, 40. &c. Jer 34. Jer 39. Jer. 39.

Three and twenty Moneths (as ſome do reckon it) or, according to *Joſephus*, eighteen, the *Babylonian* Army laid before *Jeruſalem*, and held it exceeding ſtraightly beſieged, For *they built Forts againſt it round about*, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum: They ſurrounded the City with woodden Towers*, ſo as the beſieged could neither ſally out, nor receive into the City any ſupply of men or victuals. *Joſephus* reports, that they overtopped the Walls with high Towers raiſed upon Mounts; from which they did ſo beat upon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forſake their Stations. Now although it were ſo that the beſieged alſo raiſed Counter-buildings, like unto theſe, yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions there-abouts, and had the Woods and Rivers to obey him, found means to overthrow all the Citizens endeavours; and to beat down as faſt from without, as they raiſed from within; the body and foundation of his own works being guarded by the Walls of *Jeruſalem* interpoſed; and theirs within, laid open to their enemies diſturbance. Beſides, both Famine and Peſtilence (which commonly accompany men ſtraightly beſieged) grew on faſt upon them, whereby, when the number, ſtrength, and courage of the *Jews* failed, the *Chaldæans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did ſeat themſelves, as Lords of the Town, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this uncomfortable ſight, and finding no remedy of the danger preſent, loſt both his courage and his hopes at once; and ſhifted himſelf, together with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principal ſervants, out of the City, by a way under ground; leaving his amazed and guideleſs people to the mercileſs ſwords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremy* the Prophet perſwaded him to render himſelf, deſpiſed both the counſel of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonoſor*, uſed now that remedy, which *Wolphius* truly termeth, *Triſte, turpe, & infæliz: Woful, ſhameful, and unfortunate.*

Joſ. Ant. Jud. lib 10 c. 11.

By this ſecret ſubterrane vault, *Zedechias* making his ſtealth, recovered (by the help of the dark night) the Plains or Deſarts of *Jericho*: but by reaſon of the train that followed him and his (every one leading with him thoſe whom they held moſt dear unto them) he was eaſily traced and purſued. How great ſoever the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Joſephus* reports it, they, on whoſe fidelity he moſt repoſed himſelf, no ſooner beheld the *Chaldæans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and ſhifted themſelves into the Deſarts, as they could. For vvhom God had forſaken, no man followed, but the miniſters of his vengeance; by vvhom *Zedechias* being made Priſoner, vvith his Children and Princes, he vvas conveyed

2 King 25. 1.

veyed to *Rebla* or *Reblath*, a City (as some think) of *Nephtalim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jerusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to do.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had laid before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferred upon him, together with the notable falshood and perjury, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes and Friends to be slain before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last that ever he should behold in the world, he caused his eyes to be torn out of his head, and so carried him in a slavish manner to *Babel*, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein this most marvellous Prophecy of
Ezek. 12. *Ezechiel* was performed; *Adducam eum in Babyloniam, & ipsam non videbit: I will bring him into* Babylon, *and he shall not see it.*

Thus in the eleventh and last year of *Zedechias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldæans* entred the City by force, where sparing no sex nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

3534 In the next year following, *Nabuzaradan* General of the Army, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Jerusalem*: and after this fire had lasted from the seventh to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood four hundred thirty and one years.

After this, upon a second search, *Nabuzaradan*
2 Kin. ult. (not yet satiated with blood) commanded seventy and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chief, and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of War, five of his House-hold servants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Judæa*; and leaving the poorest labouring souls, with some that followed the party of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: over whom he left Governour, *Godoliah* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Josias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his justice and equity, by *Josephus* highly commended. This man, a *Jew* by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the War: and by *Jeremies* desire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same advice which the Prophet gave unto *Zedechias*; which was, to submit himself altogether to the *Babylonian*; who being ordained by God to exercise his justice, was therefore resistless. The Prophet *Jeremy* being left to his own choice, either to live in *Chaldæa*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremy*, but gave comfort to all the other *Jewes* that were left under his charge, promising them favour and liberty, so long as they remained obedient subjects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom he was established Provincial Governour of his own Nation.

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Jerusalem*, had kept himself out of the storm, with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godoliah* feasted them in *Maspha* or *Mitspa*, the City of his residence, traiterously slew him, together with divers *Chaldæans* and *Jews* that accompanied him. This done he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with presents, he slew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discover unto him some Treasures hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had been formerly discovered unto *Godoliah* by *Johanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Jews*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Judæa being now left without a Governour (for *Ismael* durst not take it upon him, but retired himself, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Jews*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldæans*, resolved to fly away into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremy* to ask counsel of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they remained in *Judæa*, God would provide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this advice, the *Jews* held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and constraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they travelled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharao*, neer unto *Taphnes*: where when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians*, also, he was by these his own hard-hearted and ungrateful Countrymen, stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reverenced him, buried neer the Sepulchre of their own Kings.

Finis Libri secundi.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, to the Time of PHILIP of MACEDON.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time paſſing between the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem, *and the fall of the* Aſſyrian *Empire.*

§. I.

Of the Connexion of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory.

THE courſe of time, which in prophane Hiſtories might rather be diſcerned through the greateſt part of its way hitherto paſſed, in ſome out-worn foot-ſteps, than in any beaten path, having once in *Greece* by the *Olympiads*, and in the Eaſtern Countries by the accompt from *Nabonaſſar*, left ſurer marks, and more appliable to actions concurrent, than were the War of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruine of *Jeruſalem*, to diſcover the connexion of antiquity fore-ſpent, with the ſtory of ſucceeding Ages. Manifeſt it is, that the original and progreſs of things could ill be ſought in thoſe that were ignorant of the firſt Creation: as likewiſe that the affairs of Kingdoms and Empires afterwards grown up, are not to be found among thoſe that have now no ſtate nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore purſued the hiſtory of the World unto that age, from whence the memory of ſucceeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous diſcourſe derived unto us. I hold it now convenient, briefly to ſhew, by what means and circumſtances the Hiſtory of the *Hebrews*, which of all other is the moſt ancient, may be conjoyned with the following times, wherein that Image of ſundry metals diſcovered by God unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, did reign over the earth, when *Iſrael* was either none, or an unregarded Nation.

Herein I do not hold it needfull to insist upon those authorities which give, as it were by hear-say, a certain year of some old *Assyrian* King unto some action or event, whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* and his Issue that occupied the Kingdom afterwards, depending upon the uncertain relations of such as were neither constant in assigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relye upon. Let it therefore suffice that the consent and harmony which some have found in the years of those over-worn Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten. Now concerning the latter Kings of that Nation, howsoever it be true, that we find the names of all, or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could we only learn in what Age each of them lived, but not in what year his reign began or ended, were it not that the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* is more precisely applyed to the times of *Jehojakim* and *Zedekias*. Hence have we the first light whereby to discover the means of connecting the sacred and prophane Histories. For under *Nebuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the Captivity of *Judah*, which ended when seventy years were expired; and these seventy years took end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well known, affords us means of looking back into the Ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first year of *Cyrus* his reign in *Persia*, by general consent, is joyned with the first year of the 55 *Olympiad*; where, that he reigned three and twenty years before his Monarchy, and seven years afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controversie. Giving therefore four hundred and eight years unto the distance between the fall of *Troy*, and the instauration of the *Olympiad* by *Iphitus*; we may easily arrive unto those antiquities of *Greece*, which were not meerly fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilst in sundry parts of the World, St. *Augustine* and others may be trusted in setting down their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved faith and industry.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned unto *Alexander*, and from him to the battell of *Actium*, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to set down. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* Captivity, are marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first unto the latest years of the World through any story, with least interruption; it is very expedient that we take some pains to inform our selves truly of the Seventy years during which it continued, even from *Nebuchadnezzar* unto *Cyrus*.

§. II.

A brief rehearsal of two Opinions touching the beginning of the Captivity: with an answer to the cavils of Porphyrie, *inveighing against* St. Matthew *and* Daniel, *upon whom the latter of these Opinions is founded.*

MAny Commentators, and other Historians and Chronologers find, that the Captivity then began, when *Jechonia* was carried prisoner into *Babylon*; eleven years before the final destruction of *Jerusalem* under *Zedekias*. This they prove out of divers places in *Ezekiel*, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plain distinction between the beginning of the Captivity, and utter destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Nebuzaradan*, in these words; *In the five and twentieth year of our being in Captivity, in the beginning of the year, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after that the City was smitten.* In which words he beginneth the Captivity in plain terms, eleven years before the City was destroyed. *Beroaldus* is of opinion, that it began in the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the fourth of *Joakim*; which he endeavours to prove out of the second of *Chronicles*, but more especially out of Saint *Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whose words afford matter of disputation, but serve not to make good so much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of Saint *Matthew*, and the whole Book of *Daniel* have ministred occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian Religion to that wretched man *Porphyrie*, who not understanding how the Sons of King *Josias* were called by divers names, as *Epiphanius* hath shewed at large; thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what, in reckoning the Sons, or, according to some Translations, the Son, and Nephews of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon *Daniel* also the same *Porphyrie* doth spend the twelfth of his malicious Books written against the Christians, affirming, that these propheſies and visions, remembred by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or near the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond supposition of his, *Eusebius*,

Euſebius, *Apollonius*, and others, have ſufficiently anſwered. For, the Seventy Interpreters, who converted the Old Teſtament about an hundred years before *Epiphanes*, did alſo turn this Book of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, as a part of Scripture received. And, were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were ſufficient, who lived divers years before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Jaddus* the High Prieſt ſhewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards *Jeruſalem* to have deſtroyed it, this Book of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his own glory foretold, as the ſame was plainly expounded unto him; which not only ſtayed his hand from the harm of that City and people; but his aſſurance and reſolution was ſo confirmed and ſtrengthened thereby, as deſpiſing all future peril and reſiſtance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Eaſtern Empire, in a ſhorter time than *Nabuchodonoſor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*.

It is true indeed, that the *Jews* themſelves give leſs authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moſes* and the *Prophets*; accompting his Book among thoſe which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they ſay *Eſdras*, and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their return from *Babylon*. But firſt, that the Book of *Daniel* (I mean ſo much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonical; ſecondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himſelf, and not by *Eſdras* and the Seniors; we may aſſure our ſelves by teſtimony of Councils and Fathers. For in the Council of *Laodicea*, held about the year of our Lord 368. after the death of *Jovinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Council three and forty years, this Book of *Daniel* was received, verified and confirmed among the other Canonical Scriptures, as in the *Epitomy* of the ſame Council it may be ſeen; and ſo doth *Meliton* the moſt ancient Biſhop of *Sardis* number it, witneſs *Euſebius* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, the fourth Book, and five and twentieth Chapter: ſo doth the ſame Author in the Catalogue of Canonical Books upon *Origen*: ſo doth *Hilarius* in his Preface upon the Pſalms, and *Epiphanius* in his Book of Weights and Meaſures, &c. To theſe I may add St. *Hierom*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, and others. For, the *Hagiographa*-Books, or holy Writings, the *Jews* and *Rabbines* reckon to be theſe, *Daniel*, *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Heſter*, *Eſra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Eſdras*, that wrote this Book, Gods commandment unto him by his Angel, to ſeal up the ſame to the time appointed, is an unanſwerable teſtimony. Yea, that which exceedeth all ſtrength of other proof, our Saviour Chriſt, who citeth no Apocryphal Scripture, in *Matthew* and *Mark* alledgeth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the laſt verſe of his ninth Chapter. Further, in the fifth of *John*, Chriſt diſtributeth the riſen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth, verſe the ſecond. Saint *Paul* deſcribeth *Antichriſt*, out of *Daniel*; and the Revelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniels* viſions.

Mat. 24. 15. *Mark* 13. 14.

Dan. 12.

§. III.

That the ſeventy years of Captivity are to be numbred from the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; *not from the migration of* Jechoniah.

HAving thus far digreſſed in maintaining that authority which muſt often be cited in the preſent argument, it is now convenient, that we return unto the differences of opinion concerning the beginning of theſe ſeventy years. Neither will I ſtand to trouble my ſelf and others with laying open the grounds or weakneſs of that which *Euſebius*, and ſome few nameleſs Authors, have ſometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by *Beroaldus*; but will forthwith enter into conſideration of that opinion, which many, both ancient and late Writers, have ſo earneſtly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of *Juda*, were carryed away captives to *Babylon*: Firſt, *Manaſſes*; then *Jehojakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: Thirdly, *Jechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: Laſtly, *Zedechias*, at which time the City and Temple were deſtroyed. To the firſt of theſe Captivities, the beginning of the ſeventy years is referred by none that I have read; to the ſecond, by few, and with weak proof; to the third, by very many, and with much confidence. For beſides thoſe places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a ſtrong argument gathered out of *Jeremy*, which may ſeem to make the matter plain. For the Prophet, in comforting the people that were carried away with *Jechonias*, uſeth theſe words: *Thus ſaith the Lord, After ſeventy years be accompliſhed at* Babel, *I will viſit you, and perform my good promiſe towards you, and cauſe you to return to this place.* *Jer.* 19. 10.

But it ſtands indeed with little reaſon that we ſhould ſeek the interpretation of a Prophecy out of circumſtances, when the

Prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound it self. *Jeremy* hath already, in the fourth year of *Jehojakim*, denounced the judgement of God against the Land, for the sins and impenitency of that obstinate people, in these words: *Behold, I will send, and take to me all the families of the North, saith the Lord, and* Nebuchadnezzar *the King of* Babel, *my servant; and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about; and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continual desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness; the voice of the Bridegroom, and the voice of the Bride; the noise of the mill-stones, and the light of the candle; and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serve the King of* Babel *seventy years. And when seventy years are expired, I will visit the King of* Babel. Here we see prescribed unto the Captivity the term of seventy years: which were to commence, neither when the Prophecy was uttered; nor when *Jehojakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Jechonia*: but with the utter desolation of the City, whereof *Jeremy* did again give notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearsed. And so did the people understand this Prophecy, in those times when they saw it accomplished; beginning the seventy years at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the History of *Juda*, where it is said thus: *They burnt the House of God, and brake down the wall of* Jerusalem, *and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: and they that were left by the sword, carried he away to* Babel, *and they were servants to him, and to his Sons, until the Kingdom of the* Persians *had rule, to fulfil the Word of the Lord by the mouth of* Jeremiah, *until the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the dayes that she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfil seventy years. But in the first year of* Cyrus *King of* Persia (*when the Word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of* Jeremiah, *was finished*) *the Lord stirred up the spirit of* Cyrus. We seldom find one piece of Scripture, so precisely and plainly expounded by another as in this Prophecy, to have afterwards been the subject of altercation. For one can hardly devise how either the Desolation could have been expressed more sensibly, than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the Prophecy have been more exactly set down, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more proof in so evident a case, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yields testimony sufficient, unto this exposition of *Jeremiah* his Prophecy, that *Jerusalem* was to lye waste seventy years. For in the first year of *Darius* the *Mede*, which was the last of the seventy, *Daniel* obtained of God the deliverance, that had been promised, by prayer, which he made upon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in these words: *In the first year of his reign, I* Daniel *understood by Books the number of the years whereof the Lord had spoken unto* Jeremiah *the Prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolation of* Jerusalem. So that howsoever the time of *Daniel* his own Captivity be reckoned from the taking of *Jehojakim*, and that the people carryed away with *Jechonia*, did accompt, as well they might, the years of their own Captivity; yet with the general desolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the *Israelites* left remaining to inhabit, began in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor* the great Captivity, which by Gods appointment continued unto the end of seventy years.

Jer. 29. 18, 19, & 18.

Dan. 9. 2.

2 Chron. 36. 19.

This I will not further seek to prove, by the authority of *Josephus* and others affirming the same; forasmuch as that which already hath been produced, is enough to satisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

§. IV.

Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon *during the seventy years.*

WHat Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these seventy years of the Captivity, and how long each of them did wear the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know; forasmuch as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they lived, nor the length of their reigns, any way helpful to the concordance of times, foregoing or succeeding. The conquests, recounted by *Xenophon*, of *Syria*, *Arabia* (or rather some part of it) *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seem fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betook himself to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdom, and for the honour of his Majesty, where it may seem

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 1.

ſeem that he and his Heirs kept a great ſtate, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Aſſyrian* Souldiers, in ſuch skirmiſhes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no leſs. For, whereas under *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were ſo ſtout and induſtrious, that (to omit other proofs) they attempted, and finiſhed that hardy piece of work, of winning the ſtrong City of *Tyre*, by joyning unto it the Continent, filling up the deep and broad channel of the Sea, dividing it from the Main with a mole or piece of Earth, and other matter; the reparation whereof, when the Sea had waſhed it away, was the very greateſt of *Alexanders* works: in the times following, they became timorous, that they durſt not approach nearer to the Enemy than their bows would carry, but were ready to turn their backs as ſoon as any, though inferiour in numbers, adventuring within the diſtance, offered to charge them.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. c. 3. Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzars* wars, till the ruin of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; ſo was the diſtinction of their times, and reign of their ſeveral Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vain been taken in that buſineſs. For when it is granted, that the Captivity of *Judah*, ending with that Empire, laſted ſeventy years, we may as reaſonably forbear to ſearch into the particular continuance of two or three ſlothful Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children living in the *Egyptians* ſervitude; reſting ſatisfied in both, with the general aſſured ſum.

Yet foraſmuch as many have travelled in this buſineſs, upon deſire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the ſeventy years, not only by the reigns of other Princes, ruling elſewhere, but by the times of the *Aſſyrians* themſelves; I will not refuſe to take a little pains in collecting their opinions, and ſhewing what I think may beſt be held for likely, if the certain truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themſelves, and in ſetting down the years of their ſeveral reigns. The firſt, and (as I take it) the ſureſt, is theirs, who meerly follow the authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any help from others. Theſe name only three Kings, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Evilmerodach*, and *Balthaſar*; Neither have they only the ſilence of *Daniel*, who names none other, to be their warrant; but the Prophecy of *Jeremy* preciſely, and in a manner purpoſely teaching the very ſame. For God, by the mouth of the Prophet, ſhewing that he, being abſolute Lord of all, would diſpoſe of all according to his own will, and making it known that he had put ſome Countreys here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, ſaith thus: *And all Nations ſhall ſerve him, and his Son, and his Sons Son, untill the very time of his Land come alſo; then many Nations and great Kings ſhall ſerve themſelves of him.* *Je. 27 7.* Theſe words, expreſſing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any diſtinction. But indeed I find no other neceſſity of qualification to be uſed herein, than ſuch as may grow out of mens deſire, to reconcile the Scriptures unto prophane Authors. And this deſire were not unjuſt, if the conſent of all Hiſtories were on the one ſide, and the letter of the Holy Text were ſingle on the other ſide.

But contrariwiſe, the Authors which are cited in this caſe, are ſo repugnant one to the other, and the proofs of their different reports, are ſo ſlender and unſufficient, that the ſucceſſion of theſe Princes, had it not been thus delivered in Scriptures, but only ſet down by ſome Author of equal credit with the reſt, might very well have found and deſerved as good belief, as any of thoſe things which they have delivered in this point. For ſome there are, who following *Joſephus*, derive that Empire, as by deſcent, from Father to Son, through five generations, beginning with *Nabuchodonoſor* the Great, and giving to him 43 years; to *Evilmerodach* 18; to *Nigliſar* the Son of *Evilmerodach* 40; to *Laboſardach* the Son of *Nigliſar* 9 months; and laſtly, to *Balthaſar* (whom *Joſephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonoſor*, without naming his Father) 17 years. And this opinion (ſave that he forbears to reckon the years, and plainly calls *Balthaſar* the Son of *Laboſardach*) Saint *Hierom* doth follow, alleadging *Beroſus* and *Joſephus* as a Sectator of *Beroſus*, for his Authors; though *Beroſus*, as he is cited by *Joſephus*, report the matter far otherwiſe. For he tells us, that *Evilmerodach* the Son of *Nabuchodonoſor* did reign but two years, for his wickedneſs and luſt, ſlain by his Siſters Husband *Nizigliſſoroor*, who occupied the Kingdom after him four years, and left it to his own Son *Laboſardach*; who being an ill-conditioned Boy, was at the end of nine months ſlain by ſuch as were about him, and the Kingdom given to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conſpirators, and left it unto *Cyrus* after 17 years.

Joſ. l. 10. c. 12.

Joſ. cont. Ap. l. 1.

years. This relation ill agrees with that of *Josephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of years, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured unto them some authority; so that the names which they have inserted, are taken as it were upon trust. There is a third opinion which makes the three last Kings Brethren, and Sons of *Evilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather believe *Xenophon*, who saith, that the last King of *Babylon* was immediate Successor to his Father. But whereas the Author of the Scholastical History, who is founder of this opinion, placeth between him that took *Jerusalem*, and *Evilmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plain enough it is that he hath, out of any History sacred or prophane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him. *Eusebius*, *Sulpitius*, *Severus*, and *Theodoret*, upon better ground have supposed, that *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar* were brethren and Sons of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Evilmerodach* there is none that ever doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his Son. And so common grew this explication, that St. *Hierom* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremy* before cited, proves that *Balthasar* was not the Son indeed, but the grand-child of that great Conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those *Eastern* languages, he was called the Son.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 4.

Annius his *Metasthenes* hits very rightly the seventy years of Captivity, giving to *Nabuchodonosor* 45 years, to *Evilmerodach* 30 years, and to the three Sons of *Evilmerodach*, Nephews of *Nabuchodonosor*, fourteen years; that is, to *Reg-Assar* the eldest Son, three years; to *Lab-Assar-Dach* the second Son, six years; and to *Balthasar* the third Son, five.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole sum of years, and in the number of generations, I have sometime subscribed; as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, upon no greater reason, than because the Author was of *Annius* his edition. Yet could I not satisfie my self herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the Modern Writers as deserve to be regarded, have consented with this *Metasthenes*; and for that in making *Balthasar* succeed unto his Brother in the Kingdom, and not unto his Father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose History of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* war I cannot slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the King was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscurity, I found manifest proof, that the time allotted unto *Balthasar* by *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, was far short of the truth; which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the seventy years he pleased among the rest. For in the third year of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a Vision, after which he was sick certain days; but when he rose up, he did the Kings business: from which business, that he did afterwards withdraw himself, and live retired, so long, that he was forgotten in the Court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old Queen used to set out his sufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were *Daniel*. Now to think that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two years have been worn out of remembrance, were in my judgment a very strange conceit; which rather than I would entertain, I can well be contented to think the whole story (thus related) a part of *Annius* his Impostures.

Dan. 8. 2. *Dan. 5. 11, 12, 13.* *Dan 2. 48.*

Out of these reports of *Josephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conjectures of late Writers. For, the endurance of the Captivity being 70 years, and these years extending unto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his Son and Grand-child, must have reigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the years of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reigns might fill up the whole continuance of the Captivity; with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar*, joyned unto the years following the nineteen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Jerusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing even.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, fashion the years of *Evilmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18 years given to him by *Josephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbred 28 years; and the two years that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Evilmerodach*, should be written 23. In the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2) and in the latter there should have been added the figure of (3) to that of (2): this granted (to wit) that *Evilmerodach* reigned 28 years, whereof five together with his Father, and 23 after his death, and the same number of 23 added to the 25 which *Nabuchodonosor* lived after

after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, make 48. then 4 years of *Nigliſar*, according to *Beroſus*, nine months of *Labaſſardach* his Son, and 17 years of *Labonidus* or *Balthaſar*, make up the number of seventy years to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by errour in figures, or in words, the numbers be utterly mistaken in all Copies extant; upon how weak a foundation do they build, who having nothing to help them, save only the bare names of two unknown Kings, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as, if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to have the place of *Jeremy* called into dispute, in regard of their authority?

§. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reigns of the Babylonian Kings.

OTher suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, I purposely forbear to rehearse, as falling under the same answer. That of *Joseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deserving to be considered apart from the rest. He gives to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44 years, to *Evilmerodach* two, to *Belsazer* 5. and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19 of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in which *Jerusalem* was destroyed, unto the time of *Cyrus*, he accounted only 59 years; beginning (as many do) the Captivity 11 years sooner, from the transportation of *Jechonia*. But hereof enough hath been said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running between the 19 of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the *Chaldæan* Empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquisition frivolous.

Concerning the length of *Nebuchadnezzars* reign, I shall hereafter upon better occasion deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to *Evilmerodach* is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Beroſus* than with the Scriptures. For we find in *Jeremy*, that this *Evilmerodach* in the first of his reign, shewing all favour to *Jechonia*, did, among other things, take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the days of his life. His portion was a continual portion given him of the King of *Babel*, every day a certain, all the days of his life until he died. The very sound of these words (which is more to be esteemed than the authority of *Beroſus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a farr longer time than two years, wherein *Jechonia*, under this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandment he had obeyed in yielding himself to *Nebuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Jechonia* did live, it cannot be proved; but plain it is hereby, that all his remaining days he did eat bread before this King. Now that he lived not so short a while after this as two years, it is more than likely; for he was but 55 years when he was set at liberty, having been 37 years in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18 years; after which time it seems plain that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zerobabel*, who is said to have been but a young man, and one of *Darius* his Pages, threescore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it self.

Jer. 52. 33, 34.

Of *Belsazer*, to whom *Scaliger* gives the next five years, naming him also *Laboroſoardoch*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nebuchadnezzars* daughter's son, were it not that herein I find him very careful to help out *Beroſus*, by shifting in his *Nirigliſſoroor*, as husband to *Nebuchadnezzars* daughter, and Protector of his son four of these years; by which means there remains about one year to *Belsazer* alone, agreeing nearly with the nine months assigned by *Beroſus* to the son of *Nigliſar*. But *Jeremy* hath told us, that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his sons son (not to his daughters son) that the Empire was promised: which difficulty, if *Scaliger* could not help, it was well done of him to pass it over with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile *Beroſus* to the Scriptures) have judged to be all one with *Balthaſar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firm *Beroſian*: for *Beroſus* makes him of the same stock or race, a *Babylonian*. I speak not this to disgrace the travel of that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgement, that he was not so wedded to any Author, as affected with the love of truth) but to shew that he himself, having in some points disliked those Writers, whom in general he approveth, might with greater reason have wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no errour. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirm this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Beroſus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: First, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies unto us, that *Darius* took the Kingdom, not saying that he wann it by force of arms: Secondly, a fragment of *Megaſthenes* found in *Euſebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus*

bonidus is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Original, or of the *Greek* tranſlation, which, expreſſing no force of arms, doth only ſignifie that *Darius* took or received the Kingdom; I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould thereupon inferr, that the next King entred by Election: ſeeing *Daniel* relateth not the means and circumſtances of *Balthaſars* death, but only the ſwift accompliſhment of his own Prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been ſaid (if *Daniel* had cared to uſe the moſt expreſſive terms) that *Darius* of the *Medes*, breaking into the City, did win the Kingdom; ſeeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the abſence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his uſe. Now concernng the fragment of *Megaſthenes*, true it is, that in *Euſebius* his works Printed at *Baſil*, in the year 1559. I find only thus much of *Megaſthenes*, cited out of *Alpheeus*; That *Nabuchodonoſor* was more valiant then *Hercules*; that he ſubdued all *Lybia*, and the reſt of *Aſia*, as far as to the *Armenians*; and that, as the *Chaldæans* report, being returned into his Kingdom, and rapt with a divine fury, he cryed with a loud voice: *O* Babylonians, *I foretell ye of a great calamity that ſhall come upon you, which neither* Bell, *nor any of the gods ſhall avert: There will come a* Perſian, *half an Aſs, that ſhall bring ſlavery upon you:* and that, this and the like when he had ſpoken, he vaniſhed. Of all this I believe little or nothing, ſaving that *Nabuchodonoſor* knew before-hand, that his Empire ſhould be tranſlated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the ſilver breaſt. But that he wan all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I do hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaligers* Copy of *Euſebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megaſthenes* tells us, that *Nabuchodonoſor* wan both *Africk* and *Spain*, I believe the fragment ſo much the leſs; and am as little moved with the authority of it, where it calls a *Median*, the pride and confidence of the *Aſſyrians*; as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar* his own vaniſhing away. Indeed that ſame title (of half an Aſs) by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to ſuſpect the fable, as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, becauſe his parentage was more noble on the Mothers ſide than on the Fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Aſſes* upon *Mares*. And thus much in anſwer of the two principal foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within in ſelf, I eaſily allow it. But this proves nothing; for meer fictions have not wanted theſe commendations: neither can any man believe that one ſo judicious, induſtrious, and deeply learned as *Joſeph Scaliger*, would overſhoot himſelf, in ſetting down repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it ſeems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own ſufficiency, hath been little careful to ſatisfie men that would frame Arguments againſt him. For if the Prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdom of *Balthaſar* was divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*; either we muſt think that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or elſe we muſt bethink our ſelves what *Perſian* it might be that ſhared the Kingdom with him. For it is not more certain, that *Balthaſar* loſt his life and Kingdom, then that his Kingdom was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Perſians* fall out and fight for it, as, by ſuppoſing *Nabonidus* to have been *Darius*, they ſhould be thought to have done; but theſe two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords over all the ſubject Provinces; inſomuch that the *Greek* Hiſtorians did commonly call thoſe wars which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made upon *Greece*, The wars of the *Medes*. Yea, to clear this point, even *Daniel* himſelf reſembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, unto a Ramm with two horns, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to have been condemned by *Joſeph Scaliger*, for maintaining upon ſuch good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes* was partner with *Cyrus*, in his victories, and not a *Chaldæan* King by him ſubdued. Neither was *Joſephus* to be the leſs regarded, for affirming that *Balthaſar* was deſtroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Nephew *Cyrus*; though herein he varied from *Beroſus* and others, whoſe authority elſewhere he gladly citeth. For *Joſephus* had no reaſon to believe any mans faith or knowledge of thoſe times half ſo well as *Daniels*, whom I believe that he underſtood as far as was needful in this caſe. Lawful it was for him to alleadge all Authors that had any mention, though unperfect, of the ſame things that were contained in the writings of the *Jews*, to whoſe Hiſtories thereby he procured reputation in the *Roman* world, where they were ſtrangers, and might ſeem fabulous. Even ſo do *Euſebius* and other Writers willingly embrace the teſtimonies of Heathen books making for the truth in ſome particulars; yet will they not therefore be tryed in general by the ſelf-ſame *Ethnick* Philoſophers,

Dan. 8. 20.

phers, but leave them where they are againſt the truth; as *Joſephus* in this caſe hath left *Beroſus*. And thus much I thought it meet to ſay of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding nevertheleſs in due regard his learning and judgement, which if in ſome things it had not failed, the miracle had then been very great.

§. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Perſons and Times of Nabuchodonoſor *his ſucceſſors.*

IT now remains that I freely acknowledge mine own weakneſs, who cannot find how the ſeventy years of Captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I find that the diſtribution made of them, in ſuch wiſe as already is rehearſed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly ſay with *Pererius*, that we ought liberally to pardon thoſe whoſe feet have failed them in the ſlippery waies of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are ſubject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulneſs, or heedleſs reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliver my opinion, wherein the judgement of *Lyra* and others (holding thoſe only to have reigned over the *Chaldæans*, whoſe names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reaſon and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Conjectures before rehearſed. Not that I will take upon me to defend *Lyra* his Conjectures, when he ſuppoſeth by *Niglisar* and *Laboſardach* to be meant the ſame perſons which are called in Scriptures *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but only to ſhew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of ſeventy years. Firſt therefore let us conſider the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whoſe eighteenth year *Jeruſalem* was taken and ſackt, but in his nineteenth laid utterly deſolate.

Moſt of Writers have given to him 43 years of reign, following therein *Beroſus*. There are who have added one year more; and ſome have made it up 45. To diſpute about the certainty were needleſs: for in ſhewing by what length of time the Scripures meaſure him, we ſhall ſhew the certain truth.

2 Kings 25. 8. Jer. 52. 12. Manifeſt it is, that the 19 year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is joyned with the 11 of *Zedechia*; as alſo that his eighth year, was the firſt

2 Kings 24. 12. 2 Kings 25. 27. Jer. 52. 31. year of *Jechonia* his Captivity; the reign of *Zedechia* occupied all the mean ſpace, being of 11 years. This is generally agreed upon, ſo that it needs no further proofs: As for the beginning of his ſucceſſor *Evilmerodach*, it was in the ſeven and thirtieth year of *Jechonia* his Captivity; ſo that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his eighth year (which was the firſt of *Jechonia* his bondage) reigned 35 whole years, and peradventure a good part of the ſix and thirtieth, foraſmuch as *Jechonia* was inlarged with ſo great a favour, not until the end of the year. Subſtracting therefore out of theſe four and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign did well-near occupy, thoſe eighteen years of his which paſſed away before the captivity of *Juda*, and ruin of the City, we have remaining ſix and twenty years of the Seventy, that were almoſt wholly ſpent when his Son began to reign.

It is now to be conſidered, how the remainder of the ſeventy years were divided between the Kings ruling in *Babylon* until the firſt of *Cyrus*. A queſtion more difficult (as I ſaid before) than greatly needful: the whole ſumm being certain, and the diſtinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were ſlothful Princes. Neither can any man the more juſtly ſuſpect the beginning or end of the whole ſeventy years; for that the diſtribution of ſome part of them is only conjectural; ſeeing that none who gives any other terms to their beginning or end, hath refuſed to follow both unlikely and deſperate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to do as others have done; knowing well before-hand, that whoſoever ſhall diſcover my error, muſt do me the pleaſure (which I could rather wiſh in a caſe more material) of making me to underſtand the truth.

Of the four and forty years remaining in account of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s death, we are to take away the laſt, which was the firſt of *Darius* the *Mede*, and then having authority good enough to warrant us from blame of preſumption, in giving us ſeventeen years to *Balthaſar*, we find left in our hands to beſtow upon *Evilmerodach* ſix and twenty years. Of the year belonging unto *Darius* the *Mede*, I have already ſpoken what I thought ſufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this Captivity. That *Balthaſar* did reign ſeventeen years, we have the authority of *Joſephus* before cited in expreſs words: We have alſo the general conſent of all, or the moſt late Writers, interpreting *Beroſus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned ſo long, and *Balthaſar* to have been one. But nothing moved me ſo much

to believe this Tradition, as first those evi-
Dan. 8. 1. dent places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the
Chap. 7. 1. third year of *Balthasar* he followed the
Chap. 5. 13. Kings business, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reign, (a proof sufficient of no few years passing under this man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniels* employments took end either that year or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his wars against the *Assyrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans Father, and being alwayes prosperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time; though we make large allowance to his deeds in the lower *Asia*, which fell out in the mid-way: I have already shewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reign of *Evilmerodach* was not short, and that men of great judgement have found it most probable, that he was a King three and twenty years. More, I think, they would have allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus* caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that Books of such antiquity, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yield in many dark passages of Antiquity. I will yet confess, that were his works never so excellent, and in all things else unquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend unto him in some one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemy: How much less ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing only seven or eight lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they believe that follow him in the rest? The Scriptures have told us, that God gave the Em-
Jer. 27. 7. pire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his Son, and to his Sons Son: How long each of them held it, we find not Expressed; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach us; provided alwaies, that helping us in a particularity, he destroyed not thereby the general truth. More words are needless. It is enough to say with others, that *Berosus*, or *Josephus* who cited him, hath been wronged by the carelessness of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to err in writing two for six and twenty, as for three and twenty, or perhaps more easie. For, the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5, signifying 6, hath a nearer resemblance of β that stands for 2, than hath γ which is used for 3. So that the numeral notes β 5, expressing 26, were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true Copy, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not unusual, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seem not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in εγ standing for 23, I do not well perceive. As for the Arithmetical figures now in use, they were long after the time of *Josephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore do not appertain unto this business; unless we should guess that his works were corrupted in that unlearned age, which following the Saracen-conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanity, but in a sort wholly given over to the doctrine of *Aristotle*. If this will serve to make *Berosus* our friend, so let it be; If not, I will not purchase the favour of his authority, by forsaking *Jeremy* and *Daniel* when they seem to be his Opposites.

§. VII.

Of the Victories which Nabuchodonosor *obtained between the destruction of* Jerusalem, *and conquest of* Egypt.

WIth what actions this time of seventy years was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure have been some cause that the time it self was, and is yet, sought to be abridged, as not having left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well deny to many people even their Being. For every Nation (I know not whom I should except) between the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slothful age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no marvel, if the posterity of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could have desired, betook themselves to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigal Sons of greedy Fathers, their own wisdom greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their daies in the restless travel of purchasing: Though indeed the reign of *Nabuchodonosor* was so divided, that his youthful and stronger years having been exercised in victorious arms, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy labours past. The nineteenth year of his reign it was, when destroying utterly the great and mighty City of *Jerusalem*, he enriched

riched himself with abundance of spoil, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearful example. From that time forward, he, until his three and twentieth year, laboured in the conquest of those adjoyning Regions, which God had exposed unto his sword, and commanded to wear his yoke; namely, the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sydonians*, and *Egyptians*; though some of these were already become his followers, and served under him, when *Jerusalem* was beaten down and burnt. But the *Tyrians*, whose City was founded on an Island, safe enough from any danger of a Land-army, and whose Fleet was so strong, that they needed not to fear any enemy at Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour-Cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mighty Prince, imploying all his power to their subversion.

That the City of *Tyre* was rather well pleased, than any way discouraged with the fall of *Jerusalem* (which had held the same course that *Tyrus* did, and endured all that might be in the same quarrel against the common enemy) it appears by the words Ezek. 26. 2. which *Ezekiel* condemneth as the common voice of *Tyrus*; *Aha, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for seeing she is desolate, I shall be replenished.* Yet at length, even in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, that great work of his, whereof we have already spoken, began to appear above the waters, and threaten them with inevitable mischief.

Jer. 25. Isa. 23. 15. But those Prophecies of *Jeremy* and of *Esay*, which appoint unto this desolation of *Tyre* the same term of seventy years, that was prescribed unto the reign of the *Chaldæans*, do plainly shew, that she followed *Jerusalem*, the same nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doubtless were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner utterly lost. Thus much we find, That the Citizens perceiving the Town unable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fled into the Isle of *Cyprus*. Nevertheless, it seems that this evasion served only the principal men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer sort unto the enemies fury. For, not only such people of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent, (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which, with excessive labour, the *Assyrian* Ezek. 29. 18. made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonosor caused his Army to serve a great service against* Tyrus, *wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare, yet had he no wages, nor his Army*; but was fain to rest contented with the Honour of having destroyed that City, which in all mens judgements had been held invincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerful Cities, having made the name of the *Chaldæans* dreadful in the ears of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonosor* used the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with less pain. The Kingdom of *Egypt* was the Mark at which he aimed; a Country so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himself strong enough, to seek occasion of quarrel against it; and so far an enemy to the Crown of *Babylon*, that, had it been poorer, yet either it must have been subdued, or the conquest of *Syria* could ill have been established. Nevertheless it was needful, that before he entred into this business, the Countries adjacent should be reduced unto such terms, that either they should wholly stand at his devotion, or at least be unable to work him any displeasure. And herein the Decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of State. For, the people of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damascus*, *Kedar*, *Hazar*, and other adjoyning Regions, whom God for their sins had condemned to fall under the *Babylonian* swords, were such, as regarding only their own gain, had some of them, like Ravens, followed the *Chaldæan* Army, to feed upon the carkasses that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking advantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonosor*: all of them thinking, that when the *Assyrian* had satisfied his fury, he should be fain to forsake those desolate parts, and leave the possession of those that could lay hand upon it. Particularly the *Edomites* and *Philistims* had shewed much malice to the *Jews* when their City was taken. What good service they had done to the *Chaldæans*, I find not; if they did any, it is likely to have been with reference to their own purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The *Ammonites* were not contented to rejoyce at the fall of *Jerusalem*, but presently they entred upon the Country of *Gad*, and took possession; as if not the *Assyrians*, but they had subdued *Israel*. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practice had of *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*, when he sent *Ishmael*, a Prince of the blood

Ezek. 25. 12. & 15.

Ezek. 25. 3. Jer. 49. 1.

of *Juda*, to murther *Gedalia*, whom the King of *Babel* had left Governour over those that remained in *Israel*, and to carry captive into the *Ammonites* Country the people that abode in *Mizpah*, than a desire of embroiling *Nabuchodonosor*, with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his own Country, and abandon those wasted Lands to himself and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy the *Moabites* did exercise, whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God; and their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

Jer. 40. 14. & 41. 2. & 10 *Jer.* 28. 17. &c.

All these Nations had the art of ravening, which is familiar to such as live or border upon deserts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the uttermost cunning of their theevish wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did cut asunder all their devices by sharp and sudden war, overwhelming them with unexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the Prophecies of *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, who foretold, with little difference of words, the greatness and swiftness of the misery that should come upon them. With which of them he first began, I find not; it seems that *Moab* was the last which felt his hand: for so do many good Authors interpret the Prophecy of *Esay*, threatning *Moab* with destruction after three years, as having reference to the third year following the ruine of *Jerusalem*; the next year after it being spent in the *Egyptian* Expedition. This is manifest, that all the principal Towns in these Regions were burnt, and the people slain, or made slaves, few excepted, who being preserved by flight, had not the courage to return to their habitations over-hastily, much less to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*; but lived as miserable Out-laws, or at least oppressed wretches, untill the end of seventy years, which God had prescribed unto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Juda*.

Isa. 16. 14.

§. VIII.

That Ægypt *was conquered, and the King therein reigning slain by* Nabuchodonosor, *contrary to the opinion of most Authors: who, following* Herodotus *and* Diodorus, *relate it otherwise.*

WHen by a long course of victory, *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subjection all the Nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians*, in such wise, that no enemy to himself, nor friend to the *Egyptian*, was left at his back, that might give impediment upon his proceeding, or take advantage of any misfortune; then did he forthwith take in hand the conquest of *Egypt* himself, upon which those other Nations had formerly been depending. Of this Expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, have written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needless to look after more authority, or to cite for proof half of that which may be alleadged out of these. Nevertheless, we find many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to strain these Prophecies with unreasonable diligence unto such a sense, as gives to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the honour of having done some spoil in *Egypt*, omitting the conquest of that Land by the *Babylonian*, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a Chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affairs. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the means and second helps conducing to their purpose, that oftentimes they do preferr the Commentator before the Author; and, to uphold a sentence, giving testimony to one clause, do carelesly overthrow the History it self, which thereby they sought to have maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of *Egypt*, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former Book: but that which they have spoken of *Apries*, was purposely reserved unto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirm, that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (unless we should understand that he was victorious in the War, which he is said to have made upon *Tyrus* and *Sydon*) that he reigned five and twenty years; and was finally taken and put to death by his own Subjects; who did set up *Amasis*, as King, which prevailed against him. The rebellion of the *Egyptians* he imputeth to a great loss which they received in an Expedition against the *Cyrenians*, by whom almost their whole Army was destroyed. This calamity the people of *Egypt* thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous Expedition, with a purpose to have them consumed, that so he might with greater security reign over such as stayed at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slain, rebelled against *Apries*, who sent *Amasis* to appease the tumult; but *Amasis* became Captain of the rebels, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole

Herod. l. 2. & l. 4.

Land

Land consented unto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driven to trust unto his forein Mercenaries; the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom he kept continually in readiness thirty thousand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquished by the great number of the *Egyptian* forces, amounting unto two hundred and fifty thousand, which were all by birth and education, men of War. *Apries* himself being taken prisoner, was gently entreated by *Amasis* for a while, untill the *Egyptians*, exclaiming upon him, as an extream enemy to the Land, got him delivered into their hands, and strangled him, yet they gave him honourable burial. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* doth neerly agree; telling us, that *Apries* did vanquish the *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians* in battel at Sea, took by force and demolished *Sidon*, wann the other Towns of *Phœnicia*, and the Isle of *Cyprus*, and finally perished, as is before rehearsed, when he had reigned two and twenty years. This authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to inform us of *Apries* his history, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the destruction of *Egypt* by the *Babylonian*, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our belief, than have the traditions of *Egyptian* Priests (which the Greek Historians followed) and greater probabilities to perswade those that look only into humane reasons. For *Esay* prophecied long before of the shameful Captivity of the *Egyptians*, whom the King of *Assur*, should carry away naked, young and old, in such wise, that the *Jews*, who fled then for deliverance from the *Assyrian*, should be ashamed of their own vain confidence in men so unable to defend themselves.

But *Ezekiel* and *Jeremy*, as their Prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, so they handled this argument more precisely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that *Egypt* should be given to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as wages for the service which he had done at *Tyre*: Also he recounteth particularly all the chief Cities in *Egypt*, saying, That these by name should be destroyed, and go into Captivity; yea, that *Pharaoh and all his Army should be slain by the sword*. Wherefore it must needs be a violent exposition of these Prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatnings to an insurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Egypt*, than change of the Kings person, wherein *Amasis* did succeed unto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the uniform consent of all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of *Jeremy*, wherein he foretelleth how the *Jews* in *Egypt* should see *Pharaoh Hophra* delivered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekia* had been, were to be referred unto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Herodotus* hath spoken, as the general opinion hath over-ruled it; then was it vainly done of the same Prophet (which, God forbid that any Christian should think, seeing he did it by the appointment of God himself) to hide in the clay of a Brick-hill, those very stones, upon which the Throne of *Nabuchodonosor* should be set, and his Pavilion spread. Yea then was that Prophecy no other than false, which expressed the end of *Pharaoh* thus: *Behold, I will visit the common people of* No, *and* Pharaoh *and* Egypt, *with their gods, and their Kings, even* Pharaoh, *and all that trust in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of* Nebuchadnezzar, *King of* Babel, *and into the hands of his servants.* The clearness of this Prophecy being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amasis*, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it; who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the Greek Historians. Wherefore looking upon *Junius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharaoh Hophra* to be *Amasis* and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the *Egyptian* Priests had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lyes, coyned upon a vain-glorious purpose of hiding their own disgrace and bondage. And surely, it may well be thought, that the history of *Nebuchadnezzar* was better known to the *Jews*, whom it concerned, than to the Greeks, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather believe *Josephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonosor* in the three and twentieth year of his reign, and the fifth year of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, did conquer *Egypt*, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*; who being meer strangers to this business, had no great reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would tell them. Now if setting aside all advantage of authority, we should only consider the relations of *Josephus*, and of the Greek Historians, as either of them might be verified of it self by apparent circumstances, without reflecting upon the Hebrew Prophets, or *Egyptian* Priests; methinks the death of *Apries* can no way be approved, as having

having been wrought by consent of the people, but affords great matter of suspicion even, though no man had opposed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great love and honour which the *Egyptians* did bear unto their Kings, is notorious by the uniform testimony of all others that have handled the matters of that Country, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himself. How then can we think it probable, that *Apries* having wonn great victories, did for one only loss fall into the hatred of all his people? or, which may serve to perswade us, that a King of *Egypt* would seek, or so demean himself, that he might be thought to seek the destruction of his natural subjects? As for that Army of thirty thousand souldiers, *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the King of *Egypt*, whom *Amasis* took prisoner, is said to have kept for his defence: Doth it not argue that he was a forreiner, and one that armed himself against the *Egyptians*, wishing them few and weak; rather then any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as assuredly their own, as the strength of their own bodies? It were more tedious than any way needful, to use all Arguments that might be alleadged in this case. The very death of this supposed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amasis*, who sought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that he was some forein Governour, not a natural Prince; otherwise the people would have desired to save his life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not have yielded, though it had stood upon great appearance of truth, considering that the voice of truth it self cries out against it; but leave the circumstances, proving the Conquest of *Egypt* by *Nabuchodonosor*, to be observed where due occasion in course of the story following shall present them.

Ier. 46. 10. & 11.

§. IX.

How Egypt *was subdued and held by* Nebuchadnezzar.

IT is a great loss, that the general History of the World hath suffered by the spoil and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments that should have preserved the memory of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mighty Prince *Nabuchodonosor*; wherein, whether his Virtue, or Fortune were greater, it is now uncertain. That his Victories following the Conquest of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were such as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Wars had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth up in his 30 Chapter (besides the whole Country of *Egypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations, that may seem to have reached out into *Mauritania*, as people subdued by this great *Babylonian*. The circumstances of these Wars are in a manner utterly lost; but that the victory was easie and swift, any man shall find, who will take the pains to conferr the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I think worthy of more particular observation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Book) thought himself most safe in *Egypt* by the well defenced situation of his Country, did very unwisely in suffering his enemies to sweep the way clean unto his own doors, by consuming all his friends and adherents in *Syria*. For, as the labour of this business did more harden, than weary the *Chaldæan* Army; so the confidence and vain security of the *Egyptians*, relying upon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make thorow the *Arabian* deserts, and the much advantage which the great River of *Nilus* would afford unto themselves, did little avail them in provision for the War, and much astonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution: it being usually seen, that the hearts of men fail, when those helps fail, in which they had reposed more confidence, than in their own virtue. Hitherto the Kingdom of *Egypt* had flourished under the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand five hundred and fourscore years; but from this time forward it remained forty years without a King, under the subjection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatness; yet so, that it was never dreadful unto others; God having said of that people, *I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule the Nations*. For, whereas it hath been said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the Son of the Wise, I am the Son of the Ancient Kings*: And whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I have made it*; the Princes of *Egypt* now became fools, the River failed them, the King himself was taken and slain, and that ancient linage quite extinguished. This came to pass in the first year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*; at which time (saith *Josephus*) *He slew the King then reigning, placed another in his room, and carried Captives thence to* Babylon *the* Jews *whom he found in that Country*. Now concerning

Ezek. 29. 15. Isa. 19. 11. Ezek. 29. 3.

Ios. Ant. Iud. l. 10. c. 11.

cerning the time which *Joſephus* gives unto this buſineſs, and the buſineſs it ſelf, I have already ſhewed, that it is warranted by all the Prophecies which inſinuate the ſame. As likewiſe the laſt deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and carrying away thoſe unto *Babel*; who inhabited the miſerable ruins of that great City, which was in the ſame *three and twentieth year of Nebuchadnezzar*, is not unprobably thought by good Authors to have been at the return from this *Egyptian* Expedition. But whereas *Joſephus* tells us, that there was another King put in the room of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, we muſt underſtand, that he was only a Vice-roy, and not (as ſome have miſtaken it) think that this was *Amaſis*. For to place the beginning of *Amaſis* his reign in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant unto the prophecies before alleadged, as to all Chronology and Hiſtory. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience, imagine that there were two ſucceſſively bearing the name of *Amaſis*, others, that there were two *Apries*, the one ſlain by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amaſis*; a queſtion of ſmall importance, becauſe the difference is only about a name, it being once granted, that the perſon mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life and Kingdom by the *Aſſyrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that *Apries*, of whom the Greek Hiſtorians wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, ſeeing that he was the Grand-child of *Pharaoh Necho*, and made war (as they report) upon the *Phœnicians*; who were, before the *Egyptians*, become ſubject unto the Crown of *Babylon*. I might add, perhaps, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzar* left as Governour of *Egypt*, was more likely to have had ſome *Chaldæan* or *Aſſyrian*, than *Egyptian* name, unleſs we ſhould think that he had been a Traitor to his natural Prince, and ſo rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantſhip of the Country: about which it were but frivolous to diſpute. Thus much in brief we ought to believe, that *Nabuchodonoſor* made an abſolute Conqueſt of *Egypt*; that he was not ſo fooliſh as to give it away, any man may gueſs; that he appointed one to rule the Country, it is conſequent unto the former, and hath authority of *Joſephus*; that his Governour (or ſome ſucceſſor of his) was afterwards taken and ſlain by *Amaſis*, I ſee probability enough to perſwade my ſelf, and yet can well be content, that others uſe their liberty, and believe what they liſt. As for the Army which this *Egyptian* King *Apries* is ſuppoſed to have kept, of *Ionians* and *Carians*, I hold them to be none other than the garriſons of mercenary ſouldiers which were left by the *Aſſyrian* for the guard of his Vice-roy, and cuſtody of the new ſubdued Province: as likewiſe the company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barce*, who, together with the friends of ſuch as were ſlain in that Expedition, remembred before out of the Greek Hiſtorians, depoſed and ſlew *Apries*, I take them to have been the *Egyptian* fugitives, which then recovered their own Country. Sure it is, that this Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified; *At the end of forty years will I gather the* Egyptians *from the people where they were ſcattered, and I will bring again the Captivity of* Egypt, *and will cauſe them to return into the Land of* Pathros, *into the Land of their habitation, and they ſhall be there a ſmall Kingdom.* Ezek. 29. 13, 14. If the *Egyptian* Prieſts alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amaſis* obtaining the Kingdom, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deviſed matter that had no ſhadow of truth, only to keep the *Greeks* from knowledge of their Countries diſgrace, then are they little to be reguarded, ſince we know the truth with them.

§. X.

Of the ſundry accounts drawn from ſundry acts of Nebuchadnezzar, *and of the deſtruction of* Ninive, *by him; the time of which action is uncertain.*

THeſe victories brought the greatneſs of the *Aſſyrian* Empire to the full, and from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign in ſundry places of Scripture. To ſpeak any more of the queſtions ariſing about the ſupputation of *Nebuchadnezzar* his times, might ſeem to be the overhandling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note, that whereas *Daniel* was carried captive in the third year of *Jehojakims* reign (which ran along with ſome part of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s firſt year) and was kept in diet three years more, before he was brought into the Kings preſence; It could not be the ſecond of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dream of the great Image, fore-ſhewing the ſucceſs of Monarchies, but the ſecond of his Empire. The ſame or the like may be ſaid of divers places which refer ſundry matters unto their ſet years; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he fore-tells, that *Egypt* ſhould be given in reward for the ſervice done before *Tyrus*, dating his Prophecy in Dan. 1. 2.

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the seven and twentyeth year; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth year: for these years held no dependance upon either the beginning of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom, or of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the Captivities, but had reference to some memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easie to be found, nor worth the labour of uncertain search.

Of any War made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, after such time as he returned from the Conquest of *Egypt*, I do not read: excepting that against *Nineve*, the destruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet *Nahum*. *Nineve* had long before been taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath been shewed) and together with the rest of *Assyria* made subject to *Babylon*. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who, rebelling against the *Chaldæan*, as *Jehojakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary Kings of *Juda*, had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of *Nineve* followed the Conquest of *Egypt*, it appeareth by the comparison which *Nahum* the Prophet made between this City, that was to fall, and the City of *No* in *Egypt*, that was fallen already. But, how long after this came to pass, it is (methinks) impossible to find out. For, whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign, the place of *Nahum* last cited, it is enough to disprove it. Nahum 3.8. Whereas it is referred by some unto the first of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the *Egyptian* Wars; the whole Prophecy of *Nahum*, which went between the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very year of this destruction, or other circumstances of the War, whether managed by *Nabuchodonosor* in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like unto the vain curiosity of *Tiberius Cæsar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*; or to the like idle pains which he should take, who would seek to learn what woman that *Huzzah* Queen of *Nineve* was, whose woful Captivity the same Prophet *Nahum* likewise did fore-tell.

§. XI.

Of the latter time of Nebuchadnezzar; *his buildings, madness, and death.*

OF the time which this great Monarch spent in quiet, I think there are no Monuments extant, save those which we find among the Prophesies of *Daniel*. Among these we may reckon his great works of *Babylon*, wherewith he pleased himself so well, that he brake out into those glorious words: *Is not this great* Babel *that I have built, for the house of the Kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Majesty?* Dan. 4. Surely if those things be true that are by *Josephus* rehearsed of him out of *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, he might well delight himself with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, That he fortified *Babylon* with a triple wall; that, besides other stately works, he raised those huge Arches wherewith were born up the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the Air, and equalling the tops of Mountains; which most sumptuous Frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the *Assyrian*, and all the *Persian* Empire, is said to have been reared, and finished in fifteen daies.

But of all this and other his magnificence, we find little else recorded, than that (which indeed is most profitable for us to consider) his over-valuing of his own greatness abased him unto a condition inferiour to the poorest of men. And not undeservedly fell these judgments of God upon him. For, whereas God had honoured him, not only with many victories, and much happiness in his own life, but with a discovery of things to come after him, yea and had approved the certainty of his dream, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet; he nevertheless became so forgetful of God, whose wonderful power he had seen and acknowledged, that he caused a golden Image to be set up and worshipped; ordaining a cruel death as reward unto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was utterly repugnant to the Law of him that is *the King of Kings*. Hereof St. *Hierom* hath well noted; *Velox oblivio veritatis, ut qui dudum servum Dei quasi Deum adoraverat, nunc statuam sibi fieri jubeat, ut ipse quasi Deus in Statua adoraretur: A hasty forgetfulness of the truth, that he who so lately had worshipped* (Daniel) *the servant of God, as if he had been God himself, should now command a Statua to be erected unto himself, wherein himself might be worshipped as God.* From this impiety it pleased God to reclaim him, by the strange and wonderful delivery of those blessed Saints out of the fiery furnace; who being thrown into it bound, for refusing to commit Idolatry, were assisted by an Angel; preserved from all harm of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious

gracious words, and reſtored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was not ſo rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit anſwerable to his haſty zeal. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dream of the terrible judgement hanging over his head, which *Daniel* expounding, adviſed him to *break off his ſin by righteouſneſs, and his iniquity by mercy towards the poor, that there might be an healing of his errour.* Hereby it ſeems that injuſtice and cruelty were the faults, for which he was threatned: but this threatning ſufficed not unto his information. For, that ſo great a Monarch ſhould be driven from among men (according to the tenor of the dream and interpretation); yea, compelled to dwell with the beaſts of the field, and made to eat graſs as the Oxen, was a thing ſo incredible in mans judgement, that eaſily it might be thought an idle dream; and much more eaſily be forgotten at the years end. One whole years leiſure to repent, was given to this haughty Prince: which reſpite of the execution may ſeem to have bred in him a forgetfulneſs of Gods ſentence. For at the end of twelve moneths, walking in the royal Palace of *Babel*, he was ſo over-joyed and tranſported with a vain contemplation of his own ſeeming happineſs, that, without all fear of Gods heavy judgement pronounced againſt him, he uttered thoſe lofty words before rehearſed, in vaunting of the Majeſtical works which he had reared, as well beſeeming his Majeſtical perſon. But his high ſpeeches were not fully ended, when a voice from Heaven, telling him that his Kingdom was departed from him, rehearſed over unto him the ſentence again, which was fulfilled upon him the very ſame hour.

That *Solomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, have taken delight in their own buildings, It cannot any way be doubted; yet I do not remember that ever I have read of any, that were puniſhed for rejoycing in works of this kind (though it is hard in joy, or any paſſion of the mind, to keep a juſt meaſure) excepting only this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may be ſaid of *David*: for other (and ſome very godly) Kings have muſtred all their forces to the very laſt man; but few or none have been known to have been puniſhed as *David* was. Surely I not only hold it lawful to rejoyce in thoſe good things wherewith God hath bleſſed us; but a note of much unthankfulneſs to entertain them with a ſullen and unfeeling diſpoſition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reverence to God is wanting, are no better than obſcure clouds hindring the influence of that bleſſed Light, which clarifies the ſoul of man, and prediſpoſeth it unto the brightneſs of eternall felicity; ſo that inſolent joy, which man in the pride of his vain imagination conceiveth of his own worth, doth above all other paſſions blaſt our minds, as it were with lightning, and make us to reflect our thoughts upon our ſeeming inherent Greatneſs, forgetting the whilſt him, to whom we are indepted for our very Being. Wherefore theſe *Mala mentis gaudia*, *The evil joyes of the mind* were not unaptly, by the Prince of Latin Poets, beſtowed in the entrance of Hell, and placed farther inward than ſorrows, cares, and fears; not far from the Iron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance near at hand, when theſe unreaſonable fluſhes of proud and vain joy, do rage in a mind, that ſhould have been humbled with a juſt repentance, and acknowledgement of ill deſerving.

This was verified upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whoſe puniſhment was ſingular and unexampled. For he ran among beaſts in the fields and woods, where for ſeven years he lived, not only as a ſalvage man, but as a ſalvage beaſt; for a beaſt he thought himſelf, *ſecundum ſuam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himſelf in the ſame manner, and with the ſame food that beaſts do: Not that he was changed in figure external, according to *Mediana*, inſomuch as he appeared a Beaſt to other mens eyes, as St. *Hierom* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knows) ſpeaks of a woman that appeared to all other mens ſight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* only a woman; neither was he changed as *Iphigenia* the daughter of *Agamemnon* was ſaid to be, into a Hind; nor made a Monſter, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but, according to St *Hierom*'s expoſition of theſe words, *At the ſame time was my underſtanding reſtored unto me*, &c. *Quando dicit* (ſaith St. *Hierom*) *ſenſum ſibi redditum, oſtendit non formam ſe amiſiſſe, ſed mentem*; *When he ſaith that his ſenſe was reſtored unto him, he ſhewed that he had not loſt his humane ſhape, but his underſtanding.* Seven years expired, it pleaſed God to reſtore *Nabuchodonoſor*, both to his underſtanding, and his eſtate, for which he acknowledged and praiſed God all the reſt of his life, confeſſing his power, and everlaſting being; that he was the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and wrought

L. 2. de Reg. pri.

Med. l. 2. de Recta in Deum fid. &c. 7.

Dor. in Synopſi. Ep. in vit. Dan.

Dan. 4. 32, 34.

wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his wayes righteous. Which gave argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his salvation; namely St. *Augustine*, *Theodoret*, *Lyra*, *Carthusianus*, and others. And for that place of *Esay* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the same to *Balthasar*; because *Esay*, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapters, speaketh of the King, and the destruction of *Babylon* joyntly.

§. XII.
Of Evilmerodach.

HAving already spoken what I could of the succession and years of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s posterity, the most that may be said of him, is said of *Evilmerodach*, which I will not here again rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdom burning in a war that consumed it to ashes. He lost *Egypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which was forty years after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the account of *Herodotus*, who allows to *Amasis* four and forty years of reign; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who gives him five and fifty, saying, that he died in the third year of the threescore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyses* did conquer *Egypt*. There were indeed but seven and thirty years, which passed between the second year of the four and fiftieth Olympiad (which was the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the fifth of *Cambyses* his reign, wherein he wann *Egypt*; of which seven and thirty years it is credibly held, that *Psammiticus*, the Son of *Amasis*, reigned three: so that *Amasis* could be no longer King than four and thirty years. But seeing that these two *Greek* Historians have been abused by *Egyptian* Priests in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no marvel though they were also deceived in the length of his reign. This is the plain answer to this objection. For to say, either that the numbers were mis-written, and four and forty set down instead of four and thirty; or that *Amasis* did temporize a while with the *Assyrians*, and not bear himself as absolute King of *Egypt*, until the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath been proved out of *Ezekiel*, that *Egypt* became again a Kingdom) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these *Egyptian*-troubles did animate the King of the *Medes*, to deal with *Evilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces or, whether (as I rather think) some foil received by the *Assyrian* invading *Media*, emboldned the *Egyptians* to rebel against him; I will neither undertake, nor seek to define. *Xenophon* tells, that the first service of young *Cyrus* in war, was under *Astyages* King of the *Medes*, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the *Assyrian* Prince, who did set upon him; at which time, *Cyrus* was fifteen or sixteen years old. If therefore *Cyrus* lived threescore and three years (as he is said to have died well stricken in years) which is held to be the ordinary terme of no short life, then was this encounter in the third year of *Evilmerodach* his reign. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the war began more early between these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gave courage unto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand upon prowder terms with the *Assyrians*, than in his flowrishing estate they durst have used. Howsoever the quarrel began, we find that it ended not before the last ruin of the *Assyrian* Monarchy. For the *Babylonian*, being too proud to digest the losses which he received by the *Medes*, and their Allies the Persians, drew unto his party the *Lydians*, and all the people of the lesser *Asia*, with gifts and strong perswasions, hoping so to overwhelm his enemies with a strong Invasion, whom in vain he had sought to weary out with a lingring War.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 8.

This happened after the death of *Astyages*, who left the world in the nineteenth year of *Evilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* took possession of *Egypt*. So that the *Assyrian* having his hands already full of business, which more earnestly did affect him, seems thereby to have given the better means unto the *Egyptians*, of new erecting their Kingdom, which by long distance of place, did sundry times find occasion to rebel in after-ages, and set up a King within it self, against the far more mighty Persian.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Evilmerodach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way until the fulfilling of those Prophecies, which were many years before uttered against *Babel*, by *Esay* and *Jeremy*.

For,

For, the *Aſſyrians* and their Confederates, who, truſting in their numbers, thought to have buried the *Medes* and *Perſians* under their thick ſhowers of arrows and darts, were encountred with an Army of ſtout and well-trained men, weightily armed for cloſe fight, by whom they were beaten in open battel, wherein *Evilmerodach* was ſlain. So, that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonoſor* had raiſed and upheld, being ſhaken and grievouſly crackt under his unfortunate Son, was left to be ſuſtained by his unworthy Nephew; a man more likely to have overthrown it, when it was greateſt and ſtrongeſt, than to repair it, when it was in way of falling.

§. XIII.

A private conjecture of the Author; ſerving to make good thoſe things, which are cited out of Beroſus, *concerning the Succeſſors of* Evilmerodach, *without wrong to the truth. The quality, and death of* Balthaſar.

THough I have already (as it ſeems to me) ſufficently proved that *Balthaſar* was the Son, and immediate Succeſſor to *Evilmerodach*, yet conſidering earneſtly the conjectures of thoſe Writers, which, following *Beroſus*, inſert *Nigliſſar*, or *Nirigliſſoroor*, and his Son *Labaſſardach* between them; as alſo that which I find in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queen of *Babylon*, who greatly adorned and fortified that City; I have thought it not ſuperfluous here in this place to ſhew, by what means it was poſſible, that ſome errour might have crept into the Hiſtory of thoſe times, and thereby have brought us to a needleſs trouble of ſearching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the uncertain fragments of loſt Authors, which we might have found by day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. Firſt therefore I obſerve, that the time which *Beroſus* divides betwixt *Evilmerodach*, and ther two next Kings, agrees with the years in which *Nebuchadnezzar* lived wild among brute beaſts in the open field: Secondly, that the ſuddenneſs of this accident, which came in one hour, could not but work much perturbation in that State, wherein doubtleſs the honour of ſo noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamity pitied, and his reſtitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clauſe which promiſed his recovery, as being verified in that which had been more incredible. Now if we do in common reaſon judge, what courſe was like to be taken by the great Ones of the Kingdom, for ſetling the Government, whilſt the King was thus diſtracted, we ſhall find it moſt likely, that his Son and Heir did occupy the Royal Throne, with condition to reſtore it unto his Father, when God ſhould enable him to repoſſeſs it. In this his rule *Evilmerodach* being to ſupply the utter want of underſtanding in his Father, as Protectors do the unripeneſs of it in young, but reaſonable Kings, Might eaſily either commit the inſolences, or fall into the troubles, incident to ſuch an office. That he had in him very ſmall ability of Government, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when he held it in his own right. That his Siſter *Nitocris* (if *Notocris* were his Siſter) was an woman of a high ſpirit; it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, ſaying, That ſhe was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and uſeful works about the River of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of *Babylon* againſt the *Medes*, who had gotten many Towns from the *Aſſyrians*, and amongſt them *Nineve*. Wherefore it were not unreaſonable to think, that ſuch a woman, ſeeing how the Empire went to decay through her Brothers miſ-government, uſed practices to get the rule into her own hands, and afterwards, as a Mother, to leave it unto her ungracious Son. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could have reigned, we do not find; but we find in *Beroſus* (as *Joſephus* hath cited him) that *Nigliſſar*, who got the Kingdom from *Evilmerodach*, was his Siſters Husband; which argues this to have been the ſame woman. As for *Labaſſardach* the Son of *Nigliſſar*, if at the end of nine moneths reign he were for his lewd conditions ſlain by the Nobility, as the ſame *Beroſus* reporteth; it ſeems that God prepared hereby the way for *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reſtitution (whoſe term of puniſhment was then expired) by raiſing ſuch trouble, as ſhould make him the more deſired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here uſe many words to confute that which *Beroſus* hath further ſet down of *Evilmerodach*, telling us that he was ſlain by his Siſters Husband: For the plain words of the Scripture, naming the year wherein he gave liberty to *Jeconia*, do plainly teſtifie that he out-lived the three or four and fortieth year of his Fathers reign, which was the laſt of his life.

Herodot. l. 1.

This may ſuffice to ſhew, that they who are ſaid to have ſucceeded *Evilmerodach* in the Kingdom, might indeed have ſo done, though not when he held it in his own right. Of *Balthaſar*, who was his Son and Heir, we find, that he had ſuch conditions, as

God permitted to be in a King for the ruin of the people. He was from his young years of a mischievous nature; having in his Fathers time slain a Noble young man that should have married his Sister, only for spight and envy to see him kill two wild beasts in hunting, at which himself having thrown his Javelin had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beauty, said, It were a happy woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loved his Father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to revolt from him unto the enemy as soon as he was King. Neither do I find that he performed any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a fool he lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to give battel to them that daily took somewhat from him. Yet carelesly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on every side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom he had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a fool taken in unexcusable security, yet had not that happiness, such as it is, of a death free from apprehension of fear, but was terrified with a dreadful vision; which had shewed his ruin not in many hours before, even whilst he was drinking in that wine, which the swords of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable reign of seventy years, he perished like a beast, and was slain as he deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath been spoken heretofore; in matter of his affairs, shall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whose story, that of *Balthasar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the original and first greatness of the Persians.

§. I.

That the Medes *were the chief actors in the subversion of the* Babylonian *Empire.*

THE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguished in *Balthasar*, the Empire of *Babylon*, and of *Assyria*, was joyned first to that of *Media*, which then was governed by *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of *Assyria*, and of *Media* it self.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings besides himself, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metasthenes*. These two Provincial Governours having cut down the last branch of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, divided between them the Eastern Empire. *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two years after that the Line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthasar*; the Dominions as well of the Conqueror, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to *Cyrus* of the house of *Achæmenes*; the Princes of which blood reigning in *Persia*, had formerly been dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the world.

Of the Family of the *Achæmenes*, and Line of the *Persian* Kings, we shall hereafter find occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* descended from *Madai* the third Son of *Japhet*. That they had Kings soon after the Flood, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* have found record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an antient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaspes*, and *Diodore* speaketh of *Pharnus* with his seven Sons, Slain by the *Assyrians* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the *Assyrians*, I take the list and number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I have spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these:

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Sorsamus		30	years.
Medidus		40	years.
Cardiceas		13	years.
Diocles		53	years.
Phraortes		24	years.
Cyaxares		32	years.
Astyages		38	years.
Darius Medus			

And

And though the *Greeks* aſcribe the Conqueſt of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach us, that *Darius* was not only King of *Media*, and had the *Perſians* his followers, but that the Army victorious over *Balthaſar* was his; as the *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Empire alſo was, during his own life. For we find in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the *Medes* took the Kingdom being threeſcore and two years old: And further, what Officers it pleaſed him to ſet over the Kingdom. And ſo was it propheſied by *Eſay* long
c. 13. 17, 18. before: *Behold, I will ſtir up the* Medes
Jer. 51. 11. 28. *againſt them, &c.* And by *Jeremy*; *The Lord hath raiſed up the Spirit of the King of the* Medes: *for his purpoſe is againſt* Babel *to deſtroy it*; and in the eight and twentieth Verſe, *Prepare againſt her the Nations, with the King of the* Medes, *the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion.* Theſe Scriptures *Julius Africanus* doth well open, who taking authority from *Diodore*, *Caſtor*, *Thallus*, and others, delivereth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* began to reign; which alſo agreeth with *Strabo*, where he ſaith, That as the *Medes* were
Lib. 16. ſubjugated by the *Perſians*, ſo before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Aſſyrians* were maſtered by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Juſtin* and *Herodotus* are not to be received, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

§. II.

By what means the Empire was tranſlated from the Medes *to the* Perſians.

HOw the Kingdom of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not ſufficiently cleared by Hiſtorians; But rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of thoſe who give the Conqueſt of *Babel* to the *Perſians* only. For ſome there are who deny that *Aſtyages* had any other Succeſſor than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Cteſias* on the contrary ſide affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way deſcended from *Aſtyages* (whom he called *Aſtigas* or *Apania*) but only that having vanquiſhed him in battel, and confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Amytis*. But I find the relations of *Cteſias* often cited, and ſeldom followed, and himſelf ſometimes very juſtly reproved of wilful untruth.

Viginier, a diligent and learned hiſtorian of this age, produceth many probable reaſons that *Aſtyages* had no ſuch Son as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirm this opinion the more he citeth *Diodore*, *Juſtin*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Iſocrates*, and before them *Caſtor*, *Thallus*, and *Phlegon*; who do not find any ſuch Succeſſor. Neither do *Tatianus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Julius*, *Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, St. *Hierom*, or St. *Auguſtin*, make report out of any faithful Author by them read, that hath given other Son or Succeſſor to *Aſtyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet ſeeing that this manner of argument *ab authoritate negativè*, doth never inforce conſent; we may be the bolder (all this great liſt of noble Writers by him alleadged notwithſtanding) to affirm, that either *Aſtyages* himſelf muſt have been *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the courſe of time; or elſe to give him ſome other ſucceſſor, according to *Joſephus* and *Xenophon*, the ſame whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifeſt, and without diſpute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chief, and was abſolute Lord of that Conqueſt; *Cyrus* during his life, being no other than the Lieutenant of his Army, and ſubject to his authority; the ſtrength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, with other the Vaſſals of *Darius*, being joyned together to compound it.

Zo. l. 1. c. 19. *Joſ. Ant. l. 10. c. 13.* *Xen. l. 8. Paed.*

But it is very certain, that the honour of that great victory over *Babylon* was wholly given to *Cyrus*, who was the inſtrument preordained and forenamed by God himſelf for this action, but for the delivery of his Church, a greater work not only in the eyes of God, than the ſubverſion of any State or Monarchy how powerful ſoever.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers employed in that ſervice did rather aſcribe the glory to him that was the beſt man of war, than to the *Median*, who was greateſt in riches and power. All which alſo falling upon *Cyrus* by ſucceſſion, and continuing in his poſterity, did much augment the fame of his vertue; which among prophane Hiſtorians over-grew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both becauſe he was old, and did nothing in perſon; as alſo becauſe he ſoon after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was poſſeſt of whatſoever belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any ſuch King or Conqueror was carried far off.

And for the *Greek* Hiſtorians, they took all things from the relation of the *Perſians*, who gave to *Cyrus* all the praiſe of a moſt excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the firſt, fifth, and ſixth Chapters of his Prophecy, makes it plain, that himſelf not only lived a great Officer under King

King *Darius*, but that he continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*; which being the year of *Daniel*'s death, could not have been distinguished from the reign of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned joyntly: Neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdom by *Cyrus* permission, considering that *Cyrus* began after him.

§. III.

Xenophon's *relation of the War with the* Medes *and* Persians, *made with joynt forces upon the* Assyrians *and others.*

THese Testimonies of the Scriptures, which need no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our understanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these Wars: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Assyrian* had enlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries; he began to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought under his subjection, there should not then be left any Nation adjoyning, able to make head against him. For, the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threescore thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, to which the forces of *Persia* being joyned, made an exceeding strong Army.

The *Assyrian* considering the strength of such a Neighbour, invited *Crœsus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mighty both in men and treasure, and with him other Lords of *Asia* the less, to his assistance, alleadging, that those Eastern Nations were very powerful, and so firmly conjoyned by league, and many alliances, that it would not be easie, no not possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements, and strengthned with great Presents, he drew to himself so many adherents, as he compounded an Army of two hundred thousand foot, and threescore thousand horse; of which, ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot were led by *Crœsus*, who had great cause of enmity with the *Medes*, in regard of the War made by them against his Father *Alyattes*: But this great Army was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* General of the *Persian* forces, utterly broken: Upon which defeat the *Assyrian* King being also slain, so many of the *Assyrians* revolted, as *Babylon* it self could not longer be assured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great summs of mony out of *Asia* the less, *Egypt*, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces were also scattered by *Cyrus*, who following his advantage, possest himself of a great part of the lesser *Asia*; at which time it was, as I take it, that *Crœsus* himself was also made prisoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following soon after, the Army lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* called *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his Sisters Son, prevailed against *Balthasar*, as in due time shall be set down.

Those *Persians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him levied, are numbered thirty thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the common sort were Archers, or such as used the Dart or Sling: So far *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the pattern of a most Heroical Prince, with much Poetical addition: so it cannot be denied, but that the bulk and gross of his Narration was founded upon meer Historical truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like Writers, that in every speech and circumstance he hath precisely tyed himself to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Moral and Politick discourse, and examining but the History of things done, it will easily appear, that *Xenophon* hath handled his under-taken subject in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any sort corrupted the body.

§. IV.

The estate of the Medes *and* Persians *in times foregoing this great War.*

FOr it is commonly agreed upon, that *Achæmenes*, the Son of *Perses*, being Governour of *Persia*, did associate himself with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media*, in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victory obtained, held for himself the Dominion of those Countries, which he had formerly ruled for the *Assyrians*; as also that they conveyed over the same honour and power to their posterity: which in *Media* was not absolutely Regal, but with some restraint limited, until such time as *Deioces* took upon him the full authority and majesty of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reign of *Deioces*, are usually accounted about an hundred and forty years; in the last sixty whereof, there reigned in *Assyria* mighty Princes, namely,

namely, *Salmanaſſar* and his Succeſſors; whoſe great atchievements in *Syria* and elſewhere, witneſs, that the *Medes* and *Perſians* found it not for their advantage to undertake any offenſive war againſt thoſe victorious Kings, it being alſo probable, that the league continued as yet between theſe the ſucceſſors of *Belochus* and *Arbaces*, who had formerly ſhared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the firſt of *Aſtyages*, there paſt above ninety years, in which, if *Herodotus* have written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered *Perſia*, and how he and other Kings of *Media* by many victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of *Aſia*, it had been but an unadviſed enterprize of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, to have waſted themſelves againſt the *Syrians*, and *Egyptians*, leaving ſo able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the *Medes* had done nothing upon the South parts of *Perſia*; and that the *Perſians* themſelves were not Maſters of *Suſiana* in *Nabuchodonoſor*'s time; it is manifeſt in *Daniel*, who was then Governor for the *Babylonian* in *Suſa*, or *Suſan*, the chief City thereof. It is true indeed, that the *Medians*, either under *Cyaxares*, or *Aſtyages*, or both, had quarrel with *Halyattes* the Father of *Cræſus*, which, after ſome ſix years diſpute, was compounded.

How the affairs of *Perſia* ſtood in ſo many ages, I do not find any memory. It ſeemeth that the roughneſs of the mountainous Country which they then poſſeſt, with the confederacy which they continued with the *Medes*, gave them more ſecurity than fame: For if their Kings, being the poſterity of *Achæmenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatneſs which they afterward obtained, would not have ſuffered any forgetfulneſs thereof. But as we find all *Xenophon*'s reports, both of theſe Wars, and the ſtate of thoſe Countries to be very conſonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors; ſo it appears, that the race of *Achæmenes* held the Principality of *Perſia* from Father to Son for many diſcents. And therefore we may better give credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyſes* the Father of *Cyrus* was King of *Perſia*; than to thoſe that make him a mean man, and ſay, that *Aſtyages* gave him his Daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her Son (whoſe nativity he feared) might be diſabled from any great undertaking by his Fathers ignobility.

For, what cauſe of grief could it be to *Aſtyages*, that the Son of his Daughter ſhould become Lord of the beſt part of *Aſia*? No, it was more likely, that upon ſuch a Prophecy his love to his Grand-child ſhould have increaſed, and his care been the greater to have married her to ſome Prince of ſtrength and eminent virtue.

Yea, the ſame *Herodotus*, who is the firſt Author, and, as I think, the deviſer of the miſchief intended againſt *Cyrus* by his Grand-father, doth confeſs, That the line of the *Achæmenidæ* was ſo renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his proſperity, did thence derive himſelf, and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they been ignoble, or had they been the vaſſals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this ſort *Xerxes* in the ſeventh of *Herodotus* deriveth himſelf;

Achæmenes.	*Teiſpeus.*	*Hyſtaſpes.*
Cambyſes.	*Ariaramnes.*	*Darius.*
Cyrus.	*Arſamnes.*	*Xerxes.*

Of the *Achæmenidæ* there were two races: of the firſt was *Cyrus* the great, whoſe iſſue-male failed in his two Sons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*. This royal family is thus ſet down by the learned *Reineccius*.

Achæmenes, the Son of *Perſes*, firſt King of *Perſia*.

Darius.

Cyrus, the firſt of that name, had *Cambyſes*, and *Atoſſa*, who, married to *Pharnaces*, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artiſtona* and other Daughters.

Cambyſes had

Cyrus the Great: *Cyrus* had

Cambyſes, who ſucceeded him, and *Smerdis*, ſlain by his Brother *Cambyſes*.

Of the ſecond, were thoſe ſeven great Princes of *Perſia*, who having overthrown the uſurped Royalty of the *Magi*, choſe from among themſelves *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, King.

This Kingdom of *Perſia* was firſt known by the name of *Elam*, ſo called after *Elam* the Son of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamitæ*; by *Elianus*, *Elymæ*; by *Joſephus*, *Elymi*.

Suidas derives this Nation ſometimes from *Aſſur*, ſometimes from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Maguſæi*; which *Maguſæi*, according to *Euſebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in general, but for thoſe that were afterward called the *Magi*, or Wiſemen. So do the *Greeks*, among many other their ſayings of them, affirm, That the *Perſians* were anciently written *Artæi*, and that they called themſelves *Cephenes*. But that

Eu l. 6. c. 8. de Præp. Evang.

Gen. 10 Isa. 11. 21, 22. Jer. 25. 29. Ezek. 32. Dan. 8. Esd. 4. 2 Mac. 9. 1 Mac. 6.

that they were *Elamitæ*, *Moses* and the Prophets, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and *Esdras*, in many places confirm: Which also St. *Hierom* upon *Jeremy* the five and twentieth, upon *Daniel* the eighth, and also in his *Hebrew* questions, approveth, saying: *Elam à quo Elamitæ Principes Persidis*; Elam, *of whom were the* Elamites *Princes of* Persia.

And that City which the Author of the second Book of the *Maccabees* calleth *Persepolis*, is by the Author of the first called *Elamais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the same which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted, in vain, and to his great dishonour. And yet this City, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Persepolis*; for *Alexander*, at the request of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The first King of *Persia* to us known, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the fourteenth Chapter of *Genesis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who lived with *Amrafel* or *Ninias*, and joyned with him in the war against those *Arabians*, who was afterward extinguished by the forces of *Abraham*.

CHAP. III.

Of Cyrus.

§. I.

Of Cyrus *his Name, and first actions.*

Strab. l. 15.

AS touching the Name of *Cyrus* *Strabo* saith, That the same was taken from a River which watereth *Persia*; this great Prince having *Agradatus* for his proper Name: But the great *Cyrus* was the first of that Name. *Herodotus*, otherwise; and that *Cyrus* signifieth a Father in the *Persian*-Tongue, and therefore so intituled by the people.

Plut. in vit. Artax.

It is true, that for his Justice and other excellent virtues he was indeed called a Father: But that the Name of *Cyrus* had any such signification, I think it be mistaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to say as the Sun, in the same Language. Howsoever it be, yet the Prophet *Esay*, almost two hundred years before *Cyrus* was born, gives him that Name, *Thus saith the Lord unto* Cyrus *his Annointed, &c.*

Before the Conquest of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which the Conquest of *Lydia*, and other Provinces thereto subject, together with the taking of *Crœsus* himself, are not recounted by *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and others, but placed among his latter atchievements: whose opinion for his difference of time is founded upon two reasons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in the last war against *Crœsus*; and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*; and the glorious victory which *Cyrus* had over *Babylon*, to the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*.

The former of which might have been used (and was by the *Greeks*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honour of having won *Babylon* it self, which in due place I have answered. The latter seems to have reference to the second War which *Cyrus* made upon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; as which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to believe with *Herodotus*, whom the most of Chronologers follow, and find the enterprize of *Sardis* to preceed that of *Babylon*.

§. II.

Of Crœsus *the King of* Lydia, *who made war upon* Cyrus.

I Have in the last Book spoke somewhat of *Crœsus*, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which governed *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors known) was *Lydus* the Son of *Atys*: which Family extinguished, the Kingdom was by an Oracle conferred upon *Argon*, descended from *Hercules*, whereof there were two and twenty Generations; *Candaules* being the last, who by shewing his fair wife naked to *Gyges* his favourite, he was by the same *Gyges* (thereto urged

urged upon peril of his own life by the Queen) the next day ſlain. Which done, *Gyges* enjoyed both the Queen and the Kingdom of *Lydia*, and left the ſame to *Atys* his Son, who was Father to *Sadyattes*, the Father of *Halyattes* (who thruſt the *Cimmerians* out of *Aſia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Cræſus*. Which five Kings, of a third race, enjoyed that Kingdom an hundred and ſeventy years. *Halyattes* the Father of *Cræſus* was an undertaking Prince, and after he had continued a War againſt *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it ſix years, a peace was concluded upon equal conditions between them.

Herod. l. 1. c. 3. & 5.

Aſtyages the Son of *Cyaxares*, and Grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himſelf greatly honoured by obtaining *Aryenes*, *Cræſus* Siſter, whom he married.

But *Cræſus* ſo far enlarged his Dominions after his Fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were four in effect of equal ſtrength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Egyptian*, and the *Lydian*: only *Nabuchodonoſor*, after he had joyned *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtina*, and *Egypt* to his Empire, had thence-forward no Competitor during his own life.

But *Cræſus*, notwithſtanding the men and treaſure ſpent in the quarrel of the *Babylonians*, he yet maſtered *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Provinces poſſeſt by the *Greeks* in *Aſia* the leſs, adjoyning to *Lydia*; gave Law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithinians*, *Carians*, *Myſians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he alſo inforc'd the *Epheſians* to acknowledge him, notwithſtanding they compaſſed their City with *Diana*'s Girdle, *Herodotus* witneſſeth. Moreover, *Athenæus* out of *Berojus* (which alſo confirmeth) makes report of a Signal Victory, which *Cræſus* obtained againſt the *Sacæans*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memory whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yearly celebrate a Feaſt, which they called *Sacæa*: All which he performed in fourteen years.

Herod. l. 5. Athen. l. 14. c. 17.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting alſo that his proſperous undertakings might in the end grow perilous to himſelf, he conſulted with the Oracle of *Apollo* (whom he preſented with marvellous rich gifts) what ſucceſs he might hope for againſt *Cyrus*, if he undertook him: from whom he received this riddle; Cræſus *paſſing over the River* Halys, *ſhall diſſolve a great Dominion*. For the Devil being doubtful of the ſucceſs, payed him with merchandize of both ſide alike, and might be inverted either way; to the ruin of *Perſia*, or of his own *Lydia*.

§. III.

Cræſus *his Expedition againſt* Cyrus.

HEreupon *Cræſus* being reſolved to ſtop the courſe of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, deſpiſed all the arguments uſed by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who deſired him to fore-think, That he urged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region; a people not covered with the ſoft ſilk of Worms, but with the hard skins of Beaſts; not fed with ſuch meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of Water, not of Wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and proſperous; over whom, if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himſelf in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and ſubjected, ſo great would his loſs appear of all things which the world hath in account, as the ſame could neither haſtily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithſtanding this ſolid counſel, *Cræſus* having prepared a powerful Army, he led the ſame toward *Media*, but in his paſſage he was arreſted at *Pterium*, a City of great ſtrength in *Cappadocia*; which while he ſought by all means to ſurprize or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each was inferiour to other in ſtrength or opinion, I do not find: for, out of doubt, *Cræſus*, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and ability; ſo was he not under any in territory and fame that then lived.

But, as *Cratippus* of *Mitylene* anſwered *Pompey* when he complained againſt the gods, becauſe they favoured a diſturber and uſurper of the Common-weal againſt him who fought for the *Roman* liberty, That Kingdoms and Common-weals had their encreaſe and period from divine Ordinance: ſo, at this time was the Winter of *Cræſus* proſperity at hand, the leaves of his flouriſhing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and firſt ſpring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis* Herdman, *Apollo*, had given a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When theſe two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers skirmiſhes, the *Perſians* and *Lydians* began to joyn in groſs troops: ſupplies from both Kings thruſt on upon the falling off, and advancement of either Nations: and as

the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the day, so when the dark vail of night had hidden each Army from the others view, *Crœsus* doubting what succes the rising Sun would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speed possible retired, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first City and Regal Seat, without any pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other War for that Winter, he dismissed the Souldiers, and sent the troops of his sundry Nations to their own Provinces, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of five months, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the War at the time appointed.

§. IV.

The Conquest of Lydia *by* Cyrus.

Cyrus in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his Army in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heels, as to be discovered. But having good intelligence of *Crœsus* his proceeding, he so measured his marches, as he presented not himself before *Sardis*, till such time as *Crœsus* had disposed his Army to their wintring garrisons; which being altogether unlooked for, and unfeared, he surrounded *Sardis* with his Army; Wherein *Crœsus* having no other Companies than his Citizens and Ordinary Guards, after fourteen dayes siege the same was entred by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Crœsus* having now neither Arms to fight, nor wings to fly, *Sardis* being on all parts strongly encompassed, thrust himself into the heap and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had undergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a son of his, who had been dumb all his life (by extremity of passion and fear enabled) cryed out to the Souldiers to spare *Crœsus*. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, despoiled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heap of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembring the discourse which he had with the *Athenian* Law-giver, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon:* and being demanded what he meant by that invocation, he first used silence; but urged again, he told them, That he had now found it true which *Solon* had long since told him, That many men in the race and courses of their lives might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discern himself for happy indeed, till his end.

In communi calamitate suam quisque habet fortunam, Curt. *Memoriam metus perimit: timor, vocis est incitamentum, &c.* Solin. c. 7.

Of which answer *Cyrus* being speedily informed, remembring the changes of fortune, and his own mortality, he commanded his Ministers of Justice to withdraw the fire with all diligence, to save *Crœsus*, and to conduct him to his presence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him? or what self-reason had conducted him to invade his territory, and to make him of a Friend an Enemy? To whom he thus answered; It was thy prosperous, and my unprosperous destiny (the *Grecian* god flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inventers and conductors of *Crœsus* War against *Cyrus*.

Cyrus being pierc't with *Crœsus* answer, and bewailing his estate, though victorious over it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him ever after as a King and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, *Quæ non causam, sed fortunam spectat.*

And herein is the real difference discerned between that behaviour which we call *beneficium latronis*, and *gratiam Principis:* A thief sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but unjustly: A King that giveth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his own evil.

The report made by *Xenophon*, is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertain *Crœsus* at the first sight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* delivers, and is here already set down, that he should have been burnt alive. It may very well be, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroical Prince, thought an intent so cruel, fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much mis-beseeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that neerness of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had he been otherwise vicious) from so cruel a purpose against his Grandmothers brother. Howsoever it was, the moral part of the Story hath given much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it pass for currant, though the trust reposed in *Crœsus* afterwards may seem to argue, that *Cyrus* did not use him inhumanly at the first.

For, as *Herodotus* himself telleth us, when *Cyrus* past with his Army over *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Crœsus* to accompany and advise his son *Cambyses*, Governour of the Empire in his absence, with whom he lived all the time of *Cyrus*, and did afterward follow

low *Cambyſes* into *Egypt*, where he hardly eſcaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was, I do not find.

But in this time the races of three of the greateſt Kings in that part of the World took end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydians*; in *Balthaſar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Crœſus*.

§. V.

How Cyrus *won* Babylon.

AFter this *Lydian* War, enſued the great Conqueſt of *Babylon*, which gave unto *Cyrus* an Empire ſo large and mighty, that he was juſtly reputed the greateſt Monarch then living upon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up, it is uncertain; only it ſeems, that ten whole years did paſs between his taking thoſe two Cities of *Sardis* and *Babylon*; which nevertheleſs I do not think to have been wholly occupyed in proviſion for the *Aſſyrian* war, but rather to have been ſpent in ſettling the Eſtate which he had already purchaſed. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Cteſias* hath in his fragments, of a war made by *Cyrus* upon the *Scythians*, though related as foregoing the victory obtained againſt *Crœſus*. He telleth us, That *Cyrus* invaded *Scythia*, and being victorious over that Nation, took *Amorges* their King priſoner: but being in a ſecond battel overthrown by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one King was delivered for the other.

Likewiſe it may be thought that no ſmall part of thoſe troubles which aroſe in the lower *Aſia*, grew ſoon after the departure of the victorious Army, before the Conqueſt was fully eſtabliſhed.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Aſia* the leſs, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Crœſus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; againſt whom he employed *Pactias*, and then *Harpagus*, who firſt reduced the *Phocians* under their former obedience, and then the reſt of the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia* the leſs, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*, who reſolvedly (according to the ſtrength they had) defended themſelves. But in the attempt upon *Babylon* it ſelf, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, having taken order before-hand, that nothing ſhould be able to divert him, or to raiſe that ſiege, and make fruſtrate the work upon which he did ſet all his reſt. And great reaſon there was, that he ſhould bend all his care and ſtrength unto the taking of that City, which beſide the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was ſo ſtrongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and ſurrounded with waters unfoordable, ſo plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their eſtate, but deſpiſed and derided all purpoſes and power of their beſiegers.

The only hope of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, who deſpaired of carrying by aſſault a City ſo well fortified and man'd, was, in cutting off all ſupplies of victuals and other neceſſaries: whereof though the Town was ſaid to be ſtored ſufficiently for more than twenty years, yet might it well be deemed, that in ſuch a world of people as dwelt within thoſe gates, one great want or other would ſoon appear, and vanquiſh the reſolution of that unwarlike multitude. In expecting the ſucceſs of this courſe, the Beſiegers were likely to endure much travel, and all in vain, if they did not keep ſtreight watch and ſtrong guards upon all quarters.

This was hard to do, in regard of the vaſt circuit of thoſe walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men ſufficiently aſſured unto their Commander: The conſideration whereof miniſtred unto the *Babylonians* matter of good paſtime, when they ſaw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Town to keep them in, who having been their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to joyn with them, if occaſion were offered than to uſe much diligence on the behalf of *Cyrus*; who had, as it were yeſterday, laid upon their necks the galling yoak of ſervitude. Whileſt the beſieged were pleaſing themſelves in this deceitful and vain gladneſs, that is the ordinary fore-runner of ſudden calamity, *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made ſtrong, conſtant, and inventive, deviſed, by ſo many channels and trenches as were ſufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, to draw the ſame from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and aſſured: which when by the labour of many hands he had performed, he ſtayed the time of his advantage for the execution: for he had left certain banks or heads un-cut, between the main river which ſurrounded the City, and his own Trenches.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7.

Now *Balthaſar*, finding neither any want or weakneſs within, nor any poſſibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding ſumptuous Feaſt, publick

Playes, and other Pastimes; and thereto invited a thousand of his Princes or Nobility, besides his Wives, Curtizans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the besiegers know, that his provisions were either sufficient, not only for all needfull uses, but even for jollity and excess; or because he hoped that his enemies, under the burthen of many distresses, were well near broken; or in honour of *Bell* his most reverenced Idol; or that it was his Birth or Coronation-day; or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equal, but (using *Daniel*'s words) *he lifted himself up against the Lord of Heaven:* for he and his Princes, Wives and Concubines, made carowsing cups of the vessels of Gold, in contempt of whom, he praised his own Puppets, made of Silver and Gold, of Brass, Iron, Wood, and Stone; *Quanta fuit stultitia in vasibus aureis bibentes, ligneos & lapideos deos laudare? How great a foolishness was it* (saith St. *Hierom*) *drinking in golden Cups, to praise gods of Wood and Stone?* While *Balthasar* was in this sort triumphing, and his brains well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall opposite unto him, certain words which he understood not: wherewith so great a fear and amazement seised him, as the joynts of his loyns were
Dan. 5. 6. loosed, and his knees smote one against the other. Which passion, when he had in some part recovered, he cried out for his *Chaldæans*, Astrologians, and Southsayers, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdom to him that could read and expound the writing: but it exceeded their Art. In this disturbance and astonishment, the Queen hearing what had past, and of the Kings amazement, after reverence done, used this speech: *There is a man in thy Kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy Father, light, and understanding, and wisdom, like the wisdom of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King* Nabuchodonosor, *thy Father, the King* (I say) *thy Father made chief of the Inchanters, Astrologians,* Chaldæans, *and Southsayers, because a more excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding,* &c. *were found in him, even in* Daniel, *&c. Now let* Daniel *be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

Orig. & Theod. in Dan. Joseph. Ant. 10. This Queen, *Josephus* takes for the Grandmother; *Origen* and *Theodoret*, for the Mother of *Balthasar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that she was not any of the Kings Wives, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dancing and banquetting, she came in upon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his distraction. And whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger years and times, this old Queen remembred well what he had done in the dayes of *Nabuchodonosor*, Grandfather to this *Balthasar*, and kept in mind both his Religion and divine gifts.

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to read and interpret those words miraculously written; to whom *Daniel* made answer in a far different style from that he used towards his Grandfather: for, the evil which he foretold *Nabuchodonosor*, he wished that the same might be all his enemies; but to this King (whose neglect of God, and vice, he hated) he answered in these words, *Keep thy rewards to thy self, and give thy gifts to another; yet will I read the writing unto the King, and shew him the interpretation.* Which, before he had performed, he gave him first the cause of Gods just judgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence, whereof the King and all his Wise men were utterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath *Dan. 5. 18, 19, 22.* this effect, That forgetting Gods goodness to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprived him of his estate and understanding, so upon the acknowledgment of Gods infinite power he restored him to both. This King, notwithstanding, lifted himself up against the same God; and presuming both to abuse those Vessels dedicated to holy uses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praised and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Brass, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those words, from the Oracle of a true God delivered, (to wit) *Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*, gave the King knowledge, that God hath numbred the time of his Kingdom, and finished it; That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods Justice, and found too light; and that his Empire was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein *Balthasar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus*, either by his espials, according to *Xenophon*; or inspired by God himself, whose ensign he followed in this War, found the time and opportunity to invite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobility were no less filled with the vapors of Wine, than their hearts with the fear of

of Gods judgment, he cauſed all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut down with that diligence, as by them he drew the great River of *Euphrates* dry for the preſent, by whoſe channel running, his Army made their entrance, finding none to diſturb them. All the Town lay buried (as the Poet ſaith) in ſleep and wine: ſuch as came in the *Perſians* way, were put to the ſword, unleſs they ſaved themſelves by flight, as ſome did, who ran away crying, and filling the ſtreets with an uncertain tumult.

Such *Aſſyrian* Lords as had revolted from *Balthaſar*, and betaken themſelves to the party of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a ſelected company to the Kings Palace; which having eaſily forced, they ruſhed into the Chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, ſlew both him and them without any mercy, who ſtruggled in vain to keep thoſe lives which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the Prophecy *Jer. 27. 47.* of *Jeremy* fulfilled, and that of *Eſay* two hundred years before this ſubverſion; who in his ſeven and fortieth Chapter, and elſewhere, writeth this deſtruction ſo feelingly and lively, as if he had been preſent both at the terrible ſlaughter there committed, and had ſeen the great and unfeared change and calamity of this great Empire; yea, and had alſo heard the ſorrows and bewailings of every ſurviving ſoul thereunto ſubject. His Prophecy of this place he beginneth in theſe words; *Come down, and ſit in the duſt, O Virgin Daughter of* Babel: *ſit on the ground, there is no throne, &c.* And again, *Sit ſtill, and get thee into darkneſs, O daughter of the* Chaldæans; *for thou ſhalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdoms.* For, though it cannot be doubted, that God uſed *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the *Chaldæans*, to puniſh the Idolatry of the *Judæans*; yet *Eſay* teacheth us in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execu- *Cap. 47.* tion of his judgments was mixt with a rigorous extremity. For (ſaith *Eſay*) in the perſon of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didſt ſhew them no mercy, but thou didſt lay thy very heavy yoke upon the* *Cap. 14.* *ancient. I will riſe up againſt them, ſaith the* To wit, Evilmerodach and Balthaſar. *Lord of Hoſts, and will cut off from* Babel *the Name, and the Remnant, and the Son, and the Nephew.* And in the thirteenth, *Every one that is found, ſhall be ſtricken thorow: whoſoever joyneth himſelf, ſhall fall by the ſword, their children alſo ſhall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houſes ſpoiled, and their Wives raviſhed.* So as there is no Hiſtorian who was either preſent at this victory of *Cyrus*, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the ſame to poſterity after it happened, than *Eſay* hath done in many places of his Prophecies, which were written two hundred years before any thing attempted.

The greatneſs and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by divers grave Authors ſet down, might ſeem altogether fabulous: for, beſides the reports of Saint *Hierom*, *Solinus*, and *Oroſius*, *Ariſtotle* in the third of his *Politicks*, the ſecond Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the City knew not that the reſt was taken three dayes *Diod. l. 3.* after. Which is not impoſſible, if the teſtimony of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who findes the compaſs therof at three hundred and threeſcore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes five and forty miles: the walls whereof had ſo great a breadth, that ſix Chariots might paſs in front thereon. And of height, according to *Cteſias* and *Clitracus*, three hundred threeſcore and five foot, garniſhed with an hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his ſixteenth Book of Geography, gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twenty Furlongs more to the former compaſs, reckoning the ſame at three hundred fourſcore and five Furlongs, which make eight and forty mile and one Furlong, but finds the wall far under that which *Diodore* reports: and ſo doth *Curtius* meaſure their thickneſs but at two and thirty foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is alſo very much; every cubit containing a foot and a half of the large meaſure, though to the whole circuit of the City he gives the ſame with *Siculus*, and eight Furlongs more. *Herodotus* finds a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, four hundred and fourſcore furlongs circle; the thickneſs of the wall he meaſures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the ſame regal cubit. For entrance, it had *Her. l. 1.* an hundred Gates of Braſs, with poſts and Hooks to hang them on of the ſame metal: and therefore did the Prophet *Eſay* rightly intitle *Babylon*, The Princeſs and Glory of *Iſa. 47. 13.* Kingdoms.

But when *Cyrus* had won her, he ſtript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a ſlave; dividing not only all her goodly houſes, and her whole Territory, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers; but beſtowing the inhabitants themſelves as bond-ſlaves upon thoſe that had taken poſſeſſion of their goods.

Touching the reign of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enjoyed in reſt and pleaſure, I can ſay no more of it, than that it is generally

rally agreed by all Chronologers to have lasted only seven years: in which time he made such Constitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all wise Kings that are desirous to establish a Royal power to themselves and their posterity.

§. VI.

The End of Cyrus.

THe last War, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diversly written. *Herodotus* and *Justin* deliver, That after the Conquest of *Asia* the less, *Cyrus* invaded the *Massagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their Queen: and that in an incounter between the *Persians* and these Northern *Nomades*, *Tomyris* lost her Army, and her Son *Spargapises* that commanded it: In revenge whereof, this Queen making new levies of men of War, and following the War against *Cyrus*, in a second battel beat the *Persian* Army, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a bowl of blood, using these words; *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for blood, now drink thy fill, and satiate thy self.*

It should hereby seem, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their fury by some forcible invasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares* Father to *Astyages*, those *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Asia* the less, and held the same in a servile subjection eight and twenty years.

This War, which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, lasted (saith he) six years, and took end at the end of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I believe with *Viginier*, that this *Scythian* War was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the *Sacians* before the conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Ctesias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, though he deliver the success of that War otherwise than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (saith *Viginier*) because *Strabo* in his eleventh Book reciteth, that *Cyrus* surprized the *Sacians* by the same stratagem by which *Justin* saith, he defeated the Son of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesias* also reporteth, That the last War which *Cyrus* made, was against *Amorrhæus* King of the *Derbicians*, a Nation (as the rest) of *Scythia*; whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he suffered three dayes after.

Viz. prim. part. Bib.

Cte. l. 15. hist. part.

Strab. l. 15. *Strabo* also affirmeth, That he was buried in his own City of *Pasagardes*, which himself had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is said to have been this: *O vir, quicunque es, & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi: Ego sum* Cyrus *qui Persis imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur corpus mihi nè invideas; O thou man, whosoever thou art, or whencesoever thou comest; for I was not ignorant that thou shouldst come: I am* Cyrus *that founded the* Persian *Empire, do not envy unto me this little earth, with which my body is covered.*

This Tomb was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either upon hope of treasure, supposed to have been buried with him (or upon desire to honour his dead body with certain ceremonies) in which there was found an old rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bows, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his body lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his own garment, and a Crown of Gold to be set upon it. These things well considered, as they give credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaves his body in the hands of *Tomyris*.

Qu. Curt. l. 10.

Xen. hist. Zon. l. 12.

And surely, had *Cyrus* lost the Army of *Persia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his Son would so soon have transported all his remaining forces into *Egypt*, so far off from that quarter; the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*: neither had *Cambyses* been able in such haste to have undertaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather believe *Xenophon*, saying, That *Cyrus* died aged, and in peace: and that finding in himself, that he could not long enjoy the world, he called unto him his Nobility, with his two Sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*; or, after *Xenophon*, *Tanaoxares*: and, after a long Oration, wherein he assured himself, and taught others, of the immortality of the Soul, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserving of every man in this life; he exhorted his Sons by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetual concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he governed *Susa* in *Persia*; and that *Cyrus* himself had read the Prophecy of *Esay*, wherein he was expresly named, and by God (for the delivery of his people) preordained. Which act of delivering the *Jews* from their Captivity, and of restoring the holy Temple and City of *Jerusalem*, was in true consideration the noblest work that ever *Cyrus* performed. For in other

other actions he was an inſtrument of Gods power, uſed for the chaſtiſing of many Nations, and the eſtabliſhing of a Government in thoſe parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the Grace to be an inſtrument of Gods goodneſs, and a willing advancer of his Kingdom upon Earth; which muſt laſt for ever, though heaven and earth ſhall periſh.

§. VII.

Of Cyrus *his Decree for building the Temple of God in* Jeruſalem.

HAving therefore ſpoken of his great Victories, mentioned by ſundry Hiſtorians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his ſervice done unto him that was Authour of them and of all goodneſs: I hold it meet at length to ſpeak of the Decree made in the firſt of his Reign, being perhaps the firſt that ever he made after his poſſeſſion of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captive *Jews* ſhould return again into their own Territory, and re-build the Houſe of God in *Jeruſalem*, having now endured and finiſhed the threeſcore and ten years captivity, by the Prophets foretold. For the accompliſhing whereof, he gave order to his Treaſurers to furniſh them with all things neceſſary and wanting. He alſo reſtored unto them five thouſand four hundred threeſcore and nine Veſſels of Gold and Silver, whereof *Nabuchodonoſor*, the Grandfather of *Balthaſar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

The number of the *Jews* which returned out of *Chaldæa* under their Leader *Zorobabel*, the Son of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Jeconias*, and *Jeſus* or *Joſua* the ſon of *Joſadak*, were about fifty thouſand; where, as ſoon as they arrived, they built an Altar to the living God, and ſacrificed thereon, according to their own Law, and afterward bethought themſelves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

But no ſooner did the *Jews* begin to lay any one ſtone, than the *Samaritans* and other Idolatrous Nations adjoyning, gave all the impediment they could. So did the Governours of thoſe Provinces under *Cyrus* altogether countenance the diſturbers, and in no ſort favoured the *Jews*, nor the labours nor purpoſes they had in hand. And not only thoſe which were but Provincial Lieutenants, and other officers of leſs place, but *Cambyſes* himſelf; who having the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was buſied otherwiſe, countermanded the building begun. And whereas ſome Authours make doubt, that whatſoever *Cambyſes* did when himſelf had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no ſuch impediment or prohibition: they may herein reſolve themſelves out of *Eſdras*, That by the conſpiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindred all the time of King *Cyrus* life, &c. And therefore it is true, what the *Jews* themſelves affirm, as it is written in the ſecond of *John*, That the Temple was 46. years in ſetting up, having received ſo many hinderances from the firſt foundation to the ſecond of *Darius*.

And if we ſeek the natural and politick courſes which moved *Cambyſes* to withſtand his Fathers Decree, as well while he Governed under him, as when himſelf became ſole and Soveraign Monarch, we ſhall finde them in that Epiſtle remembred by *Eſdras*, written by *Belemus*, *Mithridates*, and the reſt, Preſidents and Counſellors in *Phœnicia*, wherein they complain that the *Jews* were evermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; that their City being once built, they would then refuſe to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings.

But that which for that preſent ſeemed the moſt forcible impediment, was, that *Cambyſes* having in his reſolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Jews* were deſcended of thoſe Nations, becauſe they iſſued thence under *Moſes*, when they conquered *Judæa*; their City being once repaired and fortified, they might return to their old vomit, and give the ſame diſturbance to *Cambyſes* Conqueſt, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For, as it is written in *Ezekiel*, Egypt *was the confidence of the houſe of* Iſrael.

But it is to be underſtood, as *Codoman* and others have obſerved, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counſellors and Governors of *Phœnicia* complained againſt the *Jews*, did not precede, but ſucceed *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, as in the ſixth and ſeventh Chapters of *Eſdras* it is made plain: and alſo that thoſe Governors (whoſe Epiſtle ſheweth as much) did not withſtand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and encloſing of the City, as by the reaſons given in the ſaid Epiſtle, and by the Kings anſwer, it is evident.

Alſo in the ſixth of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verſe, the Kings are named in order as they Governed, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as: *And they built and finiſhed it* (to wit the Temple) *by the appointment of the God of* Iſrael, *and by the commandement of* Cyrus *and*

Eſd. 2. 16.
1 *Eſd.* 5. 33.
1 *Eſd.* 4. 5.
Eſd. 4. 12.
Ezek. 29.
1 *Eſd.* 2.
2 *Eſd.* 7.
Joſeph. Ant.
1 *Eſd.* 3. 3.
Eſd. 5.
Eſd. 4. & 5.
Joſeph. Ant.
1 *Eſd.* 2. 16.

and Darius, *and* Artahshaste *Kings of* Persia. Lastly, in the seventh of *Ezra* it is written; *Now after these things, in the reign of* Artahshaste *King of* Persia: which was as much as to say, after the finishing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the second of *Esdras* is there named by anticipation, not in his own time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the City and Temple of *Hierusalem*. Which action though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by *Cyrus*. The other Ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his form and manner of Government, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire unto his eldest Son *Cambyses*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* his younger son to be *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cadusia*; and then died, after he had reigned (saith *Herodotus*) one and thirty years, or (according to *Justine*) but thirty.

§. VIII.

Of Cyrus *his Issue: and whether* Atossa *were his Daughter, or (as some think) were the same with Queen* Hester.

CYrus had issue two sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Meroe*, and *Artystona*: *Ctesias* addeth to these, *Amytis*. *Atossa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyses* married; *Artystona*, *Darius Hystaspes* obtained; so did he *Atossa*, *Cambyses* being dead: who (as some Writers have supposed) inflamed both her husbands, *Darius*, and *Xerxes* after him, to invade *Greece*, to be avenged of the whole Nation for the cruel intent that *Aman* (whom the old Translation calleth a *Macedonian*) had against the *Jews*, though the opinion of *Josephus* be more probable, who finds *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be understood, how *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, should have been *Esther*, whose History seems rather to appertain to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*, or of *Xerxes*. The desire of *Atossa* to have *Greece* brought under the yoke of *Persia*, was partly grounded upon the honour which thereby she thought her husband might obtain, partly upon a feminine humour of getting many brave Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot give assent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who upon the near sound of the two names, *Atossa* and *Hadassa*, (by the latter of which *Esther* was also called) makes them to have been one person. For though it be true that *Esther* concerning her parentage, a while might be taken for a great Lady; yet *Codomans* inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare unto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certain it is, that *Esther* did at length discover her Kindred and Nation; whereby, if Histories could be kept free from this errour, yet the people, and especially the Nobility, must needs have understood the truth: who nevertheless did so well know the parentage of *Atossa*, that for her sake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her son *Xerxes* was preferred to the Kingdom before his elder brother, against whom also he could have pretended a very weak claim. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IV.

The Estate of things from the Death of Cyrus *to the Reign of* Darius.

§. I.

Of the Number and Names of the Persian *Kings.*

OF the Successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the *Persian* Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metasthenes*, who hath numbred the *Persian* Kings, and their times as followeth.

Darius Medus, and *Cyrus* joyntly.	2	years.
Cyrus alone.	22	
Priscus Artaxerxes.	20	
Darius Longimanus.	37	
Darius Nothus.	19	
Artaxerxes Mnemon.	55	

Artax-

Artaxerxes Ochus.	26	years.
Arſes, or *Arſames.*	4	
Darius, the laſt, conquered by *Alexander.*	6	

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of years added, make in all an hundred ninety and one. But in this Catalogue *Metaſthenes* hath left out *Cambyſes* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Aſſuerus*, for the immediate ſucceſſor of *Cyrus*; in place (ſaith *Melanchon*) of *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*: for *Metaſthenes*, as *Melanchon* conjectureth, doth not account *Cambyſes* in the Catalogue, becauſe his reign was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a ſecond Opinion, though ridiculous, of *Sedar Olam*, who finds but four *Perſian* Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus*, have alſo a differing account from the *Greeks*; whom nevertheleſs *Euſebius*, and moſt of the Latins follow, and ſo doth *Krentzheim*, who hath fully anſwered; and, as I take it, refuſed all the former Authors varying from that account. For in this ſort do the *Greeks* marſhal the *Perſian* Kings with the times of their reigns.

Cron. Kyrus. f. 135.

Marſham gives Cyrus but 29.	*Cyrus* in all.	30	years.
	Cambyſes with the *Magi.*	8	
	Darius Hyſtaſpes.	36	
Marſh. but 20.	*Xerxes.*	21	
	Artaxerxes Longimanus.	40	
	Darius Nothus.	19	
Marſh. but 40.	*Artaxerxes Mnemon.*	43	
Marſh. 26.	*Artaxerxes Ochus.*	23	
Marſh. 4.	*Arſames.*	3	
	Darius the laſt.	6	

Which numbers put together, make in all two hundred and thirty.

This account (as I have ſaid) the moſt Chronologers, and the beſt learned approve. Theſe *Perſian* Princes, being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Peucer* in his hiſtorical Animadverſions, hath gathered the places; finding firſt *Cyrus* in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, *ch.* 36. *verſ.* 22, 23. *Ezra* 1. *ch.* 1. *verſ.* 1. and often elſewhere.

Secondly, *Cambyſes* in the eleventh of *Daniel*, who may indeed be well eſteemed for one of thoſe three Kings in the ſecond verſe named, and ſo the Marginal Commentator upon the *Geneva* underſtands that place; but, under correction, miſtakes the matter greatly, when he ſaith in the ſame note, that *Darius Hyſtaſpes* was an enemy to the people of God, and ſtood againſt them: his great favour and liberality to the *Jews* being elſewhere proved.

Thirdly, Is *Darius Hyſtaſpes* found in *Ezra* the firſt, *c.* 4. *v.* 5. who in the ſixth verſe is alſo named *Ahaſſuerus*.

Fourthly, In the eleventh of *Daniel*, verſe the ſecond, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and deſcribed, and the great War which he ſhould make againſt the *Greeks* by *Daniel* remembered.

Fifthly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verſe ſeven, who is alſo called *Arthaſaſtha*, *c.* 4. *l.* 1. *Ezra v.* 7. and *chap.* 7. *v.* 7.

Sixthly, *Darius Nothus*, *Ezra cap.* 4. *v.* 24. and *cap.* 5. *v.* 6. *Nehem. cap.* 12. *v.* 22.

Seventhly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem. cap.* 2. *v.* 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arſames*: for *Darius* the laſt, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who deſcended from *Xerxes* the ſon of *Atoſſa*, *Cyrus* his Daughter; and the iſſue male of *Cyrus* failing with his own Sons.

But to proceed, *Euſebius*, with the *Latins* following the *Greeks*, apply the beginnings and ends of every *Perſian* King with their Acts, to ſome certain *Olympiad*; As the War of *Aſtyages* (*Cyrus* his maternal Grandfather) and *Alyattes* (*Cræſus* his Father) to the nine and fortieth *Olympiad*; The beginning of *Cyrus* reign, to the beginning of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The invaſion of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* to the third year of the threeſcore and third *Olympiad*, and ſo of the reſt. Which reference with good agreement between ſeveral forms of computation, add the more credit unto both.

Again, this hiſtorical demonſtration is confirmed by the Aſtronomical computation of *Ptolemy*, who referrs the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of *November*, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad*, to the four hundred and four and twentieth year after *Nabonaſſar*. And the *Æra* of *Nabonaſſar* began on the ſix and twentieth of *February*: which, conferred with the *Olympiad*, was in the ninth month of the firſt year of the eighth *Olympiad*; So that whether we follow the accounts of the *Olympiads*, as do the *Greek* Hiſtorians, or that of *Nabonaſſar* with *Ptolemy*, we ſhall find every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation. *Alm. l.* 3. *cap.* 6.

For *Ptolemy* reckons the time anſwerable to two hundred and four and twenty *Julian* years, and an hundred and forty daies from *Nabonaſſar* to the ſixteenth of *July*, in the

seventh year of *Cambyses*.

The *Greeks*, and namely, *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyses* in the second or third year of the threescore and third *Olympiad*, and the beginning of *Cambyses* seventh year, in the first of the threescore and fourth *Olympiad*: which first of the threescore and fourth *Olympiad* runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonassar*. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewise the twentieth of *Darius*, who succeeded *Cambyses*, is according to *Ptolomy* the two hundred and six and fortieth of *Nabonassar*, which (observing the differences of *Nabonassars Æra* and the *Olympiad*, *viz.* eight and twenty years) agrees with the third of the threescore and ninth *Olympiad*, wherein it is placed by the *Greeks*. In this *Josephus* agrees with the *Greeks* throughout, saving that he joyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus* in the destruction of *Babylon*; which is true, and not contrary to the *Greek* computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, The disagreement and confused accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the *Persian* Kings formerly rehearsed, doth give the greater credit to this of the *Greeks*, which being constant in it self, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

Of Cambyses, *and the conquering of* Egypt *by him.*

WE will therefore, according to the truth, give the Empire of *Persia* to *Cambyses*, the Son of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, saving the desire to increase the greatness of his Empire: whereof he was possest in his Fathers time, while *Cyrus* made war in the North. *Ctesias* with others give him a longer reign than agreeth with the *Grecian* accompt before received.

Lib. 2. c. 2. Her. l. 3. pag. 83, 84, 85. In the fifth year of his sole reign, and in the third year of the threescore and third *Olympiad*, according to *Diodore* and *Eusebius*, he invaded *Egypt*, and having overthrown the King thereof, *Psammeniticus*, he not only caused him to be slain, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and *Ctesias* give for cause of this War (being no other indeed than the Ambition of *Cambyses*) that when he sent to *Amasis* King of *Egypt*, to have his Daughter in marriage, *Amasis* presented him with *Nitetis* the Daughter of *Apries* his predecessor, which *Cambyses* disdained.

Howsoever it were; true it is, that *Cambyses* gathered an Army fit for such an enterprize, and caused the same to march. But before they entred *Egypt*, *Amasis* died, and left *Psammeniticus*, whom *Ctesias* called *Amyrteus*, his successor; who enjoyed *Egypt* after his Father (according to the best Copies of *Herodotus*) but six moneths, though other Chronologers give him six years.

But how long soever he held the Crown, in one battle he lost it, and was himself taken prisoner.

It is said that *Cambyses*, following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only spare life to the conquered King, but that he also trusted him with the Government of *Egypt*, and that, upon some revolt, or suspicion thereof, he caused him to be slaughtered. But the race of this King was not so extirpated, if we may believe *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a Son called *Inarus*, who caused the *Egyptians* to revolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Psammeniticus* was at the first entreated gently by *Cambyses*, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated *Amasis* the King of *Egypt*, who died before his arrival, that he caused his body to be drawn out of the grave, and after divers indignities used, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custom both of the *Egyptians* and *Persians*. For the *Egyptians* used to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugs, to the end the worms might not devour them. The * *Persians* durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feed it with Carrion.

* Neither did the Romans ever consume their dead to ashes, till the time of *Sylla* Dictator, who caused his own to be devoured by that element, fearing the Law called *Talionis*, or like for like, because himself had untombed the carcase of *Cajus Marius* after his death. *Hieron. Plin. l. 6. c. 54. Stra. & Just. l. 1. Pag. 87, 88. Her. l. 3. Sta. l. 7.*

§. III.

The rest of Cambyses *his Acts.*

AFter this victory obtained in *Egypt*, *Cambyses* sent an Army into *Cyprus*, and constrained *Evelthon* King thereof to acknowledge him who before held that Island of the *Egyptians*.

While *Cambyses* yet busied himself in *Egypt*, he so much detested the Idolatry of that

that Nation, as he cauſed the Images themſelves, with the Temples wherein they were worſhipped, to be torn down and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Army into *Lybia*, to overturn the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; but the Devil, in defence of his *Oratory*, raiſed ſuch a Tempeſt of Sand, wherewith the greateſt part of the Country is covered, as the *Perſians* were therewith choaked and over-whelmed.

Notwithſtanding which miſadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that, diſdaining to be reſiſted, he prepared the reſt of his Army, which himſelf meant to conduct into thoſe parts, but that finding a beginning of thoſe incommodities, which his firſt-ſent troops had tryed, he changed his purpoſe. For though conquering Kings have power over men, yet the Elements do not obey them; according to that old *Engliſh* Proverb, *Go, ſaith the King; Stay, ſaith the Tide.*

After his return from the attempt of *Æthiopia*, he cauſed *Apis* the *Egyptian Bull*, worſhipped by that Nation as God, to be ſlain: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeal, and been executed as in ſervice of him that only is, and liveth. But ſoon afterwards, when in a dream it ſeemed unto him that *Smerdis* did ſit in the Royal Throne of *Perſia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) he gave it in charge to his favourite *Praxaſpes*, to murther *Smerdis* his Brother. And having married his own Siſters, contrary to the *Perſian* Laws, he committed a moſt cauſeleſs and moſt deteſtable murder upon the one of them called *Meroe*, then by himſelf with child, becauſe ſhe bewailed the death of her Brother *Smerdis*. I find it written of this *Cambyſes*. That becauſe his Predeceſſors obſerved religiouſly the Ordinances of their Empire, he aſſembled his Judges and enquired of them, whether there were any Law among the *Perſians* that did permit the Brother to marry his own Siſter; it being his own intent ſo to do: The Judges (who had alwayes either Laws or diſtinctions in ſtore to ſatisfie Kings and times) made anſwer, That there was not any thing written allowing any ſuch conjunction, but they notwithſtanding found it in their cuſtoms, that it was alwayes left to the will of the *Perſian* Kings, to do what beſt pleaſed themſelves; and ſo, as *Nauclerus* terms it, *invenerunt occaſionem*: that is as much to ſay, The Judges found a ſhift to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings private ſatisfaction, he cauſed *Siſamnus*, one of his Judges, and perchance one of thoſe which favoured his inceſtuous match, to be flayed alive, for an unjuſt judgement given, and the ſame his hide to be hung up over the judgement-ſeat. After which, beſtowing the Fathers Office on his Son, he willed him to remember that the ſame partiality deſerved the ſame puniſhment.

Hiſt. p. 89, 90.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exerciſed againſt the Son of his beloved *Praxaſpes*, was very ſtrange and ungrateful. For when he deſired to be truly informed by him what the *Perſians* thought of his conditions, *Praxaſpes* anſwered, That his virtues were followed with abundant praiſe from all men; only it was by many obſerved, that he took more than uſual delight in the taſt of Wine: with which taxation inflamed, he uſed this replication: And, Are the *Perſians* double-tongued, who alſo tell me, that I have in all things excelled my Father *Cyrus*? Thou *Praxaſpes* ſhalt then witneſs, whether in this report they have done me right: for, if at the firſt ſhot I pierce thy Sons heart with an Arrow, then is it falſe that hath been ſpoken; but if I miſs the mark, I am then pleaſed that the ſame be accounted true, and my ſubjects believed. This being ſpoken, he immediately directed an Arrow towards the innocent child, who falling down dead with the ſtroak, *Cambyſes* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broached on the Arrow, this monſtrous Tyrant greatly rejoycing, ſhewed it to the Father, with this ſaying inſtead of an Epitaph: *Now* Praxaſpes, *thou mayeſt reſolve thy ſelf, that I have not loſt my wits with Wine, but the* Perſians *theirs, who make ſuch report.*

Many other barbarous cruelties he exerciſed, till at the laſt, according to the phraſe of our Law, he became *felon de ſoy*. For when he was informed, that *Patizites*, and *Smerdis* the *Magi* (*Cedrenus* writeth them *Sphendanis* and *Cimerdius*) Miniſters of his domeſtical affairs, taking advantage of the great reſemblance between *Smerdis* the Kings Brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, poſſeſt themſelves of the Empire, he made all haſte towards *Perſia*; and in mounting haſtily on horſe-back, his ſword diſ-ſheathing, pierced his own thigh, wherewith deadly wounded, falling into an over-late and remedileſs repentance of the ſlaughter which he had executed upon his own Brother, he ſoon after gave up his wicked ghoſt, when he had reigned eight years, accounting therein thoſe ſeven months in which the *Magi* governed, while he was abſent.

In *Cambyſes* the Male-Line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no iſſue either by *Atoſſa* or

Zon. Com. p. 117. *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierom* gives him a Daughter called *Tantaptes*, and a Son called *Orontes*: who being drowned in the River *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the same was afterward, in memory of the Princes death, called *Orontes*.

He built the City of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, in the place where *Latopolis* was formerly seated, and that of *Meroe* in the Island of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his Sister *Meroe*.

§. IV.

Of the Inter-regnum *between* Cambyses *and* Darius.

Cyrus and his two Sons being now dead, and the Kingdom in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterfeit of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapa's*, or Provincial Governors of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabyſus*, *Aſphatines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achæmenes* the first *Persian* King) having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joyned their forces together, surprized and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions and Assistants. In which action (saith *Justin*) *Intaphernes* and *Aſphatines* were slain: but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were only wounded; for he avoweth, that all the seven Princes were present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Governour, these Princes grew into a consultation how the same might be ordered from thenceforth. *Otanes* (one of the Seven) did not fancy any election of Kings, but that the Nobility and Cities should confederate, and by just Laws defend their Libertie in equality, giving divers reasons for his Opinion, being, as it seemed, greatly terrified by the cruelties of *Cambyſes*: As first, that it was not safe to give all power to any one, seeing greatness it self, even in good men, doth often infect the mind with many vices, and that liberty and freedom in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Again, that Tyrants do commonly use the service of wicked men, and favour them most; they usurp upon the Laws of their Country; take other mens wives by force, and destroy whom they please without judgement.

Megabyſus was of another Opinion, affirming that the tyranny of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that of One. For the multitude do all things without judgement, run into business and affairs with precipitation, like raging and over-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most vertuous; because it is ever found, that excellent Counsels are ever had from excellent men.

Darius gave the third judgement, who perswaded the creation of a King, because even among few diuturnity of concord is seldom found, and in great Empires it doth ever happen that the discord of many Rulers hath enforc'd the election of One Supreme. It were therefore, saith *Darius*, far safer to observe the Laws of our Country, by which Kingly Government hath been ordained.

The other four Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperial Government, by God established and made prosperous. And, to avoid partiality it was accorded, that the morning following these seven Princes should mount on Horse-back, and on him the Kingdom should be conferred, whose Horse, after the Sun-rising, should first ney or bray. In the even- Herod. 3. p. 100, 101. ing, after this appointment was made, it is said, that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his Horse *Oebarus*, who, in the Suburbs of the City, where the election was resolved of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to cover a Mare, who, as soon as he came into the same place, was the first Horse that brayed. Whereupon the other six princes descended from their Horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Plato in the third of his Laws affirmeth, that in memory of the seven Princes, whereof *Darius* himself was one, that delivered the Empire from the usurpation of the *Magi*, he divided the whole into seven Governments; *Herodotus* saith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

CHAP. V.

Of Darius *the son of* Hystaspes.

§. I.

Of Darius *his Linage,*

Darius was descended of the antient *Persian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achæmenidæ*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineal successor. For in this sort *Herodotus* derives him as before;

Cyrus the first, who had
Teispius, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of
Arsamnes, the father of
Hystaspes, the father of
Darius, sirnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*.

Curt. l. 4.

Hystaspes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great, in the wars against the *Scythians*: at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dream of his own, caused him to be sent into *Persia*; others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was delivered, and made Governour of the *Persian Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyses* into *Egypt*; he then joyned with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, and either by the neying of his horse, or, as others affirm, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more assured to himself by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Neeces for his wives.

Her. l. 1. & 3.

* Her. pag. 137. Pag. 154. Pag. 130. Pag. 101. & 202. Pag. 180. 109. Her. l. 6. p. 180. Pag. 186. 190. P. 179. P. 200. 204. & p. 213. 285, 286. P. 214. 254. De Rep. Persar. fol. 32.

Hystaspes, acording to * *Herodotus*, had, besides *Darius*, these three sons, who were great Commanders in the War which *Darius* made in *Asia* the less, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artaphernes*, and *Artabanus*, who dissuaded *Xerxes*, from the second *Grecian* war. *Hystaspes* had also a Daughter married to *Gobrias* the Father of *Mardonius*, who commanded the Army of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Darius Artoxostre*, his Cosen german.

Reineccius gives to *Hystaspes* five sons, *Darius* who succeeded *Cambyses*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Otanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two Daughters.

§. II.

Of Darius *his Government, and suppressing the rebellion of* Babylon.

Darius devised equal laws whereby his Subjects might be Governed, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gave access to all his Subjects, and behaved himself so mildly to all men, that many Nations desired and offered themselves to become his Vassals: Only he laid divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not been accustomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of fourteen thousand five hundred and threescore talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The war which *Cambyses* made a far off in *Egypt*, and the contention between the *Magi* and the Princes of *Persia*, for the Empire, gave heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their liberty, and to shake off the *Persian* yoke; whereof *Darius* being advertised, he prepared an Army to recover that City and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult work, he used the service of *Zopyrus*, who for the love he bare *Darius*, did cut off his own Ears and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to fly to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*: who, for having given him advice to give over the siege of their City, had in this sort dismembred and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gave him that credit, as they trusted him with the disposition and commandment of their greatest forces: which when *Zopyrus* had obtained, after some small colourable over-throws given to the *Persians* upon sallies, he delivered the City into *Darius* his hands, who had lyen before it twenty moneths.

Her. l. 3.

§ III.

§. III.

Of Darius *his favour to the* Jews *in building the Temple.*

IN the second year of *Darius*, he gave order that the building of the Temple at *Hierusalem* should go on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his own charge, and out of the revenues of the Crown. And whereas the Governours of those Provinces which are situate between
Ezra. 6. *Euphrates* and the *Phœnician*, and midland Sea (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captains beyond the River) had hindred the work in *Cambyses* his time, *Darius* gave commandement that they should not thence-forth come near unto *Jernsalem*, to give any impediment to the building, but that they should withdraw themselves, and get them far off till all were finished, and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis*; *With-draw your selves far from them*; In our *English*, *Be ye far from thence*, to wit, from the City and Temple now in building.

He also made a Decree which concerned his own Subjects, That whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting up of the Temple of God, that his house should be torn down, and the disturber hanged on the Gallows made of the timber thereof. He also
Ezra. 6. 11. in the same Decree maketh invocation to God; *That hath caused his Name to dwell there (to) destroy all Kings and people that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Jerusalem, &c.* In four years after which Decree (the *Jews* being really
Ezra. 6. furnished with mony and all things necessary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth year of *Darius Hystaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first return.

§. IV

Of Darius *his Scythian War.*

AFter the recovery of *Babylon* he invaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Justin*
Her. l. 4. Just. l. 2. calleth *Lauthinus*; and saith, that *Darius* undertook this war against him, because he refused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to convoy his Army into *Scythia*, he built a bridge of small Vessels over the River *Ister* or *Danubius*, and gave the custody of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the less) to the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perswaded the *Asian Grecians* to break down the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not return thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty; but the same was resisted by *Histiæus* Prince of *Milet*, a City of *Ionia*, which Nation, being a *Colony* of the *Greeks*, Diod. *Diodorus* calleth Traytors to their Country, because they joyned themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaves, for as much as they would not run away from their Master, but were more mindful of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as fair an occasion of liberty as could have been desired. For the great Army of *Darius* entring the desart Country called *Bessarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieve them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chrim Tartars*, their posterity, at this day, all horse-men, using the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Graziers, driving their Heards from one place to another, as opportunity of Pasture led them. Standing Towns they had none, but used for Houses the Waggons wherein they carried their wives and children. These Waggons they place at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Town, removeable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himself, called now the great *Chrim*, any other City than such as *Agora*, (as they name it) or town of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himself, and wasted his provision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither wayes to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitful trees, or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either he himself might make use of, or by destroying it might grieve his enemies, he began to perceive his own folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet letting a good face upon a bad game, he sent brave messages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make trial of his valour and fortune in plain battle; Or, if he acknowledged himself the weaker, then to yield by fair means, and become his Subject; giving him Earth and Water, which the *Persians* used to demand as a sign that all was yielded unto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Hieroglyphical* answer; sending a *Bird*, a *Frog*, a *Mouse*, and five *Arrows*: which dumb shew *Darius* interpreting by his own wish, thought that he did yield all the Elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the seven Princes, who had slain

ſlain the *Magi*, conſtrued their meaning aright, which was thus; *O ye* Perſians, *get ye wings like Birds, or dive under the water, or creep into holes in the earth, for elſe ye ſhall not eſcape our arrows.* And this interpretation was ſoon verified by the *Scythians* themſelves, who aſſailed the *Perſian* camp, drave the horſe-men into the trenches, and vexed the Army with continual Allarums day and night; were ſo fearleſs of this great Monarch, and ſo little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his ſight, they did not forbear the paſtime of courſing a Hare, which they had ſtarted by chance. By this boldneſs of theirs, *Darius* was ſo diſcouraged, that he forſook his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were ſick and weak behind him, and ſo with all ſpeed marched away towards the River *Iſter*. He was purſued hardly by the *Scythians*, who miſt him; yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perſwaded the *Ionians* to depart, aſſuring them that the *Perſian* King ſhould never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not *Hyſtiæus* the *Mileſian* prevailed with his people, to attend the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewiſe fail to meet, when they returned from *Iſter* to ſeek him out.

§. V.

Some actions of the Perſians *in* Europe, *after the* Scythian *War.*

Darius having thus eſcaped out of *Scythia*, determined the invaſion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which War he employed *Megabaſus*, who maſtered the *Pæonians*, and tranſplanted them, and poſſeſt *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and other places, being alſo ſoon after ſubjected, and added to the *Perſian* Empire by *Otanes*, the ſon of *Syſamnes*, whom *Cambyſes* had excoriated for falſe judgement. So were the Cities of * *Selybria*, and [a] *Cardia* likewiſe taken in from the *Perſian*, who having now reduced under his obeyſance the beſt part of *Thrace*, did ſend his Embaſſadors to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adjoyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Soveraignty over that Kingdom. *Amintas* doubting his own ſtrength, entertained the Embaſſadors with gentle words, and afterwards invited them to a ſolemn and magnificent feaſt; the *Perſians* greatly deſired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be preſent: which being granted, the Embaſſadors, who were well filled with wine, and preſumed upon their greatneſs and many Victories, began to uſe ſuch embracings, and other laſcivous behaviour towards thoſe Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings ſon, great Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great, diſdaining the *Perſians* barbarous preſumption, beſought his Father to with-draw himſelf from the aſſembly, continuing notwithſtanding all honourable reſpect towards the Embaſſadors, whom withall he entreated that the Ladies might refreſh themſelves for a while; promiſing their ſpeedy return. This being obtained, *Alexander* cauſed the like number of well-favoured young men to clothe themſelves in the ſame garments, and to uſe the ſame attires which the Ladies had worn at the feaſt, giving them in charge, That when the *Perſians* offered to abuſe them, they ſhould forthwith tranſpierce them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpoſe, which was accordingly performed. Charge was ſoon after given by *Darius* for a ſevere revenge of this murder: But *Alexander* ſomewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gave his ſiſter *Gygea* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principal Commander of *Darius* forces on that ſide, who perſwading her huſband how helpful the Alliance of *Macedon* would prove for the invaſion of *Attica* intended, ſo prevailed, as *Alexander* eſcaped that tempeſt, which threatned to fall upon him very ſuddenly; the war of *Aſia* the leſs, called *Ionick*, falling out at the ſame time.

§. VI.

The firſt occaſion of the War which Darius *made upon* Greece, *with a rehearſal of the government in* Athens, *whence the quarrel grew.*

NOw the better to underſtand the reaſon and motives of that great War, which followed ſoon after, between the *Perſians* and *Grecians*, it is neceſſary to make a ſhort repetition of the ſtate of *Athens*, which City endured the hardeſt and worſt brunt of *Darius* invaſion on that ſide the Sea, with admirable ſucceſs. Neither do I hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumſtance of ſo great a buſineſs as gave fire to thoſe wars, which never could be throughly quenched, until in the ruin of this great *Perſian* Monarchy. *Perſepolis* the Capital City of the Empire, was at the requeſt of an *Athenian* Harlot conſumed with a flame, as dreadful, as in the pride of their greatneſs, the *Perſians* had raiſed in *Athens*.

Now

Now therefore as out of the former books it may be gathered, how *Athens* and other parts of *Greece*, were antiently Governed, the same being already set down, though scatteringly, and in several times, among other the Contemporary occurrents of the Eastern Emperours, and the Kings of *Judæa*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember again the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, they maintained still their ancient polity under Kings, though these also after some fifteen descents were bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians*, in the former books remembred, who willingly died for the safety of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former Government from Monarchial to Princes for term of life, of which *Medon* the Son of *Codrus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontidæ*; and of these there were twelve Generations besides *Medon*, to wit,

Agestus.

Archippus, in whose times the *Greeks* transported themselves into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourscore years, accoring to *Eusebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) find in the year after *Troy* fallen one hundred and forty.

Thersippus.

Phorbas.

Mezades.

Diogenetus, in whose time *Lycurgus* gave Laws to the *Spartans.*

Pheredus.

Ariphron.

Theisipius, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was overthrown by *Belochus* and *Arbaces.*

Paus. pag. 159. Dionys. l. 3. Paus. p. 165. *Agamnestor.* *Æschylus*, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedæmon.*

Paus. 170. Pag. 331. *Alcamenon*, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected *Decennial* Governours: the former Princes for life having continued in all three hundred and sixteen years. The first of those that Governed for ten years, or the first *Archon*, was

Charops, then

Æsymedes.

Elydicus.

Hippomines.

Leocrates.

Apsander.

Erixias was the last *Archon* of the *decennial* Governours, which from continuing threescore and ten years, was then changed into *annual* Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of which *Theseus* was the first, according to *Pausanias*: others find *Leostratus*; and then

Anthostenes.

Archimedes.

Miltiades.

Damistas.

Draco.

Megacles.

Solon, and others, who are the less to be regarded, by reason of the yearly change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdom, gave Laws to the *Athenians*, which were published, according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth year of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and were in after-ages derived unto the *Romans*, and by the *Decem-viri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into Twelve Tables, which were the ground of the *Roman* Laws. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his own dayes violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed unto the practice and maintenance of a popular Government; the state of *Athens* was very soon changed into a Monarchy by *Pisistratus* the son of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of Noble Families, were become the heads, took occasion by their contention and insolency to raise a third faction more powerful than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in General. Having by this means obtained love and credit, he wounded himself, and fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to have been slain for his love to the good Citizens; he procured a Guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the State-house, or Cittadel of *Athens*, he made himself Lord of the Town; *Hegesistratus* being then governour. But the Citizens, who in every change of Government had sought to remove themselves further and further from the form of a Monarchy, could so ill brook this usurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was driven for lack of help, to fly the Town, as soon as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (joyning their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his Tyranny, founded upon the dissention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; so was it soon

soon after well re-edified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the usual practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Pisistratus*, to whom he gave his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Family of the *Alcmæonidæ*, whereof *Megacles* was chief, became very powerful, yet so, that *Pisistratus* by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmæonidæ*, and especially *Megacles*, being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his misdemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practised with the Souldiers of the Town, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so far, that *Pisistratus* (upon the first discovery of their intent) perceived no other remedy for his affairs, than to withdraw himself to *Eretria*, where he remained eleven years. Which time being expired, having hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he again recovered the principality of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his estate, he governed *Athens* seventeen years, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three years, saith *Elianus*, but, as *Justin* hath it, four and thirty; accounting the time belike as well before, as after his several expulsions. *Herodotus* gives the Father and the Son six and thirty years; *Aristotle* five and thirty. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leaving for his Successors, his two Sons, *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who governed the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the Lineal successors of a natural Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and some three years before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his Brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And, though *Hipparchus* was charged with unnatural lust after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent virtues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers, and authors of that scandal. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprize upon his Brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, first sought to discover the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who, because she would not reveal her Companions, did cut out her own tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to strengthen himself, enter into a strait amity with *Æantides*, Tyrant of the City *Lampsacus*, whom he knew to be greatly favoured by *Darius*, to whose Son *Hypoclus* he gave one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three years after the death of his Brother, doubting I know not what strong practice against himself, he began to use the Citizens with great severity, which neither *Pisistratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himself had ever exercised, during their usurpation till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing lest that this disease might rather increase than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred up *Clistines*, one of the noblest and best able of their City, to practise their delivery: who, calling to his assistance the banished *Alcmæonidæ*, together with an Army of the *Lacedæmonians* led by *Cleomenes* their King, so affrighted *Hippias*, as by his composition he gave over his estate, and the possession of *Athens*, and from thence imbarking himself took Land at * *Sigeum*, whence he went to *Lampsacus* in *Mysia* governed by *Æantides*, who presented him to *Darius*. He was deprived of his estate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twenty years before the battel of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Æantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for *Darius* in *Sardis*, the *Metropolis* of *Lydia*; perswading and practising the enterprize upon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great dishonour undertook, twenty years after *Hippias* had resigned his estate.

Thus far I have digressed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceive the better, the causes and motives of this War: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be restored to *Athens* by the help of *Darius*, which made him solicit and perswade the *Persians* to conquer *Greece*, was one, but not the most urgent.

* *Sigeum*, a promontory opposite to the Isle of *Tenedos*, which *Aristot. in 5. Animal* calls *Ida promontorium*.

Hor. l. 12. Epist. a City of *Lesbos*, by others called *Mitylene*, by *Strabo* *Pomp. Mela. Herodot. & alii Auct.* *Just. p. 28. Herod. l. 6. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 10*

Lampsacus a City of *Mysia* upon the *Hellespont. Herod. l. 5. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 1.*

§. VII.

Of the Ionian *Rebellion, which was the principal cause of the Wars ensuing between* Greece *and* Persia.

ANother, and a strong motive to this expedition, was the *Ionick* War, breaking out in *Asia* about the same time. The Colonies transported out of *Greece* into *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, having enjoyed their liberty about 500 years, even from the *Ionick* migration, to the time of *Crœsus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcel of his Dominions, were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Servants to the Crown of *Persia*.

But as it is the custom of Nations half-

conquered (witneſs *Ireland*) to rebell again upon every advantage and opportunity: ſo did the *Ionians*, and other *Græcians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, ſeek by all means poſſible to free themſelves.

At this time they found ſuch men ready to ſpurr them into Rebellion, as had by the *Perſian* been given unto them for bridles to hold them in ſubjection. Every one of thoſe Towns had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the Government of one man) called their Tyrants. Theſe Lords were very true to the *Perſian*, by whoſe only might they held the people in ſubjection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when *Darius*, being in great extremity, they uſed all means to deliver him and his Army (that otherwiſe had been loſt) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of ſervice *Hiſtiæus* the Tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chief thanks, as having been chief Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the reſt, either perſwaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their own deſires, were ready to have abandoned him. But it came ſo to paſs, that *Darius* being more fearful of the harm that *Hiſtiæus* (being powerful and crafty) might do to him in the future, than mindful of the good which he had already received at his hand, found means to carry him along to *Suſa*, where he detained him with all kind uſage of a friend, yet kept ſuch good eſpial upon him, as an enemy, he could not ſtart away. *Hiſtiæus* had ſubtilty enough to diſcover the Kings purpoſe, which ill agreed with his own deſires. For he thought it more pleaſant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one fair City, having a ſmall Territory, than to ſit and feaſt at the great King's Table, and hear the Counſels by which a large Empire was managed; being himſelf an idle beholder, and enjoying with much reſtraint of liberty, none other pleaſures than a private man might beſtow upon himſelf.

Wherefore he bethought himſelf of raiſing of ſome tumults in the lower *Aſia*, to pacifie which, if he might be ſent, as one that had great experience and authority in thoſe quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to ſtay at home, and either ſatisfie the King with excuſes, or deal as occaſion ſhall require. Reſolving upon this courſe, he ſent very ſecret inſtructions to *Ariſtagoras* his kinſman, whom he had left his Deputy at *Miletus*, adviſing him to ſtir up ſome Rebellion. Theſe directions came ſeaſonably to *Ariſtagoras*, who having failed in an enterprize upon the Iſle of *Naxos*, through the falſe dealing of a *Perſian* his Aſſociate, ſtood in fear of diſgrace, if not of ſome further ill that might befall him, as one that had waſted the King's treaſures to no good purpoſe.

Therefore he readily embraced the counſel: and the better to draw the whole Countrey of *Ionia* into the ſame courſe which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyranny, and did ſet *Miletus* at liberty. This plauſible beginning wan unto him the hearts of the *Mileſians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom ſome he took and ſold as ſlaves to their Citizens, others he chaſed away) cauſed the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Perſian* Fleet, whereof he lately had been Admiral in the enterprize of *Naxos*, he had ſurprized in his firſt breaking out, together with the principal Officers, and Captains; ſo that now he thought himſelf able to deal with the great King's forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Aſia* would ſhortly be upon his neck, and cruſh both him and his aſſiſtants to pieces, unleſs he were able to raiſe an Army that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were inſufficient to perform. Therefore he took a journey to *Sparta*, where having aſſayed in vain with many arguments, and the offer of fifty Talents, to win to his party *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedæmonians*: he went from thence to *Athens*, and with better ſucceſs beſought the people to lend him their aſſiſtance. The *Athenian* Ambaſſadours which had been ſent to the *Perſian* Kings Lieutenant in the lower *Aſia*, deſiring them not to give countenance to *Hippias*, now a baniſhed man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill anſwers, having found very churliſh entertainment. So that the evil which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Perſian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpoſe, their conſanguinity with the *Ionians*, and the perſwaſions of *Ariſtagoras*, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treaſure were not helping. Twenty ſhips the *Athenians* furniſhed for this Voyage; to which the *Eretrians* furniſhed five more, in regard of the ancient Kindneſs that had paſſed between the *Ionians* and them. With theſe and their own forces joyned, the *Ionians* entred the River *Caiſtrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Epheſus*: by which advantage they ſurprized *Sardis*, when no enemy was heard of or ſuſpected; inſomuch, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-roy in thoſe parts, had no other hope of ſafety, than by retreating himſelf into the Caſtle, which the *Græcians* could not force: from whence he beheld

beheld the ſlaughter of the Citizens, and the City flaming.

The *Perſians*, at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market-place, ſtrengthened by the River *Pactolus*, which ran thorow it; and borrowing courage from deſperation, they both defended themſelves, and charged their enemies; who well adviſing themſelves, made all the haſte they could toward the Sea-ſide. But *Artaphernes* having gathered all the ſtrength he could, purſued the *Græcians*, and found them near *Epheſus*; where ſetting reſolvedly upon them, he ſlaughtered a great part of their Army, the reſt ſaving themſelves in *Epheſus*. In this fight, *Evalcides*, Captain of the *Eretrians* periſhed: but his fame and memory was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preſerved. After this overthrow, the *Athenians*, which were before ſent unto *Ariſtagoras*, and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their tears, be perſwaded to make any ſecond trial of their fortunes on that ſide the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noiſe in the world, than the late good ſucceſs which the *Perſians* had in one or two skirmiſhes, could raiſe. Wherefore the *Ionians* bravely proceeded, won a great part of *Caria*; and ſending their Fleet into the *Helleſpont*, got *Bizantium* and other Towns into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately ſubdued by *Cambyſes*, began hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacy with the *Ionians*, who were able to give them aid by Sea, rebelled againſt the *Perſians*.

Theſe news coming to the ear of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, upon whom he vowed to take ſharp revenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to think, that they would not have dared to attempt ſuch things, but by the inſtigation of thoſe, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to provoke him. This was the main ground of the War commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes*, againſt *Athens*: To which the ſolicitation of *Hippias*, before remembred, gave only ſome form and aſſiſtance: the buſineſs, when once it was thus far on foot, being like enough to have proceeded, though he had periſhed, ere it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrences in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrel of *Darius* againſt many of the Iſlanders, if not againſt the whole Nation of the *Greeks*; for all of them gave to his Rebels free harbour: the Iſlanders moreover did help to furniſh out a Navy of three hundred and ſixty Sail againſt him. Theſe provocations did rather breed in him a deſire to abate their pride, than any fear of harm that they were like to do him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by ſurprize. In every fight they were beaten by the *Perſians*, who had not yet loſt the fruits of their diſcipline, wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captains. In one Sea-fight by the Iſle of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeed had the upper hand; but they were *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquiſhed: neither was that victory of any uſe to them; the *Cyprians*, in whoſe aid they came, being utterly beaten by the *Perſian* Army at Land, and reduced into their old ſubjection. So had the *Perſians* likewiſe by open War and fair force overthrown the *Carians* in two battels, and reclaimed that Nation; as alſo they had recovered the Towns upon *Helleſpont*, with ſome *Æolian* and *Ionian* Cities, when *Ariſtagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, deſirous to ſeat himſelf in *Amphipolis*, a Colony of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians*, on whoſe Territory belike he landed, overthrew him, and cut his troops in pieces.

About the ſame time, *Hiſtiæus*, the firſt mover of this inſurrection, came down into thoſe quarters; who having undertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whom his double-dealing was detected.

But this Evaſion preſerved him not long. And after many vain attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Perſians*, and haſtily beheaded, leſt the King ſhould pardon him upon remembrance of old good turns; as it ſeems that he would have done, by the burial which he commanded to be given to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heavy taking of his death.

Hiſtiæus had ſought to put himſelf into *Miletus*; but the Citizens, doubting his conditions, choſe rather to keep him out, and make ſhift for themſelves, without his help. The ſtrength of their City by Land, which had in old time withſtood the *Lydian* Kings; and their good Fleet, which promiſed unto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldened them to try the uttermoſt, when very few friends were left upon that Continent to take their part. But their Navy was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forſaking them upon hope of pardon; and

many being daunted with the cauſeleſs flight of thoſe that ſhould have aſſiſted them. Neither was it long before the Town it ſelf, being aſſaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens ſlain, their wives and children made ſlaves, and their goods a booty to the *Perſians*, whom for ſix years ſpace they had put to ſo much trouble.

§. VIII.

The War which Darius *made upon* Greece *with the battell of* Marathon, *and* Darius *his death.*

THis War with good ſucceſs finiſhed by the *Perſians*, and ſome attempts made on *Europe* ſide with variable ſucceſs; *Darius* ouſtimate in the enterpriſe and Conqueſt of *Greece* (though at firſt he pretended to make the War but againſt the *Athenians* and *Eretræans*, who joyntly aſſiſted the *Ionians* againſt him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his Ambaſſadours, demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whom, ſome of them not ſo well reſolved as the reſt, ſubmitted themſelves; as the *Æginets*, and others. Againſt theſe, the *Athenians* being inflamed, (by the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*) after divers encounters forced them to give pledges, and to relinquiſh the party of the *Perſians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedæmonians* in this War, and cauſed his companion King *Demantus* to be depoſed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, far the more confident of victory, by reaſon of theſe diſcords, alienations, and civil Wars among the *Grecks*. He therefore gave order to *Hippagorus* to prepare a Fleet of Ships, fit to tranſport his Army over the *Helleſpont*: the ſame conſiſting of an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. The charge in chief of his Army he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and aſſiſted by *Hippias*, the Son of *Piſiſtratus*, expelled out of *Athens* twenty years before, and by *Artaphernes* his Brother, Governour of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coaſt of *Aſia* the leſs. Theſe Commanders having their Companies brought down to the Sea-ſide, imbarked themſelves in ſix hundred Gallies and other Veſſels; and firſt of all attempted the Iſlands, called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way between *Aſia* the leſs, and *Greece*. For (obtaining thoſe places) the *Perſians* had then nothing to hinder the tranſportation of their forces over the *Ægean* Sea; but on the contrary they might alwayes both relieve themſelves in the paſſage, and ſhroud themſelves from all ſudden tempeſts and out-rage.

To this end, they firſt poſſeſt themſelves of *Samos*; ſecondly, they attempted *Naxos*: Which Iſland, the Inhabitants deſpairing of their own forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was native: Which Iſland *Darius* did not only forbear to ſack, but recalling the inhabitants, he gave order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice to *Apollo* erected. And having recovered theſe & other Iſlands, the *Perſians* directed their courſe for *Eretria* in *Eubœa*: for that City (as already hath been ſhewed) had aſſiſted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Iſland the *Perſians* took ground, and beſieged *Eretria* very ſtraitly, and after ſix dayes aſſault, partly by force, and in part by the treaſon of *Euphabus* and *Philagius*, they took it, ſackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of proſperous fortune filled their ſayls. From *Eubœa* the *Perſians* paſt their Army into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athens*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards *Athens*.

The *Athenians*, finding the time arrived wherein they were to diſpute with their own vertues againſt Fortune, and to caſt lots for their liberty, for their wives, their children, and their lives, put themſelves in the beſt order they could to make reſiſtance, and withall ſent away with ſpeed to the *Lacedæmonians* for ſuccour, imploying in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who paſſing through *Arcadia*, encountred in the way a familiar Devil, which he ſuppoſed to be *Pan*, who willed him to aſſure the *Athenians* of victory, promiſing that ſome one of the gods ſhould be preſent at the battell, to aſſiſt them and defend them againſt the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his return, ſeeing he could not bring with him any preſent ſuccours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly availing to bring news from the gods, and promiſe of aſſiſtance from Heaven, which no doubt (though the device was ſomewhat likely to be his own, yet) it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have been more ſtirred up with fond Prophecies and other like ſuperſtitious fooleries, than by any juſt cauſe or ſolid reaſon.

The *Athenians* being now left to themſelves, with one thouſand only of the *Plateans* (who having been formerly defended by the *Athenians* againſt the *Thebans*, did in this

this extremity witneſs their thankfulneſs & grateful diſpoſition) began to diſpute, Whether it were moſt for their advantage to defend the walls of *Athens*, or to put themſelves into the field with ſuch forces as they had, the ſame conſiſting of ten thouſand *Athenians*, and one thouſand of the *Plataeans*. In the end, and after great diverſity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perſwaded the trial by battel, prevailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the *Athenians* diſpoſed themſelves into three troops: two wings or horns, as they term them; and the body of a battel. The *Perſians* when they perceived ſo ſmall a troop advancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather diſpoſeſt of their underſtandings, than poſſeſt with the reſolution whereof they made ſhew. So invincible and reſiſtleſs the *Perſians* eſteemed their own numbers to be, and that ſmall troop of their enemies then in view, rather to be deſpiſed than to be fought withall: But in concluſion, the Victory being doubtfully ballanced for a while, ſometime the vertue of the *Graecians*, and ſometimes the number of the *Perſians* prevailed; the *Graecians* fighting for all that they had, the *Perſians* for that they needed not, theſe great forces of *Darius* were diſordered and put in rout; the *Athenians* following their Victory even to the Sea-ſhore; where the *Perſians*, ſo many of them as loſt not their wits with their courage, ſaved themſelves in their Ships.

The *Perſian* Army conſiſted of an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe; of which there were ſlain in the place ſix thouſand three hundred, and of the *Graecians* an hundred fourſcore and twelve. For howſoever it came to paſs, either by ſtrange viſions, which were afterward called *Pannici terrores*, or by ſome other affright, it ſeemeth that the invading Army, after the firſt encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and loſt that number, by *Herodotus* ſet down, in their diſorderly retrait, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Juſtin*'s report, That two hundred thouſand of the *Perſian* Army were ſlain, the ſame hath no appearance nor poſſibility of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the perſwader of the enterpriſe was ſlain, ſaith *Juſtine* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tells us, That he eſcaped, and died moſt miſerably in *Lemnos*.

Ad Att.

The greateſt honour of this Victory was caſt upon *Miltiades*, who both perſwaded the trial by battel, and behaved himſelf therein anſwerably to the counſel which he gave. *Themiſtocles* had his firſt reputation in this fight, being but young and of the firſt beard. Thoſe of the *Graecians*, of mark and commandement, that fell in the firſt encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Steſileus*. It is alſo ſaid, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Perſians* to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the ſhore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arreſt it with his left; of which alſo being deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the firſt year of the threeſcore and twelfth *Olympiad*, about the time of the war made by *Coriolanus* againſt his fellow-*Romans*: *Alexander* the Son of *Amyntas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Thanippus* then Governour of *Athens*, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hybilides*, after *Halycarnaſſaeus*.

In vita Ariſt.

This great fray thus parted, and the *Perſians* returned back into the leſſer *Aſia*, *Miltiades* ſought and obtained an employment againſt the Illanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and paſſing over his Companies in threeſcore and ten Gallies, after ſix and twenty dayes aſſault he brake his thigh, in ſeeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himſelf being made unable, and his Companies diſcouraged, he returned to *Athens*; where thoſe ungrateful Citizens forgetting all his ſervices paſt, and that of all other the moſt renowned at the battel of *Marathon*, did by the perſwaſion of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who envied his fame) caſt him into priſon, and ſet on him a fine of fifty Talents; where his weak and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his eſtate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which envy of the better ſort to each other, with their private Factions, aſſiſted by the unthankfull and witleſs people, brought them, not many years after, from a Victorious and famous Nation, to baſe ſubjection and ſlavery. *Miltiades* left behind him one ſon called *Cymon* begotten on *Hegeſipila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (ſaith *Plutarch*) was neither inferiour to his Father in valour, nor to *Themiſtocles* in underſtanding, but exceeded them both in Juſtice and good Government.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recover his honour, than ſorrow for the loſs received in *Greece*, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike proviſions. But the *Egyptians* revolting from his obedience (a Kingdom of great ſtrength and revenue) greatly diſtracted his reſolution for the re-invaſion of *Greece*. The diſſention alſo among

among his Sons, of whom the younger being born after he was King, and by so great a mother as *Atossa*, disdaining to give place to his elder brother, born before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, Death, who hath no respect of any mans affairs, gave end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joyned him to the earth of his Ancestors, about a year after the battel of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned six and thirty years. He left behind him five sons, namely, *Artabasanes*, born before he obtained the Kingdom, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achæmenes* Governour of *Egypt*, *Massistes*, and *Anabignes*.

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes.

§. I.

The preparations of Xerxes *against* Greece.

XErxes received from his Father, as hereditary, a double War, one to be made against the *Egyptians*, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the *Græcians*, of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the success ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this War, which was chiefly bent against the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Persia* were divided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, under *Darius*, and had also *Hystaspes* for his Grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his sister *Artozostres*, perswaded by many arguments the *Europæan* War. But *Artabanus*, Brother to the late *Darius*, and Unkle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counsel, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous success of the two late Invasions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counsel: The one in person upon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lieutenants upon the *Greeks*; in each of which *Darius* left to his Enemies both his Army and his Honour.

He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well advised before he did too far imbark himself in this business. For whatsoever undertaking hath deliberate and sound counsel for conductor, though the success do not alwayes answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variableness of his own nature, which only the Divine Providence, and not any humane power, can constrain.

But so obstinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made known to all those that opposed his desire to this War (changing opinion and counsel) assisted the *Grecian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the War of *Egypt* was ended, four years were consumed in describing and gathering an Army for this invasion: which being compounded of all Nations subject to the *Persian* Empire, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand Horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts of Carriage, if we may believe *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* finds the number less by seven hundred thousand footmen. Herod.

The Commanders of the several Nations were the Princes of the blood of *Persia*, either by marriage in the Kings house, or otherwise; for to these were all commandments of this nature given, some few people excepted, who had of their own Leaders.

The charge of the whole Army was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the Son of *Gobrias*, by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were joyned some others of *Xerxes* his neerest kindred, as Generals over all; saving that the charge of ten thousand select *Persians*, called the Immortal Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died, or were slain, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was given to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thousand horsemen were led by the sons of *Datis*, who commanded the late Army of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200. and eight furniſhed by the *Phœnicians*, who had Commanders of their own Nation, and by the *Cypriots*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Helleſpontines*; who were truſted with the furniſhing of their own Veſſels, though commanded by the Princes of *Perſia*, as by *Artabignes*, the Son of *Darius*, and others. The reſt of the Veſſels for tranſportation were three thouſand. There were alſo certain Gallies furniſhed by *Artemeſia*, the daughter of *Lygdames*, Princeſs of *Halicarnaſſus*, and the Iſlands adjoyning, which her ſelf commanded. Thoſe Gallies by her prepared and furniſhed, exceeded all the reſt of the Fleet, excepting thoſe of *Ziaon*, in which *Xerxes* himſelf was imbarked.

§. II.

Xerxes *Army entertained by* Pythius: *his cutting off Mount* Athos *from the Continent: his Bridge of Boats over the* Helleſpont: *and the diſcourſe between him and* Artabanus *upon the view of the Army.*

WHen this World of an Army was throughly furniſhed, he cauſed all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendezvouz*, and repair at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had aſſembled to the number of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, as he entred the border of *Celænæ*, he was by one *Pythius* a *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds of Cattel gave food to *Xerxes* and his whole Army. The feaſt ended, he alſo preſented him with two thouſand Talents of Silver, and in Gold four Millions, wanting ſeven thouſand of the *Perſian Darici*; which make ſo many of our Marks.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not only refuſe his treaſure offered, but commanded that ſeven thouſand *Darici* ſhould be given him to make up his four Millions; of which, ſo many thouſands were wanting when he made the Preſent. But ſoon after, when *Pythius* beſought him to ſpare one of his five ſons from his attendance into *Greece* (becauſe himſelf was old, and had none whom he could ſo well truſt as his own ſon) *Xerxes* moſt barbarouſly cauſed the young man, for whom his father ſought exemption, to be ſundered into two parts, commanding that the one half of his Carkaſs ſhould be layed on the right, and the other half on the left hand of the common way by which the Army marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-ſide. The one was a paſſage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount *Athos*, making the ſame (with the half Iſland or Headland, whereon it ſtood) to be an entire Iſland, ſundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, beſides the Mountain and the *Cherſoneſus*, or Neck of Land it ſelf: a work of more oſtentation, than of uſe, and yet an enterprize of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent having but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and a half) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to paſs in front. The Cities ſo ſevered from the main, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thyſus*, and *Cleonæ*.

He alſo gave order, that a Bridge upon Boats ſhould be made over the *Helleſpont* between *Abidus* and *Seſtos*, the Sea there having a mile of breadth, wanting an eighth part; which, after the finiſhing, was by a Tempeſt torn aſunder and diſſevered: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than diſcouraged, commanded thoſe to be ſlain that were maſters of the work, and cauſed ſix hundred threeſcore and fourteen Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and induſtry of the *Phœnicians*, was ſo well anchored to reſiſt both winds blowing into, and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the ſame being well boorded and railed, the whole Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand Foot, and fourſcore thouſand Horſe, with all the Moyles and Carriages, paſt over it into *Europe* in ſeven dayes and ſeven nights, without intermiſſion. This tranſportation of Armies did *Cæſar* afterward uſe. And *Caligula*, that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finiſhed, and the Army brought neer to the Sea-ſide, *Xerxes* took a view of all his Troops, aſſembled in the Plains of *Abidus*, being carried up, and ſeated on a place over-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoyning: and after he had gloried in his own happineſs, to behold and command ſo many Nations, and ſo powerfull an Army and Fleet, he ſuddenly (notwithſtanding) burſt out into tears, moved with this contemplation, That in one hundred years there ſhould not any one ſurvive of that marvellous multitude: the cauſe of which ſudden change of paſſion when he uttered to *Artabanus* his Unkle, *Artabanus* ſpake to the King to this effect: That which

which is more lamentable than the diſſolu tion of this great Troop within that num ber of years by the King remembred, is, That the life it ſelf which we enjoy is yet more miſerable than the end thereof: for in thoſe few dayes given us in the world, there is no man among all theſe, or elſe-where, that ever found himſelf ſo accompanied with happineſs, but that he oftentimes pleaſed himſelf better with the deſire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diſeaſes, and ſorrows whereto mankind is ſubject, being ſo many and inevitable, that the ſhorteſt life doth oftentimes appear unto us over long; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor reſt, but in deſired death alone.

With this melancholy diſcourſe, *Xerxes* being not much pleaſed, prayed *Artabanus* not to overcaſt thoſe joyes which they had now in purſuit with ſad remembrances. And holding ſtill a doubtfull conceit, that *Artabanus* utterly condemned the invaſion of *Greece*, againſt which he had formerly given many ſtrong reaſons, deſired him to deal freely with him, Whether he were returned to his firſt reſolution, that the enterprize of *Greece* could not be proſperous; or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Viſion, he was confident of good ſucceſs? *Artabanus*, notwithſtanding that he aſſured himſelf of the Kings reſolution to go on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpoſe it ſelf, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvellouſly affrighted him, and which the King ſhould find, as he feared, to be moſt adverſe; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, becauſe it had no where in that part of the World any Port capable of ſo great a Fleet; inſomuch, as if any tempeſt ſhould ariſe, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receive them, nor all the Havens thereof afford them any ſafety: and therefore when any ſuch ſhelter ſhall be wanting unto them, he prayed him to underſtand, that in ſuch a caſe of extremity, men are left to the will and diſpoſition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and diſpoſition of men. The Land, beſides other incommodities, will be found by ſo much the more an enemy, by how much the unſatiate deſire of man to obtain more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to give reſiſtance, yet the want of means to feed ſuch an Army, and the Famine which cannot be prevented, will without any other violence offered, diſinable and conſume it. By theſe Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to have diverted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to utter what indeed he moſt feared, to wit, the overthrow of the Army it ſelf both by Sea and Land, which ſoon after followed. Theſe cautions were exceeding weighty, if *Xerxes* his obſtinacy had not miſpriſed them. For to invade by Sea upon a perilous Coaſt, being neither in poſſeſſion of any Port, not ſuccoured by any party, may better fit a Prince preſuming on his fortune, than enriched with underſtanding. Such was the enterpriſe of *Philip* the ſecond upon *England* in the year 1588. who had belike never heard of this Counſel of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the ſecond point; It is very likely that *Xerxes* his Army, which could not have in it leſs than two millions of Souls, beſides his beaſts for Service and Carriage, ſhould after a few dayes ſuffer famine, and uſing *Machiavels* words, *Mourire ſans confeſſion*; *die without a knife*. For it was impoſſible for *Greece*, being a ragged, ſtrait, and mountainous Countrey, to yield food (beſides what ſerved themſelves) for twenty hundred thouſand ſtrangers, whom they never meant to entertain, but with the ſharpned points of their Weapons, deſtroying withall whatſoever they could not well incloſe and defend. Nay, if we may believe *Herodotus*, the Army of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermopylæ*, conſiſted of five millions, two hundred eighty three thouſand, two hundred twenty men, beſides Laundreſſes, Harlots, and Horſes, and was therefore likely to endure a ſpeedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his anſwer was, That it was impoſſible to provide for all things; and that whoſoever ſhould enterpriſe any great matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconveniences, he ſhould never purſue the ſame farther than the diſpute and conſultation: which if his Predeceſſors, the *Perſian* Kings, had done, they had never grown to that greatneſs, or poſſeſt ſo many Kingdoms and Nations, as they now did; and therefore concluded, That great enterpriſes were never undertaken without great perils. Which reſolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any neceſſity had inforc'd him to that war. But ſeeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could be conſtrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull proſperity of the *Perſians* endured, and that *Greece* was ſeparated by the Sea from the reſt of *Xerxes* his Dominions (of whoſe reſolution his Father *Darius* had made a dear experience) the fruit of this War was anſwerable

anſwerable to the plantation, and the ſucceſs and end agreeable to the weak counſel whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, thoſe millions of men which he tranſported, and yet in his own judgement not ſufficient, (for he gathered in, marching on, all the ſtrength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to fear the *Greeks* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and reſolution, whom he conducted. For it is wiſely ſaid of thoſe uncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent, ſed pondus; & impedimenta potiùs ſunt, quàm auxilium: They are great in bulk, but weak in forces, and rather a lugage than an aid.*

Beſides, as it was impoſſible to marſhall ſuch a world of men in one Army, ſo the divers Nations, ſpeaking divers languages, bred the ſame confuſion among the *Perſian* Commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to work. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded ten Armies of fifty thouſand choſen Souldiers in each, and ſent them yearly into *Greece* well victualled and furniſhed, he had either prevailed by the ſword, or forced them to forſake their territory, brought them into obedience by neceſſity and famine, which cannot be reſiſted. But while *Xerxes* reſolved to cut down the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a ſea of men upon them, he was deceived both of his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he imployed, and beaten by the *Greeks*, both by Land and Sea; yea, he himſelf, conducted by his fear, fled ſhamefully into *Aſia*. A great part of his Army was buried in *Greece*: the remainder whereof, which wintred in *Theſſaly*, and led by *Mardonius* who perſwaded the enterpriſe, was in the ſummer following utterly defeated, and himſelf ſlain.

§. III.

Of the fights at Thermopylæ *and* Artemiſium.

After ſuch time as *Xerxes* had tranſported the Army over the *Helleſpont*, and landed in *Thrace*, (leaving the deſcription of his paſſage along that Coaſt, and how the River of *Liſſus* was drunk dry by his multitudes, and the Lake near to *Piſſyrus* by his cattel, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*) I will ſpeak of the encounters he had, and the ſhamefull and incredible overthrows which he received. As firſt at *Thermopylæ*, a narrow paſſage of half an acre of ground, lying between the Mountains which did divide *Theſſaly* from *Greece*, where ſometime the *Phocians* had raiſed a wall with gates, which was then for the moſt part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas* one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, aſſiſted with one thouſand *Tegeatæ* and *Mantineans*, one thouſand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponneſians*, to the number of three thouſand one hundred in the whole; beſides one thouſand *Phocians*, four hundred *Thebans*, ſeven hundred *Theſpians*, and all the forces (ſuch as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the paſſage two whole dayes together againſt that huge Army of the *Perſians*. The valour of the *Greeks* appeared ſo excellent in this defence, that in the firſt dayes fight, *Xerxes* is ſaid to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the deſtruction of his Army by one handful of thoſe men whom not long before he had utterly deſpiſed: and when the ſecond dayes attempt upon the *Greeks* had proved vain, he was altogether ignorant how to proceed further; and ſo might have continued, had not a runnagate *Grecian* taught him a ſecret way, by which part of his Army might aſcend the ledge of mountains, and ſet upon the backs of thoſe who kept the Straits. But when the moſt valiant of the *Perſian* Army had almoſt incloſed the ſmall forces of the *Greeks*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedæmonians* with his three hundred, and ſeven hundred *Theſpians*, which were all that abode by him, refuſe to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not only reſiſt that world of men which charged them on all ſides; but iſſuing out of their ſtrength, made ſo great a ſlaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquiſhers, though all of them were ſlain upon the place. *Xerxes*, having loſt in this laſt fight, together with twenty thouſand other Souldiers and Captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the vertue of ſuch as had not been preſent at theſe battels, with whom he knew that he ſhortly was to deal. Eſpecially of the *Spartans* he ſtood in great fear, whoſe manhood had appeared ſingular in this trial, which cauſed him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to have terrified him by ſaying, That the flight of the *Perſian* Arrows was ſo thick as would hide the Sun, he anſwered thus; It is very good news, for then ſhall we fight in the cool ſhade.

Such notable resolution having as freely been expressed in deeds, as was uttered in words, caused the *Persian* to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the City of *Sparta* could arm well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedæmonians*, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsel of *Demaratus*, a banished King of the *Spartans*, who had always well advised and instructed him in the things of *Greece*, what course were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces should assemble together to defend the *Isthmus*, that streight neck of ground which joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Continent. For which cause he advised, That three hundred ships well manned, should be sent unto the Coast of *Laconia*, to spoil the Country, and to hold the *Lacedæmonians* and their neighbours busied at home, whilst *Xerxes* at his leisure having subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power upon them, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further advised, That the said Fleet of three hundred ships should seize upon the Island then called *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying near to the Coast of *Laconia*, might serve as a fit place of *Randezvous* upon all occasions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient speech of *Chilon* the *Lacedæmonian* should be verified, that it were better for his Countrymen to have that Isle drowned in the Sea, than stand so inconveniently for them as it did. What effect this counsel might have taken, had it been followed, it is not easie to guess. But a contrary opinion of *Achæmenes*, Brother to King *Xerxes*, was preferred as the safer. For the *Persian* Fleet had been sorely vexed with a grievous tempest, which continued three whole daies together, wherein were lost upon the Coast of *Magnesia*, four hundred ships of War, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreseen, that if any such calamity should overtake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to give them succour. Therefore *Achæmenes* perswaded his Brother not to disperse his Fleet; for if (said he) after the loss of four hundred ships we shall send away other three hundred to seek adventures, then will the *Greeks* be strong enough by Sea to encounter the rest of the Navy, which holding all together, is invincible. To this counsel *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his Land-Army and Fleet, should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilst both held one course, and lay not far asunder. But herein he was far deceived; for about the same time that his Army had felt the valour of the *Greeks* by Land, his Navy likewise made a sorrowful proof of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Grecians* Fleet lay at that time at *Artimesium*, in the straits of *Eubœa*, where the *Persians* thinking to encompass them, sent two hundred sail about the Island to fall upon them behind, using a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas*, in a case not unlike, but with far different success. For that narrow channel of the Sea, which divideth *Eubœa* from the main, was in the same sort held by a Navy of two hundred threescore and eleven sail against the huge *Persian* Armado, as the straits of *Thermopylæ* had formerly been maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was circumvented, as this Navy might have been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Island, and the cause of their voyage, was too well known in the *Persian* Fleet, and soon enough disclosed to the *Greeks*, who setting sail by night, met them with a counter-surprize, taking and sinking thirty vessels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea; where, being over-taken with foul weather, they were driven upon the Rocks, and cast all away. Contrariwise, the Navy of the *Greeks* were increased by the arrival of fifty three *Athenian* ships, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their party in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side, so the fear of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred up the other to redeem their loss with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their unfortunate policy, they resolved in plain fight to repair their honour, and casting themselves into the form of a Crescent, thought so to include the *Greeks*, who readily did present them battel at *Artemisium*.

The fight endured from noon till night, and ended with equal loss to both parts. For, though more of the *Persians* ships were sunk and taken, yet the lesser loss fell altogether as heavy upon the *Greekish* Fleet, which being small, could worse bear it. Herein only the *Barbarians* may seem to have had the worse, that they forsook the place of fight, leaving the wrack and spoils to the enemy, who nevertheless were fain to abandon presently even the passage which they had undertaken to defend; both for that many of their ships were sorely crusht in the battel, and especially because they had received advertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylæ*. Before they weighed Anchors,

chors, *Themiſtocles*, General of the *Athenians*, engraved upon ſtone at the watering-place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they ſhould revolt unto the *Greeks*, or ſtand neutral; which perſwaſion, he hoped, would either take ſome place with them, or at the leaſt make them ſuſpected by the *Perſians*.

§. IV.

The attempt of Xerxes *upon* Apollo's *Temple: and his taking of* Athens.

WHen *Xerxes* had paſt the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*, he waſted the Country of the *Phocians*, and the regions adjoyning: as for the Inhabitants, they choſe rather to fly, and reſerve themſelves to a day of battel, than to adventure their lives into his hands, upon hope of ſaving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their ſervice. Part of his Army he ſent to ſpoil the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by means of many Offerings that had been made by divers Kings, and great perſonages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inventory than of the goods left in his own Palace. To make relation of a great aſtoniſhment that fell upon the companies which arrived at the Temple to have ſacked it, and of two Rocks that breaking from the Mount *Parnaſſus*, overwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure ſomewhat ſuperſtitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who lived not long after, ſaith, That the broken Rocks remained even to his memory in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither they rowled in their fall. And ſurely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for ſeeing he believed that *Apollo* was a god, he ſhould not have dared to entertain a covetous deſire of inriching himſelf by committing ſacrilege upon his Temple. Wherefore it may poſſibly be true, that licenſe to chaſtiſe his impiety, in ſuch manner as is reported, was granted unto the Devil, by that Holy One, who ſaith, *Will a man ſpoil his gods?* and elſewhere; *Hath any Nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Iſles of* Kittim, *and behold, and ſend to* Kedar, *and take diligent heed, and ſee whether there be any ſuch things.* Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcuſable, for that the *Perſians* alledged the burning of *Cybele*'s Temple by the *Athenians*, when they ſet fire on the City of *Sardis* in *Aſia*, to be the ground and cauſe of the waſte which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprize againſt *Delphos*, this vizzor of holy and zealous revenge falling off, diſcovered the face of covetouſneſs ſo much the more ugly, by how much the more themſelves had profeſſed a deteſtation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by meer miſchance.

Mal. 3. 8. *Jer.* 2. 9, 10.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expreſſed briefly thus: *He came to* Athens, *which finding forſaken, he took and burnt the Cittadel, and Temple, which was therein.* The Cittadel indeed was defended a while by ſome of more courage than wiſdom, who literally interpreting *Apollo*'s Oracle, *That* Athens *ſhould be ſafe in wooden walls*, had fortified that place with Boards and Paliſſadoes; too weak to hold out long, though by their deſperate valour ſo well maintained at the firſt aſſault, that they might have yielded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relyed upon the Prophecy: whereof (being ſomewhat obſcure) it was wiſely done of *Themiſtocles*, to make diſcretion the Interpreter, applying rather the words to the preſent need, than faſhioning the buſineſs to words.

§. V.

How Themiſtocles *the* Athenian *drew the* Greeks *to fight at* Salamis.

THe *Athenians* had, before the coming of *Xerxes*, removed their wives and children into *Trœzene*, *Ægina*, and *Salamis*, not ſo highly prizing their houſes and lands, as their freedom, and the common liberty of *Greece*. Nevertheleſs, this great zeal, which the *Athenians* did ſhew for the general good of their Country, was ill requited by the other *Greeks*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to ſtay for them at *Salamis*, whilſt they removed their wives and children out of the City. But when the City of *Athens* was taken, it was preſently reſolved upon, that they ſhould forſake the Iſle of *Salamis*, and withdraw the Fleet to *Iſthmus*: which neck of land they did purpoſe to fortifie againſt the *Perſians*, and ſo to defend *Peloponneſus* by Land and Sea, leaving the reſt of *Greece*, as indefenſible, to the fury of the enemy. So ſhould the Iſlands of *Salamis* and *Ægina* have been abandoned, and the Families of the *Athenians* (which were there beſtowed as in places of ſecurity) have been given over into mercileſs bondage. Againſt this reſolution, *Themiſtocles*, Admiral of the *Athenian* Fleet, very ſtrongly made oppoſition, but in vain. For the *Peloponneſians* were ſo poſſeſſed with fear of loſing their

own, which they would not hazard, that no perſwaſions could obtain of them to regard the eſtate of their diſtreſſed Friends and Allies. Many remonſtances *Themiſtocles* made unto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at *Salamis*: As firſt in private unto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedæmonian*, Admiral of the whole Fleet; That the ſelf-ſame fear which made them forſake thoſe coaſts of *Greece*, upon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the firſt) cauſe them alſo to diſlever the Fleet, and every one of the Confederates to withdraw himſelf to the defence of his own City and Eſtate: Then to the Council of War, which *Eurybiades* upon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might work in them hereafter;) he ſhewed, that the fight at *Iſthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ſhips, to determine the matter in the ſtreights; and that, beſides the ſafeguard of *Ægina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they ſhould by abiding where they then were, ſufficiently defend *Iſthmus*; which the *Barbarians* ſhould not ſo much as once look upon, if the *Greeks* obtained victory by Sea; which they could not ſo well hope for elſewhere, as in that preſent place which gave him ſo good advantage. All this would not ſerve to retain the *Peloponneſians*, of whom one, unworthy of memory, upbraided *Themiſtocles* with the loſs of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for ſuffering one to ſpeak in the Council, that had no Country of his own to inhabit. A baſe and ſhameful objection it was, to lay as a reproach that loſs, which being voluntarily ſuſtained for the common good, was in true eſtimation by ſo much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignity did exaſperate *Themiſtocles*, and put into his mouth a reply ſo ſharp, as availed more than all his former perſwaſions. He told them all plainly, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer City than any Nation of *Greece* could boaſt of; having well-near two hundred good ſhips of War, the better part of the *Grecian* Fleet, with which it was eaſie for them to tranſport their Families and ſubſtance into any part of the World, and ſettle themſelves in a more ſecure habitation, leaving thoſe to ſhift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refuſed to ſtand by them. Herewithal he mentioned a Town in *Italy* belonging of old to the ſtate of *Athens*, of which Town he ſaid an Oracle had foretold, That the *Athenians*, in proceſs of time, ſhould build it a-new; and there (quoth he) will we plant our ſelves, leaving unto you a ſorrowful remembrance of my words, and of your own unthankfulneſs. The *Peloponneſians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better conſideration of the *Athenians*; whoſe affairs depended not, as they well perceived, upon ſo weak terms, that they ſhould be driven to crouch to others; but rather were ſuch, as might enforce the reſt to yield to them, and condeſcend even to the uttermoſt of their own demands.

For the *Athenians*, when they firſt embraced that Heroical reſolution, of leaving their grounds and houſes to fire and ruine, if neceſſity ſhould enforce them ſo far, for the preſervation of their liberty, did employ the moſt of their private wealth, and all the common treaſure, in building a great Navy. By theſe means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no ſuch calamity ſhould befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoiſed by great advantages at Sea: Knowing well, that a ſtrong Fleet would either procure victory at home, or a ſecure paſſage to any other Country. The other States of *Greece* held it ſufficient, if building a few new ſhips, they did ſomewhat amend their Navy. Whereby it came to paſs, that, had they been vanquiſhed, they could not have expected any other fortune, than either preſent death, or perpetual ſlavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, whoſe forces by Sea did equal all theirs together; the whole conſiſting of more than three hundred and fourſcore bottoms. Wherefore theſe *Peloponneſians* beginning to ſuſpect their own condition, which would have ſtood upon deſperate points, if the Fleet of *Athens* had forſaken them, were ſoon perſwaded, by the greater fear of ſuch a bad event, to forget the leſſer, which they had conceived of the *Perſians*; and laying aſide their inſolent bravery, they yielded to that moſt profitable counſel of abiding at *Salamis*.

§. VI.

How the Perſians *conſulted about giving battel: and how* Themiſtocles *by policy held the* Greeks *to their reſolution; with the victory at* Salamis *thereupon enſuing.*

IN the mean ſeaſon, the *Perſians* had entred into conſultation, whether it were convenient to offer battel to the *Greeks*, or no. The reſt of the Captains giving ſuch advice as they thought would beſt pleaſe

pleaſe the King their Maſter, had ſoon agreed upon the fight; but *Artemiſia* Queen of *Halicarnaſſæus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this War in perſon, was of contrary opinion: Her counſel was, that the King himſelf directly ſhould march toward *Peloponneſus*, whereby it would come to paſs, that the *Greek* Navy (unable otherwiſe to continue long at *Salamis* for want of proviſion) ſhould preſently be diſſevered, and every one ſeeking to preſerve his own City and Goods, they ſhould, being divided, prove unable to reſiſt him, who had won ſo far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give battel; ſo on the other ſide, the danger will be more (ſaid ſhe) which we ſhall undergo, than any need requireth us to adventure upon; and the loſs, in caſe it fall upon us, greater than the profit of the Victory which we deſire. For if we compel the enemies to fly, it is more than they would have done, we ſitting ſtill: but if they, as better Seamen than ours, put us to the worſt, the journey to *Peloponneſus* is utterly daſht, and many that now declare for us, will ſoon revolt unto the *Greeks*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had ſent for that purpoſe to the Fleet, related unto his Maſter the common conſent of the other Captains, and withall this diſagreeing opinion of *Artemiſia*. The King, well pleaſed with her advice, yet reſolved upon following the more general, but far worſe counſel of the reſt; which would queſtionleſs have been the ſame which *Artemiſia* gave, had not fear and flattery made all the Captains utter that, as out of their own judgement, which they thought to be moſt conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed that *Xerxes* had entertained a vain perſwaſion of much good, that his own preſence upon the ſhore to behold the conflict, would work among the Souldiers. Therefore he encamped upon the Sea-ſide, pitching his own Tent on the Mount *Ægaleus*, which is oppoſite unto the Iſle of *Salamis*, whence at eaſe he might ſafely view all which might happen in that action, having Scribes about him to write down the acts and behaviour of every Captain. The near approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the news of that timorous diligence which their Countrymen ſhewed in fortifying the *Iſthmus*, and of a *Perſian* Army, marching apace thither, did now again ſo terrifie and amaze the *Peloponneſians*, that no entreaty nor conteſtation would ſuffice to hold them together. For they thought it meer madneſs to fight for a Country already loſt, when they rather ſhould endeavour to ſave that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themſelves what miſery would befall them, if, loſing the Victory, they ſhould be driven into *Salamis*, there to be ſhut up, and beſieged round in a poor deſolate Iſland.

Hereupon they reſolved forthwith to ſet ſail for *Iſthmus*; which had preſently been done, if the wiſdom of *Themiſtocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a violent fear had ſtopt up their ears againſt all good counſel, did practiſe another courſe, and forthwith labour to prevent the execution of this unwholſome decree; not ſuffering the very hour of performance to find him buſie in wrangling altercation. As ſoon as the Council brake up, he diſpatched ſecretly a truſty Gentleman to the *Perſian* Captains, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to ſend part of their Navy about the Iſland, which incompoſing the *Greeks*, might prevent their eſcape; giving them withall falſe hope of his aſſiſtance. The *Perſians* no ſooner heard than believed theſe good news, well knowing that the Victory was their own aſſured, if the *Athenian* Fleet joyned with them; which they might eaſily hope, conſidering what ability their Maſter had to recompence for ſo doing, both the Captains with rich rewards, and the people with reſtitution of their City, and Territories. By theſe means it fell out, that when the *Greeks* very early in the morning were about to weigh Anchor, they found themſelves incloſed round with *Perſians*, who had laboured hard all that night, ſending many of their ſhips about the Iſle of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in rear, and landing many of their men in the Iſle of *Pſittalea*, which lyeth over againſt *Salamis*, to ſave ſuch of their own, and kill ſuch of the *Grecian* party, as by any misfortune ſhould be caſt upon the ſhore. Thus did meer neceſſity enforce the *Grecians* to undertake the battel in the ſtraights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable Victory, ſtemming the foremoſt of their enemies, and chaſing the reſt, who falling foul one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor fly. I do not find any particular occurrences in this great battel to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearifom taſk of writing down many diſaſters that befell the *Perſian* Fleet, which ill acquitted it ſelf that day, doing no one piece of ſervice worthy the preſence of their King, or the regiſtring of his Notaries. As for the *Greeks*, they might well ſeem to have wrought out that Victory with equal courage, were it not that the

principal

principal honour of that day was aſcribed to thoſe of *Ægina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did fly towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-Army of *Xerxes* lay, the ſhips of *Ægina* having poſſeſt the Straights, did ſink or take them, whilſt the *Athenians* did valiantly give charge upon thoſe that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of reſiſting.

§. VII.

Of things following after the battel of Salamis : *and of the flight of* Xerxes.

AFter this Victory, the *Greeks* intending by way of Scrutiny, to determine which of the Captains had beſt merited of them, in all this great Service; every Captain, being ambitious of that honour, did in the firſt place write down his own name, but in the ſecond place, as beſt deſerving next unto himſelf, almoſt every Suffrage did concur upon *Themiſtocles*. Thus private affection yielded unto vertue, as ſoon as her own turn was ſerved. The *Perſian* King, as not amazed with this calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of War; but in ſuch faſhion, that they which were beſt acquainted with his temper, might eaſily diſcern his faint heart through his painted looks. Eſpecially *Mardonius*, Author of the War, began to caſt a wary eye upon his Maſter, fearing leſt his counſel ſhould be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purpoſing rather to adventure his life in purſuit of the Victory, than to caſt it away by undergoing his Princes indignation, he adviſed the King to leave unto him three hundred thouſand men, with which forces he promiſed to reduce all *Greece* under the ſubjection of the *Perſian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to ſooth *Xerxes* with many fair words, telling him, That the cowardiſe of thoſe *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metal, nothing better than ſlaves, who had ſo ill behaved themſelves in the late Sea-ſervice, did not concern his honour, who had alwayes been victorious, and had already ſubdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it ſelf, againſt which the War was principally intended. Theſe words found very good acceptance in the Kings ear, who preſently betook himſelf to his journey homewards, making the more haſte, for that he underſtood, how the *Greeks* had a purpoſe to ſail to *Helleſpont*, and there to break down his bridge, and intercept his paſſage. True it was that the *Greeks* had no ſuch intent, but rather wiſhed his haſty departure, knowing that he would leave his Army not ſo ſtrong, as it ſhould have been, had he in perſon remained with it. And for this cauſe did *Eurybiades* give counſel, that by no means they ſhould attempt the breaking of that bridge, leſt neceſſity ſhould enforce the *Perſians* to take more courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beaſts. Wherefore *Themiſtocles* did, under pretence of friendſhip, ſend a falſe advertiſement unto this timerous Prince, adviſing him to convey himſelf into *Aſia* with all ſpeed, before his bridge were diſſolved: which counſel *Xerxes* took very kindly, and haſtily followed, as before is ſhewed. Whether it were ſo that he found the bridge whole, and thereby repaſſed into *Aſia*; or whether it were torn in ſunder by tempeſts, and he thereby driven to imbark himſelf in ſome obſcure veſſel, it is not greatly material; though the *Greeks* did moſt willingly imbrace the latter of theſe reports. Howſoever it were, this flight of his did well eaſe the Country, that was thereby diſburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locuſts, had before overwhelmed it.

§. VIII.

The negotiations between Mardonius *and the* Athenians, *as alſo between the* Athenians *and the* Lacedæmonians, *after the flight of* Xerxes.

MArdonius with his three hundred thouſand had withdrawn himſelf into *Theſſaly*, whence he ſent *Alexander* the ſon of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as Embaſſador to the *Athenians*, with promiſe of large amends for all their loſſes received; and of extending their Territories as far as their own deſires; allowing them to retain their liberty and laws, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and aſſiſt him in that War.

The *Athenians* had now re-entred their City, but not as yet brought back their wives and children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not be ſecure, till the Army of *Mardonius* was broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians*, underſtanding what fair conditions this Embaſſador would propound, were perplexed with very great fear, leſt he ſhould find good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewiſe very ſpeedily diſpatch their Embaſſadors for *Athens*, who arriving before the *Macedonian* had audience, uſed the beſt of their perſwaſion to retain the *Athenians*

nians firm. They alledged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of War againſt the reſt of *Greece*, but had only threatned the ſubverſion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themſelves in defence of that City, were drawn into the quarrel, wherein the *Athenians* without much cruelty of injuſtice could not leave them. We know, ſaid they, that ye have endured great calamities, loſing the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to forſake the Town, the houſes thereof be ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintain as our own, your wives and children amongſt us, as long as the War ſhall continue, hoping that ye, who have alwayes procured liberty to others, will not now go about to bring all *Greece* into ſlavery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promiſes are large, but their words and oaths are of no aſſurance. It was needleſs to uſe many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gave anſwer to *Alexander* in preſence of the *Spartan* Embaſſadors; That whilſt the Sun continued his courſe, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither Gold nor any riches, with which he might ſeek to make purchaſe of their liberty. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promiſed to ſuſtain themſelves, only deſiring the *Lacedæmonians*, that with all ſpeed they would cauſe their Army to march, foraſmuch as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long ſit ſtill in *Theſſaly*, having once received ſuch a peremptory anſwer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readineſs to invade *Attica*, they found themſelves nothing deceived. For he, as ſoon as *Alexander* had returned their obſtinate purpoſe of reſiſtance, did forthwith lead his Army towards them, and their City: they having now the ſecond time quitted it, and conveyed themſelves into places of more ſecurity abroad in the Country, where they expected the arrival of their confederates. From *Athens* he ſent his Agent unto them, with inſtructions, not only to perſwade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promiſes to allure the principal of them to his party. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with forſaking their houſes ſo often, would be deſirous to preſerve them from fire, & to have thoſe which were already laid waſte, re-edified at the Kings charges: Or, if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would rely upon their old confederats, whoſe ſuccors did very ſlowly advance forwards, yet perhaps the leaders might be won with great rewards, to draw them to this purpoſe; all which projects, if they ſhould fail, the deſtruction of *Athens* would be a good mean to pleaſe his Maſter, King *Xerxes*; who muſt thereby needs underſtand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the ſtrongeſt part of their own Country. But his expectation was beguiled in all theſe. For the *Athenians* ſo little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demoſthenes* calls him) *Cyrcilus*, adviſed the *Senate* to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people; all the *Senators*, and as many as abiding without the Counſel-houſe, heard what he had ſaid, immediately ſet upon him, and ſtoned him to death; not examining whether it were fear or money, that had moved him to utter ſuch a vile ſentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, and in the Iſle of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counſel, and bad end, aſſembling together did enter his houſe there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this bravery notwithſtanding, when they perceived the ſlackneſs of the *Peloponneſians* in giving them aid, they were fain to betake themſelves to *Salamis* again, the old place of their ſecurity. Remaining there, and ſeeing little forwardneſs in thoſe whom it moſt concerned to aſſiſt them, they ſent very ſevere meſſages to *Sparta*, complaining of their ſlackneſs, and threatning withal, to take ſuch courſe as might ſtand beſt with their own good, ſeeing that the common eſtate of all was ſo little regarded. Theſe meſſengers were at the firſt entertained with dilatory anſwers; which every day grew colder, when as the *Peloponneſian* Wall, builded athwart the *Iſthmus*, was almoſt finiſhed. But as the *Lacedæmonians* waxed careleſs and dull, ſo the *Athenians* hotly preſſed them to a quick reſolution, giving them plainly to underſtand, that if they ſhould hold on in thoſe dilatory courſes, it would not be long ere the City of *Athens* took a new courſe, that ſhould little pleaſe them. All this while the *Perſian* Fleet lay upon the coaſt of *Aſia*, not daring to draw nearer unto *Greece*, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewiſe the *Greekiſh* Navy contained it ſelf within the Harbours upon *Europe* ſide; both to do ſervice where need ſhould require at home, and withal to ſhun the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that (being diſtracted from the reſt) had ventured over-far. So mutual fear preſerved in quiet the Iſlands lying in the midſt of the *Ægean* Seas. But it was well and ſeaſonably obſerved by a Counſellor of *Sparta*, that the Wall upon *Iſthmus* would

ſerve

ſerve to little purpoſe for the defence of *Peloponneſus*, if once the *Athenians* gave ear to *Mardonius*: conſidering that many doors would be opened into that Demy-Iſland, as ſoon as the Enemy ſhould by winning the friendſhip of *Athens*, become the Maſter of the Seas about it. The *Lacedæmonians* upon this admonition, making better peruſal of their own dangers, were very careful to give ſatisfaction to the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, who not brooking their delayes, were upon point of taking leave, yea, as it ſeemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore diſpatching away five thouſand *Spartans* in the evening, under conduct of *Pauſanias*, they gave audience the next day to the Embaſſadors, whoſe complaints they anſwered with vehement proteſtations of their readineſs; deeply ſwearing that the Army of *Sparta* was already far upon the journey, and giving them leave to take up other five thouſand *Lacedæmonians*, out of the Region adjoyning, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though diſtaſting ſuch want of gravity, in a matter ſo important, were nevertheleſs contented with the final concluſion; and levying the number appointed of *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers, made what haſte they could to incamp in *Attica*. The other *Grecians* were nothing ſlack in ſending forth Companies, whoſe near approach cauſed *Mardonius* to forſake *Attica* as a rough Country, and therefore of much diſadvantage to Horſe, wherein conſiſted the beſt of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of *Athens*, beating down the Walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly eſcaped the fury of War.

§. IX.

The great battel of Platæa.

IT were too long a rehearſal to ſhew all that happened in many ſkirmiſhes between the *Greeks* and him, in the Country of *Bœotia*, which *Mardonius* had choſen to be the ſeat of that War. Much time was ſpent before the quarrel was decided by the trial of one main battel: for both parties did ſtand upon their guard, each expecting when the other ſhould aſſail them.

The Army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thouſand, which were by him choſen out of *Xerxes* his Army; to whom were adjoyned the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedony*, *Theſſaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now ſiding with the *Perſian*, furniſhed his Camp with fifty thouſand men. Againſt theſe the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leavied an Army of one hundred and ten thouſand, of which forty thouſand were weightily armed, the reſt were only aſſiſtants to theſe forty thouſand, being armed more ſleightly, as rather to make excurſions and give chaſe, than to ſuſtain any ſtrong charges.

Theſe two Armies having eleven dayes confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of ſervice; *Mardonius*, whoſe victuals began to fail, reſolved to begin the fray. The *Greeks* were promiſed Victory by an *Oracle*, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plain of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, making prayers unto certain gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to find the certain place which the *Oracle* deſigned: For the plain of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athens*; but there was alſo an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, near unto the place where they lay at that time encamped; as likewiſe the memorials of thoſe Nymphs and Demi-gods, were in the ſame place, upon Mount *Cithæron*; and the ground ſerved well for footmen againſt horſe; only the Land belonged unto the *Platæans*, and not unto the *Athenians*.

Whilſt the *Greeks* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtful *Oracle*, the *Platæans*, to make all clear, did freely beſtow their Land on that ſide the Town upon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Platæans* cauſed *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to re-edifie their City; which was ruined in the *Peloponneſian* Wars.

All things being ready for battel, the *Lacedæmonian* General thought it moſt meet, that the *Athenians* ſhould ſtand oppoſite that day to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, whom they had formerly vanquiſhed at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, ſhould entertain the *Thebans* and other *Greeks* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them oftentimes before. This being agreed upon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Mardonius* underſtanding, (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whoſe valour the *Medes* and *Perſians* had felt heavy proof, or deſiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the braveſt Souldiers in *Greece*) he did alſo change the order of his battel, and oppoſe himſelf to *Pauſanias*. All the *Greeks* might well perceive how the Enemy did ſhift his wings, and *Pauſanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did alſo the like. So one whole day was ſpent in changing to and fro.

Some

Some attempt the *Persians* made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the *Greeks* at their watering-place, that they were fain to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much loss to themselves, and none to the enemy, lye near to that fountain which did serve all the Camp. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dis-lodge; and part of the Army being sent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being incouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceed out of meer cowardise) he charged them in the rear with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the *Lacedæmonians* being over-taken by the enemies horse, and over-whelmed with great flights of Arrows, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slain, and some of especial mark lost, before any sign of good success appeared in the entrails.

But as soon as *Pausanias* had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that Age and Country accounted fortunate; he gave the Signal of battel: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did sit upon the ground, as was their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging upon them without any fear of such notable resistance. The rest of the *Greek* Army that was in march, being revoked by *Pausanias*, came in apace to succour the *Lacedæmonians*: only that part of the Army which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive unto the place of the great battel, because the *Thebans*, and other *Greeks* confederated with the *Persians*, gave them check by the way. Nevertheless, the *Spartans*, with other their assistants, did so well acquit themselves, that the *Persians* were vanquished, and *Mardonius* with many thousands more slain in the field; the rest fled into the Camp, which they had fortified with wooden Walls, and there defended themselves with such courage, as desperate necessity inforced them unto, holding out the longer, because the *Lacedæmonians* were not acquainted with the manner of assaulting Fortresses, and Walls. In the mean time the *Athenians* having found strong opposition of the *Thebans* and *Thessalians*, did with much labour and courage obtain victory, which having not long pursued, they came to help the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found warily busied in assaulting the Camp, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves undertook it, and in short space forced a passage thorow the Wall; at which breach first, and then on all sides, the *Greeks* entred with such fury, and just desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand, they are said not to have left three thousand alive, excepting those who fled away with *Artabazus*, when as the *Persian* Army first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especial cause of it was the foolish retreat, or rather flight into the Camp. For, though it were so, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselves into it greater than any of the Assailants; yet they being of several Nations and Languages, and having lost their General, with other principal Commanders, it was impossible that they in such a terrour and astonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemy-Country, against an Army of men, far more valiant than themselves, and enflamed with present victory. Therefore the same Wall, which for a few hours had preserved their lives, by holding out the enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the slaughtering fury of unpitiful Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Thessaly*, and other Countries in his way, that he was sent by *Mardonius* upon some piece of service: For he well knew, that had they understood any thing of that great discomfiture, all places would have been hostile unto him, and sought with his ruine to purchase favour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble, were left behind and lost, he came to *Byzantium*, whence he shipped his men over into *Asia*. Such was the end of the vain-glorious Expedition, undertaken by *Xerxes* against the *Greeks*, upon hope of Honour, and Conquest, though sorting otherwise, accordingly as *Artabazus* had foreseen, and rather worse, forasmuch as it began the quarrel, which never ended before the ruine of the *Persian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greeks*, despised and sought to have been brought into slavery. Hereby it may seem, that the vision appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himself, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subversion of the *Persian* Monarchy by the *Greeks*, who thus provoked, entred into greater consideration of their own strength, and the weakness of their Enemies.

§. X.

The Battel of Mycale; *with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning: and examples of the like.*

THe same day on which the Battel was fought at *Platæa*, there was another Battel fought at *Mycale*, a Promontory, or Head-land in *Asia*, where the *Persian* Fleet rode.

Lutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greek* Navy, at the request of some Islanders and *Ionians*, did sail into those parts, to deliver the *Samians*, and procure the *Ionians* to revolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himself at this time lay at *Sardis*, a City in *Lydia*, not far from the Sea-side, having left threescore thousand under the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionia*, and the Sea-coast. Therefore when *Artayntes*, and *Ithramitres*, Admirals of the *Persian* Fleet, understood that the *Greeks* bent their course towards them, they did forth-with draw their ships aground, fortifying with *Palissadoes*, and otherwise, as much ground as was needfull for the encamping of all their Land and Sea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arrival, perceiving that they meant to keep within their strength, and resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his Gally close aboard the shore, and called upon the *Ionians* (who more for fear, than good will, were encamped among the *Persians*) exhorting them in the *Greek* tongue to remember liberty, and use the fair occasion which they now had to recover it. Herein he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Eubœa*, trusting that either these perswasions would prevail, or, if the *Persians* did happen to understand them, that it would breed some jealousie in them, causing them to fight in fear of their own companions. It need not seem strange, that this very same stratagem, which little or nothing availed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succeed. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to perswade those Inhabitants of *Asia* to revolt; who now in his declining estate, gave a willing ear to the sweet sound of liberty. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former bravery, little regarded, and less feared, any treason to be contrived by their subjects, were now so wary, that from the *Samians* which were amongst them, they took away their arms; the *Milesians*, whom they did suspect, but would not seem to mistrust, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the streight passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Milesians* did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed them. For the *Samians* perceiving that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold upon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully, within the Camp; which examples the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to have found some that durst begin. It is said, that while the *Greeks* were yet in a march toward the Enemies Camp, a rumour suddenly ran in the Army, that *Mardonius* was overthrown in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captains to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the Battel of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the evening of the same day.

The like report of that great Battel, wherein *Paulus Æmilius* overthrew *Perseus* the last King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in four dayes, as *Livie* with others do record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kind. As that of the Battel by the River *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of, the same day in *Peloponnesus*: That of the Battel against the *Tarquinians* and the *Latins*, presently noised at *Rome*: And (which is most remarkable) the victory obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebel to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germany*, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himself Emperour; which news much troubling the City of *Rome*, with fear of a dangerous War, it was suddenly reported, that *Antonius* was slain, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of publick joy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Author of these tydings could not be found, the Emperour *Domitian* betook himself to his journey against the Rebel; and being now with his Army in march, he received advertisement by Post, of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembring the rumour noised before in *Rome*, of the self-same victory, he found that the report and victory were born upon one day, though twenty thousand furlongs (which make above five and twenty hundred miles) asunder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example gives credit unto many the like. And indeed it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgery or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not be found

found (as happens in dreams among many thouſand vain and frivolous) a few preciſely true. Howbeit we may find, that God himſelf doth ſometimes uſe to terrifie thoſe who preſume upon their own ſtrength, by theſe light means of tumultuous noiſes: as he raiſed the ſiege of *Samaria*, by cauſing a ſound of Horſes and Chariots to affright the *Aramites*; and as he threatned *Senacherib*, ſaying, *Behold, I will ſend a blaſt upon him, and he ſhall hear a noyſe, and return to his own Land.* Wherefore it may well have been true, that God was pleaſed by ſuch means as this, to animate the *Greeks*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heavy hearts, being in great fear, leſt their own adventure ſhould by no means fall out well; conſidering in what danger they had left their own Country of *Greece*, which was ready to be ſubdued by *Mardonius*, whileſt they went wandring to ſeek out Enemies a-far off, upon the coaſt of *Aſia*. But, the fame of the battel fought at *Platæa* being noiſed among them, every man deſired that his own valour in the preſent fight, might be ſome help to work out the full deliverance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of ſpirit, they divided themſelves into two Battalions, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plain, directly towards the Enemies Camp; the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountains and ſtreight paſſages, to win the higher ground. The *Athenians* did firſt ſet upon the Camp (ere the *Lacedæmonians* could arrive on the other part) and being deſirous to get all the honour of the day to themſelves, did ſo forcibly aſſault it, that they brake way thorow the Paliſſadoes and Gabions, and made themſelves Maſters of the place, ſlaying all that could not ſave themſelves by flight. In this fight the *Samians* did good ſervice, as is formerly mentioned.

1 Sam. 7.

But the *Mileſians*, who upon the like jealouſie, were placed by the *Perſians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the paſſages, did now (as if they had been ſent of purpoſe to keep them from running away) put as many to the ſword as fell into their hands, letting none eſcape, except very few, that fled through by-paths. The *Lacedæmonians* that day did little ſervice, for the buſineſs was diſpatched ere they came in: Only they broke ſuch companies as retired in whole troops; making them flie diſperſed in very much diſorder, whereby the *Mileſians* were enabled to do the greater execution upon them. This was the laſt fight of that huge Army levied againſt *Greece*, which was now utterly broken, and had no means left to make offenſive War.

§. XI.

Of the barbarous qualities of Xerxes: *with a tranſition from the* Perſian *affairs to matters of* Greece, *which from this time grew more worthy of regard.*

Xerxes lay at *Sardis*, not far from the place of this Battel; but little mind had he to revenge either this, or other his great loſſes, being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom he could not prevail by intreaty, nor would obtain his deſire by force. Becauſe he reſpected much his Brother her Huſband, he thought it beſt to make a match between his own Son *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to find occaſion of ſuch familiarity as might work out his deſire. But whether it were ſo, that the chaſtity of the Mother did ſtill reject him, or the beauty of the Daughter allure him, he ſoon after fell in love with his own Sons Wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to govern himſelf in peace, as to guide his Army in war. This young Lady having once deſired the King to give her the Garment which he then wore, being wrought by his own Wife, cauſed the Queen thereby to perceive her Husbands converſation with her, which ſhe imputed not ſo much to the beauty of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, againſt whom thereupon ſhe conceived extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royal Feaſt, wherein the cuſtom was, that the King ſhould grant their requeſt, ſhe craved that the Wife of *Maſiſtes*, her Huſbands Brother, the young Ladies Mother, might be given into her diſpoſition. The barbarous King, who might either have reformed the abuſe of ſuch a cuſtom, or have deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatning her ſelf with the like, to whatſoever ſhe ſhould inflict upon the innocent Lady, granted the requeſt; and ſending for his Brother, perſwaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her ſtead. Hereby it ſeems, that he underſtood how villainouſly that poor Lady ſhould be intreated, whom he knew to be virtuous, and whom himſelf had loved. *Maſiſtes* refuſed to put her away; alledging his own love, her deſerving, and their common children, one of which was married to the Kings Son, as reaſons important to move him to keep her. But in moſt wicked manner *Xerxes* reviled him, ſaying, That he now ſhould neither keep the Wife which he had, nor have his Daughter whom he had

promised unto him. *Masistes* was much grieved with these words, but much more, when returned home, he found his Wife most butcherly mangled by the Queen *Amestris*, who had caused her Nose, Lips, Ears, and Tongue to be cut off: and her Breasts in like manner, which were cast unto Dogs. *Masistes* enraged with this villany, took his way with his children, and some friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Province he was Governour, intending to rebell and avenge himself: But *Xerxes* understanding his purpose, caused an Army to be levied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the sword. Such was the Tyrannical condition of the *Persian* Government; and such are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is joyned with absolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his overthrown, and lying upon the ground, said, That he doubted, whether in regard of his virtue, he should again erect it; or, for the mischief done by him to *Greece*, should let it lye. But surely, whatsoever his other good qualities were, he was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently mercilesse.

Therefore we may firmly believe, that the virtue of *Cyrus* was very great, upon which the foundation of the *Persian* Empire was so surely laid, that all the wickedness and vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worse Princes, could not overthrow it, until it was broken by a virtue almost equal to that which did establish it. In wars against the *Egyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the first it had been, very good; but against the general estate of *Greece*, neither he, or any of his posterity, did ever make offensive war, but received many losses in *Asia*, to which the last at *Mycale* served but as an introduction; teaching the *Greeks*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the *Persian* was no better Souldier at his own doors, than in a forein Countrey: whereof good trial was made forth-with, and much better proof as soon as the affairs of *Athens* were quietly setled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the History of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Persia*, as also the estate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the *Persian* estate continued in her greatness, many ages following, in such wise, that the known parts of the world had no other Kingdom, representing the Majesty of a great Empire.

But this greatness depended only upon the riches and power that had formerly been acquired, yielding few actions, or none, that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessive Luxury, wherewith both it, and all, or the most of Empires that ever were, have been enervated, made unwieldy, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry swords of poor and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to pass, that *Xerxes* and his successors were fain to defend their Crowns with money & base policies; very seldom or never (unless it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the tryal of plain battel with that little Nation of *Greece*; which would soon have ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not private malice and jealousie urged every City to envy the height of her neighbours walls, and thereby diverted the swords of the *Greeks* into their own bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better have continued, to hew out the way of Conquest, on the side of *Asia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece *from the end of the* Persian *War, to the beginning of the* Peloponnesian.

§. I.

How Athens *was re-built and fortified.*

AFter that the *Medes* and *Persians* had received their last blow, and were utterly beaten at *Mycale*: *Leutichydes*, who then commanded the *Grecian* Army, leaving the pursuit of the War to the *Athenians*, assisted by the revolted *Iones*, returned with the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Peloponnesians* to *Sparta*, and

and other places, out of which they had been leavied. The *Athenians* in the mean while beſieged *Seſtos*, a City on the ſtrait of the *Helleſpont*, between which and *Abydus*, *Xerxes* had lately faſtened his Bridge of Boats: where the Inhabitants, deſperate of ſuccour, did not long diſpute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greeks*, who entertained themſelves the Winter following on that ſide the *Helleſpont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children, ſince the invaſion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of *Athens*, in divers Illands, and at *Trœzen*, they now found them out, and returned with them to their own places.

And though the moſt part of all their houſes in *Athens* were burnt and broken down, and the walls of the City over-turned, yet they reſolved firſt on their common defence, and to fortifie their City, before they cared to cover themſelves, their wives and children, with any private buildings. Whereof the *Lacedæmonians* being advertiſed, and miſliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in reſpect that their own City of *Sparta* was unwalled, as alſo becauſe the *Athenians* were grown more powerfull by Sea, than either themſelves, or any other State of *Greece*, they diſpatched meſſengers to the *Athenians* to diſſwade them; not acknowledging any private miſlike or jealouſie, but pretending, that if the *Perſians* ſhould return to invade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better ſtate to defend themſelves than heretofore, the ſame would ſerve to receive their enemies, and to be made a Seat for the War, as *Thebes* had lately been. To this the *Athenians* promiſed to give them ſatisfaction by their own Embaſſadours very ſpeedily. But being reſolved to go on with their works, by the advice of *Themiſtocles*, they held the *Lacedæmonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raiſed their walls to that height, as they cared not for their miſlikes, nor doubted their diſturbance; and therefore (to gain time) they diſpatched *Themiſtocles* towards *Lacedæmon*, giving him for excuſe, that he could not deliver the *Athenians* reſolutions, till the arrival of his fellow-Commiſſioners, who were of purpoſe retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedæmonians* expectation being converted into jealouſie (for by the arrival of divers perſons out of *Attica*, they were told for certain, That the walls of *Athens* were ſpeedily grown up beyond expectation) *Themiſtocles* prayed them not to believe reports and vain rumors, but that they would be pleaſed to ſend ſome of their own truſty Citizens to *Athens*, from whoſe relation they might reſolve themſelves, and determine accordingly. Which requeſt being granted, and Commiſſioners ſent, *Themiſtocles* diſpatched one of his own, by whom he adviſed the *Athenians*, firſt to entertain the *Lacedæmonians* with ſome ſuch diſcourſe as might retain them a few dayes, and in concluſion to hold them among them, till himſelf, and the other, *Athenian* Embaſſadours, then at *Sparta*, had their liberty alſo to return. Which done, and being alſo aſſured by his aſſociats and *Ariſtides*, that *Athens* was already defenſible on all parts, *Themiſtocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedæmonians* know, That it was true that the walls of *Athens* were now raiſed to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their City; praying the *Lacedæmonians* to believe, That whenſoever it pleaſed them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for ſuch as right well underſtood what appertained to a Common-weal and their own ſafety, without direction and advice from any other: That they had in the War of *Xerxes* abandoned their City, and committed themſelves to the wooden Walls of their Ships, from the reſolutions of their own counſels and courage, and not thereto taught or perſwaded by others: and finally, in all that perilous War againſt the *Perſians*, they found their own judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferiour, or leſs fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-weal among the *Greeks*. And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Maſters and Judges of their own affairs, and thought it good reaſon, that either all the Cities confedered within *Greece* ſhould be left open, or elſe that the Walls of *Athens* ſhould be finiſhed and maintained.

The *Lacedæmonians* finding the time unfit for quarrel, diſſembled their miſlike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the diviſion; and ſo ſuffered the *Athenians* to depart, and received back from them their own Embaſſadors.

The Walls of *Athens* finiſhed, they alſo fortified the Port *Pyræus*, by which they might under covert imbark themſelves upon all occaſions.

§. II.

§. II.

The beginning of the Athenian *greatness, and prosperous War made by that State upon the* Persian.

THE *Athenians* having settled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the pursuit of the War against the *Persians*, to which the *Lacedæmonians* added other twenty, and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they set sail for *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; where, after their landing having possest themselves of many principal places, they imbarked the Army again, and took land in *Thrace*, recovering from the *Persians* by force the City *Bizantium*, now *Constantinople*: from whence *Pausanias*, behaving himself more like a Tyrant than a Captain, especially towards the *Ionians* lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called back by the Council of *Lacedæmon*, and not only accused of many insolent behaviours, but of Intelligence with the *Medes*, and Treason against his Countrey. In his stead they imployed *Docres*, who either gave the same cause of offence; or else the *Athenians*, who affected the first commandement in that War, practised the Souldiers to complain; though indeed the wise and vertuous behaviour of *Aristides*, General of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare and incomparable sincerity, had been able to make a good Commander seem ill in comparison of himself; and therefore was much more available, in rendring those detested, whose vices afforded little matter of excuse. Howsoever it were, the *Lacedæmonians* being no less wearied of the War, than the *Athenians* were eager to pursue it, the one obtained their ease, and the other the execution and honour which they desired: for all the *Greeks* (those of *Peloponnesus* excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the commandement of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatness in that present age, and of their ruin in the next succeeding. For the charge of the War being now committed unto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities; they appointed Receivers and Treasurers, and began to levy mony, according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the general defence of *Greece*, and for the recovering of those places on *Europe* side, in *Asia* the less, and the Illands, from the *Persians*. This tribute (the first that was ever paid by the *Greeks*) amounted to four hundred and threescore Talents, which was raised easily by the honest care of that just man *Aristides*, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselves, and no one man found occasion to complain of him. But as the vertue of *Aristides*, and other worthy Citizens, brought unto the *Athenians* great commodity; so the desire which they conceived of encreasing their commodity, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the general love, which had made them powerful, abandoned their City to the defence of her treasure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere these four hundred and threescore Talents were raised to six hundred; nor long after that, ere their covetous tyranny had converted their followers into slaves, and extorted from them yearly thirteeen hundred Talents. The Isle of *Delos* was at the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these sums were laid up, and where, at the general Assembly, the Captains of those forces, sent by the confederates, were for form sake called to consultation. But the *Athenians*, who were stronger by Sea than all *Greece* besides, had lockt up the common treasure in an Island, under their own protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The general Commander in this War was *Cimon*, the son of *Miltiades*, who first took *Eionia*, upon the River *Strimon*; then the Isle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they mastered the *Caristii*, and brought into servitude the *Naxii*, contrary to the form of the confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or disobeyed their commandements; taking upon them and usurping a kind of soveraign authority over the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be resisted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the War in their own persons, and given up altogether to their ease, made choice rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of War, or in Ships; leaving the provision of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weak in all their Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Wars; the other greatly strengthened their Navy and their experiences, being alwayes armed and imployed in honourable services, at the cost of those, who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-money, levied upon these their confederates, employed so well by the *Athenians*,

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at the firſt (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that no great cauſe of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admiral ſcouring the Aſiatick Seas, took in the City of *Phaſelis*; which having formerly pretended neutrality, and refuſed to relieve, or any way aſſiſt the *Greeks*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and ſo to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contribution.

From thence he ſet ſail for the River *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Perſian* Fleet rode, being of ſix hundred ſail, or (according to the moſt ſparing report) three hundred and fifty, and having a great Land-Army, encamped upon the ſhoar; all which forces having been provided for advancing the Kings affairs in *Greece*, were utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ſhips taken by the *Athenians*; the reſt being broken to pieces, or ſunk, ere ever they had ſwom in the *Greekiſh* Seas. *Cimon* having in one day obtained two great Victories, the one by Sea, and the other by Land, was very ſoon preſented with a third. For fourſcore ſail of *Phœnicians* (who were the beſt of all Sea-men, under the *Perſian* command) thinking to have joyned themſelves with the Fleet before deſtroyed, arrived upon the ſame Coaſt, ignorant of what had paſſed, and fearing nothing leſs than what enſued. Upon the firſt notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called *Hydra*, did ſo amaze them, that they only ſought to run themſelves on ground: by which mean preſerving few of their men, they loſt all their ſhips. Theſe loſſes did ſo break the courage of the *Perſian*, that omitting all hope of prevailing upon *Greece*, he condeſcended to whatſoever Articles it pleaſed the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty unto all the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia*; and further covenanting, That none of his ſhips of War ſhould ſail to the Weſtward of the Iſles, called *Cyaneæ* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the moſt honourable peace that ever the *Greeks* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any War that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till ſuch time as under *Alexander*, they overthrew the Empire of *Perſia*; in which War, few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but ſerved altogether under the *Macedonians*.

§. III.

The death of Xerxes *by the treaſon of* Artabanus.

BEſides theſe loſſes, which could not eaſily have been repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time ſuch, as gave juſt cauſe to the *Perſian* of ſeeking peace upon any terms not altogether intollerable. For *Artabanus*, the Unkle of *Xerxes*, perceiving, that the King his Maſter did eaſily take ſmall occaſions to ſhed the blood of ſuch, as in kindred or place were neer unto him, began to repoſe leſs hope of Safety in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soveraignty, by deſtroying a Prince that was ſo hated for his cruelty, and deſpiſed for his cowardiſe and misfortunes. Having conceived this Treaſon, he found means to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in ſuch cloſe manner, that (as if he himſelf had been innocent) he accuſed *Darius* the Son of *Xerxes*, and cauſed him to ſuffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedneſs he got the Kingdom, and held it ſeven months; or whether, intending the like evil to *Artaxerxes* the ſon of *Xerxes*, he was by him prevented and ſurpriſed, were hard to affirm any certainty. But all Writers agree upon this, That taken he was, and with his whole family put to death by extream torments, according to the ſentence whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verſe;

Rarò antecedentem ſceleſtum
Deſeruit pede pœna claudo.

Seldom the villain, though much haſte he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance fails to overtake.

§. IV.

The baniſhment of Themiſtocles: *his flight to* Artaxerxes *newly reigning in* Perſia; *and his death.*

ARtaxerxes being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, and having ſo compounded with the *Athenians*, as the preſent neceſſity of his affairs required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune againſt the *Greeks*, than he or his predeceſſors had ever hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Perſians* were chaſed out of *Greece*, did ſo highly value their own merit in that ſervice, that they not only thought it fit for themſelves to become the Commanders over many Towns and Iſlands of the *Greeks*, but even within their own walls, they would admit none other form of Government

vernment than meerly *Democratical*. Herein they were so insolent, that no integrity nor good desert was able to preserve the estate of any such as had born great office, longer, than by flattering the rascal multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themistocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatness upon popularity, yet now presuming upon his good services done to the State, he thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to check their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laid upon him the punishment of *Ostracism*, whereby he was banished for ten years, as a man over-burthensome to the Commonwealth.

Before the time of his return was half expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedæmonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Pausanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of *Greece* unto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themistocles*, finding no place of security against the malice of two such mighty cities, was driven after many troublesom flights, and dangerous removings, to adventure himself into *Persia*, where he found *Artaxerxes* newly settled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceived of advancing his affairs by the counsel and assistance of *Themistocles*, proved altogether fruitless. For when the *Athenians*, in favour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infested *Egypt*, causing it to rebell against the *Persian*) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Army in *Egypt*, and scouring those Eastern Seas, to the great hinderance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can understand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King send his Letters to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had given, of assuring the *Persian* estate against the *Greeks*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceived much unlikelines of good success, in leading a great army of dastardly *Persians* against the warlike people of *Greece*; or else (as in favour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the love of his Countrey would not permit him to seek honour by the ruine of it; sure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to undertake the conduct of great forces against the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict between thankfulnes to his well-deserving Prince, and natural affection to his own ill-deserving people, by finishing his life with a cup of poyson.

§. V.

How the Athenians, *breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the* Persian, *were shamefully beaten in* Egypt.

THen was *Artaxerxes* driven to use the service of his own Captains in the *Egyptian* war, wherein it appeared well, That a just cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred sail strong was sent forth under *Cimon*, to take in the Isle of *Cyprus*: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintain; the *Persian* being utterly broken at Sea, and thereby unable to relieve the Island. Now although it were so, that a peace had been concluded, which was likely to have been kept sincerely by the *Persian*, who had made so good proof of the *Græcian* valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any Ships of War (without which the *Greeks* could receive no harm from him) whereof if any one should be found saying towards *Greece*, the peace was immediately broken; and, if not this whole estate, yet all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an enemy too far overmatching him, Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, lest the league which in his own worser fortunes he had made with them, he would break in theirs; and therefore sought to get such assurance into their hands, as might utterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their revenues and power, by adding that rich and great Island to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profit; they thought it the wisest way, to take, whilest they might, whatsoever they were able to get and hold, and he unable to defend.

The Isle of *Cyprus* lying in the bottom of the streights between *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either seek to enrich himself by trade with those Countreys, or to infest one or more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their Ambition which had already devoured, in conceit, this Island, was on the sudden well-nigh

nigh choaked with a greater morſell, to ſnatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might eaſily have ſwallowed and digeſted. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians*, confining *Egypt*, having found how greatly the Country was exhauſted by the late Wars, and how weakly defended by very ſlender *Perſian* Garriſons, conceived rightly, that if ſuch ſmall forces as the *Satrapa*, or *Viceroy*, could make on the ſudden of his own Guards, or levy out of the ordinary Garriſons, were by him defeated, the naturals of the Country not long ſince oppreſſed by *Cambyſes*, and, after a revolt, very lately ſubdued by *Xerxes*, would ſoon break faith with him, who had no other title to that Kingdom than a good ſword. Further, he perſwaded himſelf that the people, unable to defend themſelves againſt the *Perſian* without his aſſiſtance, would eaſily be drawn to accept him, the author of their deliverance, for King. Neither did this hope deceive him. For having taken and cruelly ſlain *Achemænes* the *Viceroy*, divers Cities forthwith declared themſelves for him, and proclaiming him King, ſhewed the moſt of their endeavour for proſecution of the War. But he conſidering his own weakneſs, and that the means of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not anſwerable to their deſires, perceived well, that to reſiſt the power of *Artaxerxes*, far greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price ſoever he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* Fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the Souldiers therein imbarqued; he invited the Commanders to ſhare with him the Kingdom of *Egypt*, as a far greater reward of their adventure, than ſuch an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their eſtate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly ſorted according to their expectation) would have been contented with an equal ſhare, and not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination unneceſſary. He was poſſeſſed of the peoples love, they were of moſt power. But the iſſue of thoſe affairs was ſuch as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they ſhared ſomewhat equally.

Yet had the beginning of their enterpriſe very good and hopefull ſucceſs: For they entred the Land, as far as to *Memphis*, the principal City; and of the City it ſelf they took two parts: to the third part, which was called, the White wall, they laid ſuch hard ſiege, that neither thoſe forces of the *Perſians*, which then were in *Egypt*, were ſtrong enough to remove them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well adviſe what means to uſe for the recovery of that which was loſt, or for the preſervation of the remainder. The beſt of his hope was, by ſetting the *Lacedæmonians* upon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to look homewards to their own defence. This was the firſt time that the *Perſian* ſought to procure the aſſiſtance of the *Greeks* one againſt the other, by ſtirring them up with gold, to the entertainment of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpoſe he ſent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treaſure; who after great expence, finding that the *Lacedæmonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole force againſt the *Athenians*, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithſtanding the abſence of their Army in *Egypt*; he thought it his wiſeſt way to employ the reſt of his money and means, to their relief who had now the ſpace of ſix years defended his maſters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he haſtily diſpatched another of his name, the ſon of *Zopyrus*, who arriving in *Egypt*, was firſt encountred by the revolted people; over whom he obtained victory, which made him maſter of the Country, whilſt the *Athenians* lay buſied about *Memphis* the great City.

It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a ſtrange ayr, and want of ſupply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: ſure it is, that when *Megabazus*, having reduced the Country to obedience, attempted the City it ſelf, whether his former ſucceſs had amended the courage of the *Perſians*, or want of neceſſaries made the *Athenians* inferiour to themſelves, he chaſed them out of *Memphis*, and purſued them ſo near, as they were forced to fortifie themſelves in the Iſle of *Proſopites*, where *Megabazus*, after eighteen months ſiege, turning away one part of the River by divers Trenches, aſſaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, took their Gallies, and put all to the ſword, ſave a few that ſaved themſelves by flight into *Lybia*; the ſame entertainment had fifty other Gallies, which they ſent to the ſuccour of the firſt two hundred. For thoſe *Athenians* having heard nothing that their Fleet and Army was conſumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, which is called *Mendeſium*, and fell unawares among the *Phœnician* Gallies, and the *Perſian* Army; ſo as the *Perſians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amyrtæus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* ſix years War in *Egypt*, and the reward

Proſopites an Iſland between the Rivers of *Tab* and *Pharmeiamus*, two of the outlets of *Nilus* towards *Alexandria*.

Mendeſes is an Iſland in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the outlet called *Buſiriticos*, and *Diolcos*: But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendeſium*, runneth into the ſea by the City *Panephyſis*.

of their vanity and indiſcretion to undertake many enterpriſes at once.

§. V.

Of other Wars made by the Athenians *for the moſt part with good ſucceſs, about the ſame time.*

NOtwithſtanding theſe overthrows in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-Wars waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwiſe. For as they were beaten near unto *Halia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, ſo they obtained two great victories ſoon after; the one over the *Peloponneſians*, near unto *Cecryphalia*; the other over the *Æginets*, near unto *Ægina*, where they ſunk and carried away threeſcore and ten Gallies of their enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the ſudden, and beſieged *Ægina*, from whence they could not be moved, notwithſtanding that the *Corinthians*, to divert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight with equal loſs, the *Corinthians*, when they returned again to ſet up their *Trophie*, as Victors in the former battel, were utterly broken and ſlaughtered by the *Athenian* Garriſons, and *Megarians*, to their great loſs and diſhonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were diſcomfited near to *Tangra*, by the *Lacedæmonians*, who returned from the ſuccour of the *Dorians* againſt the *Phocians* (at which time the *Theſſalian* horſemen turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought againſt them) ſo about threeſcore dayes after, the *Athenians* entred *Bœotia* under the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wan *Phocis* on the gulf of *Oeteus*, and evened the walls of *Tenagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Ægina* to render upon moſt baſe conditions; as to beat down the walls of their City, and to give them hoſtages for Tribute; the ſiege whereof they had continued, notwithſtanding all their other brabbles and attempts elſewhere. Beſides theſe victories, they ſackt and ſpoiled many places upon the Sea-coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*, wan upon the *Corinthians*, and overthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their ſuccour. Theſe were the undertakings of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, during the time of thoſe ſix years, that a part of their forces made War in *Egypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Theſſaly*, perſwaded thereunto by *Oreſtes*, but were reſiſted by the King *Pharſalus*, who had chaſed *Oreſtes* out of his Dominions. They alſo landed in *Sicyonia*, and had victory over thoſe that reſiſted; after which they made truce with the *Peloponneſians* for five years, and ſent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ſhips; but they were again allured by *Amyrteus* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Mariſh and Woody parts of *Egypt* from the *Perſians*, to whom they ſent ſixty of their ſhips. The reſt of their Army failing in their enterpriſe at *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coaſted the Iſland, incountred a fleet of the *Phœnicians* and *Cilicians*, over both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*: as alſo thoſe returned ſafe which were ſent into *Egypt*.

§. VI.

Of Artaxerxes Longimanus, *that he was* Ahaſhueroſh *the Husband of Queen* Heſter.

THeſe *Egyptian* troubles being ended, the reign of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable: whereof the length is by ſome reſtrained unto twenty years, but the more and better Authors give him forty, ſome allow unto him four and forty. He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleneſs. His favour was exceeding great to the *Jews*; as appeareth by the Hiſtories of *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the King who gave countenance and ayd to that great work of building the Temple, it were a needleſs travel; conſidering that all the late Divines have taken very much pains to ſhew that thoſe two Prophets were licenſed by him, and ſuccoured in that building, in ſuch ſort as appears in their writings.

This was likewiſe that King *Ahaſhueroſh* who married *Heſter*. Whereof if it be needfull to give proof, it may ſuffice, that *Ahaſhueroſh* lived in *Suſa*, reigning from *India* to *Æthiopia*, and therefore muſt have been a *Perſian*; That he lived in peace, as appears by the circumſtances of the Hiſtory, and uſed the counſel of the ſeven Princes, the authority of which Princes began under *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyſes*.

The continual Wars which exerciſed King *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, together with the certainty of his marriages with ſundry

ſundry wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his firſt wife *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, alive in great honour, ſhe being mother to *Xerxes* the ſucceeding King, do manifeſtly prove that *Heſter* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Jew*, That at the perſwaſion of *Mardochæus*, *Jojachim* the High Prieſt the ſon of *Jeſua*, cauſed the feaſt of *Purim* to be inſtituted in memory of that deliverance. Now the time of *Jojachim* was in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, at the coming of *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*: *Jeſua* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The ſame continuance of wars with other his furious and tragical loves wherewith *Xerxes* did conſume ſuch little time as he had free from war, are enough to prove, that the ſtory of *Heſter* pertained not unto the time of *Xerxes*, who lived but one and twenty years, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Ahaſuerus* or *Artaſaſtha* is expreſſed by *Nehemias*. Again, it is well known that *Xerxes* in the ſeventh year of his reign (wherein this marriage muſt have been celebrated) came not near to *Suſa*. Of the Princes that ſucceeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to prove that none of them could be *Ahaſſueroſh*, it is enough to ſay, that *Mardochæus* having been carried from *Hieruſalem* captive, with *Jechonia*, by *Nabuchaanezzar*, was unlikely to have lived until their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he lived in *Suſa*, reigned from *India* to *Æthiopia*, lived in peace, was contemporary with *Jojachim* the high Prieſt, and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that ſeventh year of his reign; which good fortune might well give occaſion to ſuch a Royal Feaſt, as is deſcribed in the beginning of *Heſter*. This is the ſumm of the arguments, brought to prove the age of *Heſters* ſtory by the learned and diligent *Krentzhemius*, who adds the authorities of *Joſephus*, affirming the ſame, and of *Philo* giving to *Mardochæus* eighteen years more than *Iſaac* the *Patriarch* lived, namely, one hundred fourſcore and eighteen years in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth year of this *Artaxerxes*, if we ſuppoſe him to have been carried away captive, being a Boy of ten years old.

§. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, *foregoing the* Peloponneſian *War.*

BUt it is fit that we now return to the affairs of the *Greeks*, who from this time forward, more vehemently proſecuting their civil wars, ſuffered the *Perſians* for many ages to reſt in peace: this *Egyptian* Expedition being come to nought. Soon after this, the *Lacedæmonians* undertook the war called *Sacred*, recovered the Temple and Iſle of *Delphos*, and delivered both to the Inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the ſame, and gave it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the mean while the baniſhed *Bœotians* re-entred their own Land, & maſtered two of their own Towns poſſeſt by the *Athenians*, which they ſoon recovered again from them; but in their return towards *Athens*, the *Bœotians*, *Eubœans*, and *Locrians* (Nations oppreſt by the *Athenians*) ſet upon them with ſuch reſolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all ſlain or taken, whereby the *Bœotians* recovered their former liberty, reſtoring to the *Athenians* their priſoners. The Iſlanders of *Eubœa* took ſuch courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was adverтiſed that the *Megarians* (who firſt left the *Lacedæmonians*, and ſubmitted themſelves to *Athens*) being now weary of their yoke, had ſlain the *Athenians* Garriſons, and joyned themſelves with the *Corinthians*, *Sycionians*, and *Epidaurians*. Theſe news haſtened *Pericles* homeward with all poſſible ſpeed; but ere he could recover *Attica*, the *Peloponneſians*, led by *Pliſtoanax* the ſon of *Pauſanias*, had invaded it, pillaged and burnt many parts thereof, after whoſe return *Pericles* went on with his firſt intent, and recovered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponneſians*, and yielded to deliver up all the places which they held in the Countrey of *Peloponneſus*: and this truce was made for thirty years.

After ſix of theſe years were expired, the *Athenians* (favouring the *Myleſians* againſt the *Samians*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*; and after many repulſes, and ſome great loſſes, both by Sea & Land, the Citizens were forced to yield up themſelves upon moſt lamentable conditions: Namely, to deliver up all their ſhips, to break down their own wals, to pay the charge of the war, and to reſtore whatſoever had been taken by themſelves, or by their practice, from the *Athenians*. In the neck of which, followed that long and cruel

Peloponnesian War, whereof I have gathered this Brief following: the same contention taking beginning fifty years after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But because there was no City thereof, which either in the beginning of this war, or in the continuance of it, was not drawn into the quarrell; I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the Countrey at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, *Athens* and *Sparta*, upon which all the rest had most dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian *War.*

§. I.

Upon what terms the two principal Cities of Greece, Athens *and* Sparta, *stood at the beginning of the* Peloponnesian *War.*

GReece was never united under the Government of any one Prince or Estate, untill *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to Union and League against the *Persians*, whereof they were Captains, than into any absolute subjection. For every Estate held their own, and were governed by Laws, far different, and by their own Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yield obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their Leaders in the *Persian* war (deemed the General quarrel of *Greece*) and took the profit and honour of the victory, to their own use and increase of greatness. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did so far enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought under such obedience, as differed little from servitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with arms, and sometimes with gifts, preserve their liberty: of whom the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were chief; which two people deserved best the plague of tyranny, having first given occasion thereunto by their great ambition, which wearied and weakned all the Countrey by perpetual War. For untill these two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* distracted all *Greece*, drawing every State into the quarrell, on the one or other side, and so gave beginning to the *Peloponnesian* War (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not, before the time that *Philip* had overmastered all, forasmuch as every conclusion of one war afforded henceforth matter of some new distraction of the whole Country) the wars, commenced between one City of *Greece* and another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controversies were soon decided, either by the authority of the *Amphictiones*, who were the general Councel of *Greece*, or by the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, whose aid was commonly held as good as the assurance of victory.

These *Lacedæmonians* had lived about four hundred years under one form of Government when the *Peloponnesian* War began. Their education was only to practise feats of Arms; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equal to very great numbers of any other people. They were poor, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equal portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintain him in such manner as they used. For bravery they had none, and curious building or apparel they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinary meals being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They used Money of Iron, whereof they could not be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived *Utopian*-like, save that they used no other occupation than War, placing all their felicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to pass that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they sought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they used mercenary Souldiers in their wars, and exacted great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the most part Islanders compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in form of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions natural, the difference between

tween theſe two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, ſudden in their concluſions, and as haſty in the execution. The *Lacedæmonians* very ſlow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very reſolute, and ſuch as would in cold blood perform what the *Athenians* did uſually in flagrant. Whereby it came to paſs, that the *Lacedæmonians* had all the Eſtates of *Greece* depending upon them, as on men firm and aſſured, that ſought honour, and not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by ſuch as obeyed them perforce, being held in ſtreight ſubjection. But the Signiory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, untill ſuch time as the *Perſian Xerxes* had invaded *Greece*, pretending only a quarrel to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiving well, that the Town of *Athens* could not be defended againſt his great Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand men, beſtowed all their wealth upon a Navy, and (aſſiſted by the other *Græcians*) overthrew the Fleet of *Xerxes*, whoſe Land-forces were ſoon after diſcomfited by them, and the *Greeks*, who all ſerved under conduct of the *Spartans*. After theſe victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in Fleet, reduced all the Iſlands of the *Greekiſh* Seas under their obedience; impoſing upon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of War againſt the *Perſian*; though indeed they imployed their forces chiefly, to the conqueſt of ſuch Iſlands and Haven-Towns of their Countrey-men, as ſtood out againſt them. All which was eaſily ſuffered by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in Expeditions to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much jealouſie, and were very apt to quarrel with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other Eſtates. Wherefore at ſuch time as the *Thebans* would have oppreſſed the *Platæans*, when they of *Platæa* repaired to *Sparta* for ſuccour, they found there no other aid, than this advice, That they ſhould ſeek help at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* ſhould be intangled in a long and tedious War with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proved otherwiſe; for their force was now ſo great, that all ſuch occaſions did only ſerve to encreaſe their honour and puiſſance.

§. II.

How Sparta *and* Athens *entred into War.*

NEvertheleſs, many Eſtates of *Greece* were very ill-affected to *Athens*, becauſe that City grew very inſolent upon ſudden proſperity, and, maintaining the weaker Towns againſt the ſtronger, incroached apace upon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Eſpecially the *Corinthians* were much inraged, becauſe the people of the Iſland *Corcyra*, their Colony which had rebelled againſt them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who deſired to increaſe their Fleet by adjoyning that of *Corcyra* unto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby defeated of that revenge, which elſe they would have taken. Now, howſoever it were ſo, that theſe dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly againſt the conditions of peace agreed upon among the *Greeks*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* ſo vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redreſs by war the injuries done to their Allies.

Firſt therefore, ſeeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certain offences committed againſt the gods; whereto having for anſwer, That they themſelves ſhould expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*, they began to deal plainly, and required that the people of ſome Towns, oppreſſed by the State of *Athens*, ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that a decree made againſt thoſe of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, ſhould be reverſed. This laſt point they ſo earneſtly preſt, that if they might obtain it, they promiſed to abſiſt from their purpoſe of making War.

This they deſired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by ſeeming to have obtained ſomewhat, they might preſerve their reputation without entring into a War, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to undergo.

But the *Athenians* would yield to nothing; for it was their whole deſire that all *Greece* ſhould take notice how far they were from fear of any other City. Hereupon they prepared on both ſides very ſtrongly, all that was needful to the War; wherein the *Lacedæmonians* were Superiour, both in number and quality, being aſſiſted by moſt of the Cities in *Greece*, and having the general favour, as men that pretended to ſet at liberty ſuch as were oppreſſed: but the

Athenians

Athenians did as far exceed them in all provisions of money, shipping, engines, and absolute power of command among their Subjects, which they held, and afterward found of greater use in such need, than the willing readiness of friends, who soon grow weary, and are not easily assembled.

§. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian *War.*

THe first and second years Expedition was very grievous to the City of *Athens*. For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut down, the Country people driven to live with Wives, Children, and Cattel into the Town; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the City, such as before they had never felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Isle of *Lesbos*, and the siege of *Platæa* their confederated City, which they durst not adventure to raise, besides some small overthrows received. The *Lacedæmonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Country of *Attica*, and therein abide, until victuals began to fail, wasting and destroying all things round about. The Governours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their enemies: but used to send a Fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which wasted as fast all the Sea-coast of their enemies, whilest they were making war in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, won the Town of *Platæa*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that War the *Lacedæmonians* began to perceive how unfit they were to deal with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was throughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to do any offence equal to such harm as they themselves might, and did, receive. The Confederates began to set forward very slowly in their Expeditions into *Attica*; perceiving well that *Athens* was plentifully relieved with all necessaries, which came by the Sea from the Islands that were subject unto that Estate; and therefore these Invaders took but small pleasure in beholding the Walls of that mighty City, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a pattern of the calamities with which their own Territory was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they began to set their care to build a strong Navy, wherein they had little good success, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

§. IV.

Of the great loss which the Spartans *received at* Pylus.

AMong other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea, they received at *Pylus* a very sore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A Fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Corcyra*, wasting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of *Laconia*, and all the half-Isle of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrary winds detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontory, joyning to the Main, by a strange neck of Land. Before it there lyes a small barren Island of less than two miles compass, and within that a Creek, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being born off by the head-Land and Isle. This Promontory the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in haste they might; and what was wanting in their artificial fortification, was supplyed by the natural strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and haven, they in reason expected many advantages against their enemies. For the Country adjoyning was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient times had held very strong and cruel war with *Sparta*; and (though quite subdued) they were held in streight subjection; yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that by the neer neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not be revived. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedæmonians*, and as many of their bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repair to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily incursions into *Laconia*, which was not far off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haven, lying almost in the mid-way between them and *Corcyra*, make them able to surround all *Peloponnesus*, and waste it at their pleasure. The news of these doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all haste out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few dayes before with their whole Army: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Navy to recover this piece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well fore-saw, little fearing the grievous

loss

loſs at hand, which they there in few daies received. For when they in vain made a general aſſault on all ſides, both by Sea and Land, finding that ſmall Garriſon which the *Athenians* had left, very reſolute in the defence, they occupied the haven, placing four hundred and twenty choice men, all of them Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iſland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channel that leads into the Port; but ſo narrow, that only two ſhips in front could enter between the Iſle and *Pylus*; likewiſe but ſeven or eight ſhips could enter at once by the further channel, between the Iſland and the Main. Having thus taken order to ſhut up this new Town by Sea, they ſent part of their Fleet to fetch wood, and other ſtuff, wherewith to fortifie round about, and block up the piece on all ſides. But in the mean ſeaſon the *Athenian* Fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entring the haven, did break and ſink many of their enemies veſſels; took five, and ſo inforced the reſidue to run themſelves aground.

Now was the Town ſecure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iſland as good as loſt. Wherefore the Magiſtrates were ſent from *Sparta* to the Camp (as was their cuſtom in great dangers) to adviſe what were beſt for the publick ſafety; who when they did perceive that there was no other way to reſcue their Citizens out of the Iſle, than by compoſition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the mean while with the Captains at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould deliver up all the ſhips which were in the Coaſt, and that they ſhould attempt nothing againſt the Town, nor the *Athenians* againſt the Camp: That a certain quantity of Bread, Wine, and Fleſh, ſhould be daily carried into the Iſle, but that no ſhips ſhould paſs into the Iſland ſecretly: That the *Athenians* ſhould carry the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors to *Athens*, there to treat of peace, and ſhould bring them back, at whoſe return the truce ſhould end, which if in the mean time it were broken in any one point, ſhould be held utterly void in all; That when the truce was expired, the *Athenians* ſhould reſtore the *Peloponneſian* ſhips, in as good caſe as they received them. The Embaſſadors coming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themſelves had begun the War, ſo might they end it when they pleaſed. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedæmonians* did ſue to them for peace, adviſing them to make an end of War, whilſt with ſuch reputation they might. But they found all contrary to their expectation: For inſtead of concluding upon even terms, or deſiring of meet recompence for loſs ſuſtained, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be reſtored to them, which had been taken from them by the *Lacedæmonians* long before this War began, refuſing likewiſe to continue the treaty of peace, unleſs the *Spartans* which were in the Iſle, were firſt rendred unto them as priſoners. Thus were the Embaſſadors returned without effect; at which time the truce being ended, it was deſired from the *Athenian* Captains, that they ſhould, according to their Covenant, reſtore the ſhips which had been put into their hands. Whereto anſwer was made, that the condition of the truce was, that if any one Article were broken, all ſhould be held void; now (ſaid the *Athenians*) ye have aſſaulted our Garriſons, and thereby are we acquitted of our promiſe to reſtore the ſhips. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meer ſhifts; yet profit ſo far overweighed honour, that better anſwer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driven to uſe many hard means, for conveyance of victuals into the Iſle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried priſoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed that when the *Peloponneſians* next invaded *Attica*, theſe priſoners ſhould all be ſlain. Whether fearing the death of theſe men, or withheld by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell upon them, the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo far from waſting *Attica*, that they ſuffered their own Country to be continually over-run, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their Coaſt, and by thoſe which iſſued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendezvous of all that were ill-affected unto them.

§. V.

How the Lacedæmonians ***hardly, and to their great diſadvantage, obtained a Peace that was not well kept.***

THerefore they endeavoured greatly to obtain peace; which the *Athenians* would not hearken unto. For they were ſo puffed up with continuance of good ſucceſs, that having ſent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold up a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Siciliant* quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Iſle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gain

gain or loſs, they baniſhed the Captains, as if it had been meerly through their default, that the Iſle of *Sicilie* was not conquered: which (beſides the longer diſtance) was in power to offend others, or defend it ſelf, no whit inferiour unto *Peloponneſus*. Yet was this their over-weening much abated ſhortly after, by ſome diſaſters received, eſpecially in *Thrace*, where, in a battel which they loſt at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Braſidas*, Generals of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both ſlain; which two had moſt been adverſaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their loſſes were taught moderation: ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Navy which they had received at *Pylus*, were fain to proceed lamely in the War, againſt ſuch as, through commodity of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were fervently deſirous to conclude the buſineſs, ere Fortune by any new favour ſhould revive the inſolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a conſideration of their preſent eſtate, that urged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and ſpeedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which unleſs they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to avoid. The eſtate of *Argos*, which had antient enmity with them, was now after a truce of thirty years well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their preſent troubles, by joyning with thoſe who alone found them work enough. *Argos* was a rich and ſtrong City, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not ſo unwarlike, nor held ſuch ill correſpondence with the neighbouring Eſtates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could ever far prevail upon it, when they had little elſe to do.

This was a thing that in the beginning of this War had not been regarded. For it was then thought that by waſting the Territory of *Athens* with ſword and fire, the quarrel ſhould eaſily and in ſhort time have been ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* ſhould have been brought to good order, but the *Corinthians*, and others, for whoſe ſake the War was undertaken, have been ſo firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould for love of them have abandoned the *Argives* to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of thoſe hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready money, and means to raiſe more, were able to ſecure themſelves by a ſtrong fleet, from any great harm that the *Peloponneſians*, wanting wherewith to maintain a Navy, could do unto them; yea, as Maſters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither War nor peace; their daily travels, and many loſſes had ſo wearied and incenſed them. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to uſe the occaſion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a final peace, which with much ado they procured, as ſeemed equal and eaſie; but was indeed impoſſible to be performed, and therefore all their travel was little effectual.

The reſtitution of priſoners and places taken being agreed upon, it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould reſtore firſt. Theſe had won more Towns upon the Continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had won, they had not won abſolutely. For they had reſtored ſome Towns to ſuch of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; ſome, and thoſe the moſt, they had ſet at liberty (as reaſon required) which had opened their gates unto them as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to break in as enemies. Now concerning the Towns which were not in their own hands, but had been rendred unto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found means to give ſome ſatisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others, which they had gotten in the War; as for the reſt, they promiſed more than afterwards they could perform. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to hear of being abandoned, neither would they by any means yield themſelves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithſtanding whatſoever Articles were drawn, and concluded, for their ſecurity, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the ſide of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing thoſe things which on their part were required; ſo that reſtoring only the priſoners which they had, they deferred the reſt, untill ſuch time as they might receive the full ſatisfaction, according to the agreement. But before ſuch time as theſe difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrel, the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a more ſtreight alliance with the *Athenians*, making a league offenſive and defenſive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardneſs of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to have ſued for peace

peace at their hands, as ſoon as things were once compounded between *Athens* and *Sparta*, did ſhew themſelves plainly unwilling to give ear to any ſuch motion. Thinking therefore, that, by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* ſuccour, they ſhould make ſure work, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deſerving in the late War, or found ſo troubleſome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durſt let it appear) was little worſe than friendſhip. It bred great jealouſies in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceive ſuch a conjunction between two ſo powerful Signiories: eſpecially one clauſe threatning every one, that was any thing apt to fear, with a ſecret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of ſubduing the whole Country, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For, beſides the other Articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual conſent add new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleaſures. This impreſſion wrought ſo ſtrongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had born to the *Athenians* their profeſſed enemies, was violently thrown upon the *Lacedæmonians* their unjuſt friends: whereby it came to paſs, that they who lately had born chief ſway in *Greece*, might have been abandoned to the diſcretion of their enemies, as already in effect they were, had the enemies wiſely uſed the advantage.

§. VI.

Of the negotiations and practices held between many States of Greece, *by occaſion of the Peace that was concluded.*

THE admiration wherein all *Greece* held the valour of *Sparta* as unreſiſtable, and able to make way through all impediments, had been ſo exceſſive, that when by ſome ſiniſter accidents, that City was compelled to take and ſeek peace, upon terms not ſounding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens uſually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was never thought that any *Lacedæmonian* would have endured to lay down his weapons, and yield himſelf priſoner, nor that any misfortune ſhould have been ſo great, as ſhould have drawn that City to relieve it ſelf otherwiſe than by force of Arms. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were ſome of eſpecial mark, being overlaid by enemies, in the Iſland before *Pylus*, had rather choſen to live in captivity, than to die in fight; and that *Pylus* it ſelf, ſticking as a thorn in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred ſuch anguiſh in that Eſtate, as utterly wearying the accuſtomed *Spartan* reſolution, had made it ſit down, and ſeek to refreſh it ſelf by diſhonourable eaſe: then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceive baſely of thoſe men which were vertuous, though unfortunate; but other leſs Cities joyning with theſe in the ſame opinion, did caſt their eyes upon the rich and great City of *Argos*, of whoſe ability to do much, they conceived a ſtrong belief, becauſe of long time it had done nothing. Such is the baſe condition, which through fooliſh envy is become almoſt natural in the greater part of mankind. We curiouſly ſearch into their vices, in whom, had they kept ſome diſtance, we ſhould have diſcerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriouſly our beſt parts with their worſt, are juſtly plagued with a falſe opinion of [illegible] good in ſtrangers, which we know [illegible] wanting in our ſelves.

The firſt that publiſh'd their diſlike of [illegible] *ta* were the *Corinthians*, at whoſe vehement entreaty (though moved rather by envy [illegible] the greatneſs of *Athens* daily encreaſing) the *Lacedæmonians* had entred into the preſent War. But theſe *Corinthians* did only murmur at the peace, alledging as grievances, that ſome Towns of theirs were left in the *Athenæans* hands. The *Mantenæans*, who during the time of War, had procured ſome part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forſake their dependency upon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily diſcover themſelves; fear of revenge to come, working more effectually than indignation at things already paſt. The *Argives* feeling the gale of proſperous fortune that began to fill their ſails, prepared themſelves to take as much of it as they could ſtand under; giving for that purpoſe unto twelve of their Citizens a full and abſolute commiſſion to make alliance between them and any free Cities of *Greece* (*Athens* and *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular buſineſs to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were ſet thus open to all commers; the *Mantinæans* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponneſus* following them, entred into this new confederacy; ſome incited by private reſpects, others thinking it the wiſeſt way to do as the moſt did. What inconvenience might ariſe unto them by theſe courſes, the *Lacedæmonians* eaſily diſcerned; & therefore

ſent Embaſſadors to ſtop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the miſchief had been hatched. Theſe Embaſſadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough diſpoſition, with a gravity expreſſing the opinion which they had conceived of their preſent advantage over *Sparta*. They had cauſed all Cities which had not entred yet into alliance with *Argos*, to ſend their Agents to them, in whoſe preſence they gave audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purport of whoſe Embaſſie was this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forſake the alliance which they had long ſince made with *Sparta*; and that Reaſon did as well bind them to hold themſelves contented with the peace lately made, as Religion enforced them to continue in their antient confederacy; foraſmuch as it had been agreed between the *Spartans* and their aſſociats, that the conſent of the greater part (which had yielded unto peace with *Athens*) ſhould bind the leſſer number to perform what was concluded, if no Divine impediment withſtood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made anſwer, that the *Spartans* had firſt begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the war wherein they had loſt many places, without proviſion of reſtitution; and that the very clauſe alledged by the Embaſſadors, did acquit them from any neceſſity of ſubſcribing to the late Peace, foraſmuch as they had ſworn unto thoſe people whom they perſwaded to rebel againſt *Athens*, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly ſuffer them to fall again into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themſelves bound both in Reaſon and Religion to uſe all means of upholding thoſe, whom by common conſent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no leſs to be accounted a Divine impediment, than were peſtilence, tempeſt, or any the like accident, hindring the performance of things undertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they ſaid that they would do as they ſhould find cauſe. Having diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with this anſwer, they made haſte to joyn themſelves with *Argos*, and cauſed other States to do the like; ſo that *Sparta* and *Athens* were in a manner left to themſelves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being alſo upon the point to have entred into this new confederacy. But as the affections were divers which cauſed this haſty confluence of ſudden friends to *Argos*, it ſo likewiſe came to paſs that the friendſhip it ſelf, ſuch as it was, had much diverſity both of ſincerity and of continuance. For ſome there were that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*, as the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*; theſe did firmly betake themſelves to the *Argives*, in whom they knew the ſame affection to be inveterate: others did only hate the peace concluded; and theſe would rather have followed the *Spartans* than the *Argives* in War, yet rather the *Argives* in War than the *Lacedæmonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like unto themſelves, dealt with them to enter into the ſociety of the *Argives*, as they had done: but the different forms of Government, uſed in *Thebes* and *Argos*, cauſed the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principal men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joyning with ſuch as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This buſineſs having ill ſucceeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethink themſelves of their own danger, who had not ſo much as any truce with *Athens*, and yet were unprepared for War. They ſought therefore to come to ſome temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one City that had ſhewed againſt them more ſtomach than force; but gave them to underſtand, that they might be ſafe enough from them, if they would claim the benefit of that alliance, which *Athens* had lately made with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally they granted unto theſe *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledge themſelves dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they deſired; but into private confederacy they would not admit them, being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*, That the one ſhould not make peace nor War without the other.

Herein, as in many other paſſages, may clearly be ſeen the great advantage which abſolute Lords have, as well in peace as in war, over ſuch as are ſerved by voluntaries. We ſhall hardly find any Signiory, that hath been ſo conſtantly followed as *Sparta* was by ſo many States, and ſome of them little inferior to it ſelf, being all as free: whereas contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulſive means gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themſelves as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed upon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacy, and giving up ſuch places as were agreed upon: of which the *Lacedæmonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For ſuch Towns as

their

their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be reſtored without their conſent which had them in preſent poſſeſſion; and particularly the Town of *Panacte*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no means be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (who earneſtly deſired it, that by reſtitution thereof unto the *Athenians* as earneſtly demanding it, themſelves might recover *Pylus*) unleſs that they would agree to make a private alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were conſtrained to do, though knowing it to be contrary to the laſt agreement between them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonians* having broken one article of the league made between them & the *Athenians*, that by ſo doing they might enable themſelves to the performance of another, were ſhamefully diſappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not give up the Town of *Penacte*, till firſt they had utterly demoliſhed it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was ſought to have been excuſed by the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, who coming to *Athens* (whither they had ſent home all priſoners that had been detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to ſalve the matter; ſaying, That from henceforth no enemy of *Athens* ſhould neſtle in *Panacte*, for it was deſtroyed. But theſe Embaſſadors had not to deal with tame fools. For the *Athenians* told them in plain terms, That of three principal conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one; but uſed ſuch baſe concluſions as ſtood not with their honour: having made private alliance with the *Thebans*; having deſtroyed a Town that they ſhould have reſtored; and not having forced their dependants by War, to make good the Covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger thoſe that ſent them.

There were at that time both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, choſen for that year, in *Sparta*; & *Alcibiades*, a powerful young Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though deſiring to renew the War, yet wiſhed that firſt they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendred to them by Covenant, eſpecially *Pylus* that had ſo ſorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whoſe Nobility, riches and favour with the people, made him deſire War, as the mean whereby himſelf might procure ſome honourable employment; uſed all means to ſet the quarrel on foot, whilſt the *Athenians* had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendred ought ſave their priſoners, and pretence enough to uſe that advantage of breaking the peace, by reaſon that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed againſt their wills) had broken all Covenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to perform nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould, and might require, until they had firſt, without any longer halting, fulfilled all Articles whereto they were bound, even to the utmoſt point. This was enough to make them ſweat, who having already done the moſt that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delivery of their Citizens, which were priſoners. But *Alcibiades* wiſhing a ſpeedy beginning of open war, ſent privily to the *Argives*, and gave them to underſtand how fitly the time ſerved for them to aſſociate themſelves with *Athens*, which was enough to give them ſecurity againſt all enemies.

The *Argives*, upon the firſt confluence of many Eſtates unto their ſociety, had embraced great hopes of working wonders as if they ſhould have had the conduct of all *Greece* againſt the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as having ill uſed it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in caſe of much contempt and diſability. But theſe ſudden apprehenſions of vain joy, were ſuddenly changed into as vain fear; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately been conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refuſed their alliance; when the *Corinthians* had ſought ſecurity from *Athens*; and when a falſe rumour was noiſed abroad, *Athens Thebes* and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement upon all points of difference; then began the *Argives* to let fall their creſts, and ſue for peace unto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their gravity, and were not over-haſty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the meſſage of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argives*, which were not now conſulting how to become the chief of all others, but how to ſave themſelves. Wherefore they ſent away preſently to *Athens*, their own Embaſſadors, accompanied with the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offenſive and defenſive between their Eſtates and the *Athenians*.

Of this buſineſs the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to think: for well they ſaw, that ſuch a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were deſirous to prevent it; but to keep the love of the *Athenians*, the

new *Ephori* thought that more was already done, than ſtood with their honour or profit; others held it the wiſeſt way, having done ſo much, not to ſtick upon a little more, but rather by giving full ſatisfaction, to retain the friendſhip of that State, which was more to be valued than all the reſt of *Greece*. This reſolution prevailing, they ſent away ſuch of their Citizens as were beſt affected to the peace, who coming to *Athens*, with full commiſſion to make an end of all controverſies, did earneſtly labour in the Council-houſe, to make the truth of things appear, ſaying; That their Confederacy with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recovery of *Panactæ*: concerning which Town, or any other buſineſs, that it much grieved the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſee things fall out in ſuch wiſe as might give to the *Athenians* cauſe of diſpleaſure; but that all ſhould be done which in reaſon might be required for making matters even between them; to which purpoſe they ſhewed that themſelves had abſolute commiſſion. Wherefore they deſired that *Pylus* might be reſtored to them, and eſpecially for the preſent, that the negotiation with the *Argives* might be called aſide. Favourable audience was given to this propoſition, the rather, becauſe they which promiſed amends, had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good agreement was daſht on the ſudden, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who, ſecretly dealing with the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, perſwaded them well of his friendſhip towards their City, and adviſed them to take all care that their abſolute power to conclude what they pleaſed in the name of *Sparta*, might not be known to the Commonalty of *Athens*, leſt the inſolent multitude ſhould thereupon grow peremptory and yield to nothing, unleſs they could draw them to unreaſonable conditions. The Embaſſadors believed him, and faſhioned their tale in the aſſembly of the people, as he had adviſed them. Hereupon the ſame *Alcibiades* taking preſently the advantage, which their double dealing afforded, inveighed openly againſt them, as men of no ſincerity, that were come to *Athens* for no other purpoſe, than to hinder the people from ſtrengthening themſelves with friends, meaning to draw the *Argives* and their Adherents to their own alliance, as (contrary to their own Oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleaſing errand would very hardly have ſatisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (whoſe honeſt meanings had ſo ill been ſeconded, with good performance) were now ſo much incenſed with the double dealing of the Embaſſadors, and the ſtrong perſwaſions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with *Argos*. Yet for the preſent ſo far did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, prevail with them, that the buſineſs was put off, until he himſelf, with other Embaſſadours, might fetch a better anſwer from *Sparta*.

It may alſo ſeem a great wonder, how ſo poor a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of ſo great importance, when the *Spartan* Embaſſadours might have caſt the load upon his own ſhoulders, by diſcovering the truth: But the gravity which was uſually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handſomely againſt ſo nimble a wit; and they might well have been thought untruſty men, had they profeſſed themſelves ſuch as would ſay and un-ſay for their moſt advantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a ſowre meſſage to deliver at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the reſt, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould take the pains to rebuild *Panactæ*, and ſhould immediately renounce their Alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them underſtand, that otherwiſe the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into confederacy with the *Argives*, and their adherents. The *Ephori* at *Sparta* had no minde to forſake the *Thebans*, aſſured friends to their State; but wrought ſo hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was ſuffered to break out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would do no more, than only (at the requeſt of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not ſeem to have effected nothing) ſwear a-new to keep the Articles of the league between him and *Athens*. Immediately therefore upon return of the Embaſſadors, a new league was made between the *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, with very ample proviſion for holding the ſame common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were paſſed over with ſilence, yet was it manifeſt, that the whole intent of this confederacy did bend it ſelf chiefly againſt them, as in ſhort while after was proved by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill caſe, who having reſtored all that they could unto the *Athenians*, and procured others to do the like, had themſelves recovered nothing of their own (priſoners excepted) for default of reſtoring all that they ſhould.

ſhould. But that which did moſt of all diſable them, was the loſs of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late War by misfortunes, than in ſundry paſſages between them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keep whoſe Amity, they had left ſundry of their own friends to ſhift for themſelves. Contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* by the treaty of peace, had recovered the moſt part of that which they loſt in War; all their gettings they had retained; and were ſtrengthened by the acceſs of new Confederates.

§. VII.

How the Peace between Athens *and* Sparta *was ill kept, though not openly broken.*

IT was not long ere the *Argives* and their fellows had found buſineſs wherewith to ſet the *Athenians* on work, and make uſe of this conjunction. For, preſuming upon the ſtrength of their ſide, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So, many acts of hoſtility were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did (as principals) infeſt each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid of their ſeveral friends.

By theſe occaſions the *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other people of *Greece*, began a-new to range themſelves under the *Lacedæmonians*, and follow their enſigns. One victory which the *Lacedæmonians* obtained by their meer valour in a ſet Battel, near to *Mantinæa*, againſt the *Argive* ſide, helped well to repair their decayed reputation, though otherwiſe it yielded them no great profit. The civil diſſention ariſing ſhortly after within *Argos* it ſelf, between the principal Citizens, and the Commons, had almoſt thrown down the whole frame of the new combination. For the chief Citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded ſo far, as to renounce the Amity of the *Athenians* in expreſs words, and forced the *Mantinæans* to the like. But in ſhort ſpace of time the multitude prevailing, reverſed all this, and having chaſed away their ambitious Nobility, applied themſelves to the *Athenians* as cloſely as before.

Beſides theſe uproars in *Peloponneſus*, many aſſaies were made to raiſe up troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewiſe in *Macedon*, to the *Athenians*; whoſe forces and readineſs for execution, prevented ſome things, revenged other, and requited all with ſome proſperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrel, and the *Lacedæmonians* growing weary, they began to be quiet; retaining ſtill that enmity in their hearts, which they had ſufficiently diſcovered in effects, though not yet breaking out into terms of open War.

§. VIII.

The Athenians *ſending two Fleets to ſack* Syracuſe, *are put to flight, and utterly diſcomfited.*

DUring this intermiſſion of open War, the *Athenians* re-entertained their hopes of ſubduing *Sicil*; whither they ſent a Fleet ſo mighty, as never was ſet forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, and furniſhed with all neceſſaries to ſo great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades*, Author of that voyage, and one of the Generals of their Fleet, was driven to baniſh himſelf, for fear of ſuch judgement, as elſe he was like to have undergone among the incenſed people; partly by the invaſion which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Attica*, whilſt the forces of that State were ſo far from home. Hereunto was added the aid of the King of *Perſia*, who ſupplied the *Peloponneſians* with mony.

Neither was the ſucceſs of things in *Sicilia* ſuch, as without help from *Athens*, could give any likelihood of a good end in that War. For, although in the beginning, the enterprize had ſo well ſucceeded, that they beſieged *Syracuſe*, the chief City of all the Iſland, and one of the faireſt Towns which the *Greeks* inhabited, obtaining the better in ſundry Battels by Land and Sea; yet when the Town was relieved with ſtrong aid from *Peloponneſus*, it came to paſs that the *Athenians* were put to the worſe on all ſides, in ſuch wiſe, that their Fleet was ſhut up into the haven of *Syracuſe*, and could not iſſue out.

As the *Athenian* affairs went very ill in *Sicil*, ſo did they at home ſtand upon their terms; for that the *Lacedæmonians*, who had been formerly accuſtomed to make wearieſome yearly journeys into *Attica*, which having pillaged and forraged, they returned home; did now by counſel of *Alcibiades* (who ſeeking revenge upon his own Citizens, was fled unto them) fortifie the Town of *Decelea*, which was near to *Athens*, whence they ceaſed not with daily incurſions to harry all the Country round about, and ſometimes give alarm unto the City it ſelf.

In

In these extremities, the perverse obstinacy of the *Athenians* was very strange; who leaving at their backs, & at their own doors, an enemy little less mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another Fleet into *Sicil*, to invade a people no less puissant, which had never offended them.

It often happens, that a prosperous event makes foolish counsel seem wiser than it was; which came to pass many times among the *Athenians*, whose vain Conceits *Pallas* was said to turn to the best. But where unsound advice, finding bad proof, is obstinately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be justly blamed for a miserable issue. This second Fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might have served to convey home the former that was defeated, after some attempts made to small purpose against the *Syracusans*, was finally (together with the other part of the Navy, which was there before) quite vanquished, and barr'd up into the haven of *Syracuse*, whereby the Camp of the *Athenians*, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driven to break up, and fly away by Land; in which flight they were over-taken, routed, and quite overthrown, in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischief well deserved, fell upon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pthiodorus* Generals, formerly sent into that Isle, pretending that they had taken mony for making peace in *Sicil*, whereas indeed there was not any means or possibility to have made War. Hereby it came to pass, that *Nicias*, who had the chief command in this unhappy enterprize, did rather chuse to hazard the ruine of his Country by the loss of that Army, wherein consisted little less than all the power of *Athens*; than to adventure his own estate, his life, and his honour, upon the tongues of shameless accusers; and the sentence of Judges before his tryal resolved to condemn him, by retiring from *Syracuse*, when wisdom and necessity required it. *For* (said he) *they shall give sentence upon us, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would give ear to any that would speak in our behalf, but altogether hearken to suspicious and vain rumours that shall be brought against us: yea these our souldiers, who now are so desirous to return in safety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude.*

This resolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man, to do what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth; and to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report and censure of others) yet it may be excused: since he had before his eyes the injustice of his people, and had well understood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a president and patern whereby oppression beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his fear of wrongful condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily have over-mastered; but when afterwards the Army, having no other expectation of safety than the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moon, happening when they were about to dis-lodge, that he would not consent to have the Camp break up till seven and twenty daies were past. His timerousness was even as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not have thought that the powers of the Heavens, and the course of Nature would be as unjust as his *Athenians*; or might portend less evil to the slothful, than to such as did their best. Neither do I think that any Astrologers can alledge this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armies destruction, otherwise than as the folly of men did, by application, turn it to their own confusion. Had *C. Cassius* the Roman, he who slew *Julius Cæsar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retiring, the broken remainder of *Crassus* his Army, defeated by the *Parthian* Archers, was advised, upon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sun were past the sign of *Scorpio*; he made answer, that he stood not in such fear of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer danger of Enemies upon Earth, he made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both shew his noble resolution, and give a fair example to that good rule,

——— *Sapiens Dominabitur astris.*

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of means, deprives the Governours of understanding, when he intends evil to the Multitude; and that the wickedness of unjust men is the ready mean to weaken the virtue of those who might have done them good.

§. IX.

§. IX.

Of the troubles whereinto the State of Athens *fell after the great loſs of the Fleet and Army in* Sicilia.

THe loſs of this Army was the ruine of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may be well accounted a very little leſs calamity to that Eſtate, than was the ſubverſion of the walls, when the City about ſeven years after was taken by *Lyſander*. For now began the ſubjects of the *Athenian* Eſtate to rebel: of whom, ſome they reduced under their obedience, others held out; ſome for fear of greater inconvenience were ſet at liberty promiſing only to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others having a kinde of liberty offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect liberty by force. Among theſe troubles it fell out very unſeaſonably, that the principal men of *Athens*, being wearied with the peoples inſolency, took upon them to change the form of that Eſtate, and bring the Government into the hands of a few. To which purpoſe, conſpiring with the Captains which were abroad, they cauſed them to ſet up the form of an Ariſtocracy in the Towns of their Confederates; and in the mean time, ſome that were moſt likely to withſtand this Innovation, being ſlain at *Athens*, the Commonalty were ſo diſmaid, that none durſt ſpeak againſt the Conſpirators, whoſe number they knew not, but every man was afraid of his neighbour, leſt he ſhould be a member of the league. In this general fear the Majeſty of *Athens* was uſurped by four hundred men, who obſerving in ſhew the ancient form of proceeding, did cauſe all matters to be propounded unto the people, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were only ſuch as were firſt allowed in private among themſelves; neither had the Commonalty any other liberty, than only to approve and give conſent: for whoſoever preſumed any further, was quickly diſpatched out of the way, and no enquiry made of the murther. By theſe means were many Decrees made, all tending to the eſtabliſhment of this new authority, which nevertheleſs endured not long. For the Fleet and Army which then was in the Iſle of *Samos*, did altogether deteſt theſe dealings of the four hundred uſurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they revoked *Alcibiades* out of baniſhment, and by his aſſiſtance procured that the ſupplies which the *Perſian* King had promiſed to the *Lacedæmonians*, were by *Tiſſaphernes*, his Lieutenant, made unprofitable, through the ſlow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the firſt been very well entertained in *Sparta*, whilſt his ſervice done unto that State, was not grown to be the object of envy. But when it appeared that in Counſel and good performance he ſo far excelled all the *Lacedæmonians*, that all their good ſucceſs was aſcribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principal Citizens weary of his virtue; eſpecially *Agis* one of their Kings, whoſe wife had ſo far yielded her ſelf to the love of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends ſhe could not forbear to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* ſhould be killed out of the way. But he diſcovering the *Spartan* treachery, conveyed himſelf unto *Tiſſaphernes*, whom he ſo bewitched with his great beauty, ſweet converſation, and ſound wit, that he ſoon became the Maſter of that barbarous Viceroys affections, who had free power to diſpoſe the great Kings Treaſures and Forces in thoſe parts. Then began he to adviſe *Tiſſaphernes*; not ſo far forth to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould quite overthrow the State of *Athens*, but rather to help the weaker ſide, and let them one conſume another, whereby all ſhould fall at length into the hands of the *Perſian*. By this counſel he made way to other practices, wherein by ſtrength of his reputation (as the only Favorite of ſo great a Potentate) he played his own game, procuring his reſtitution. At length his baniſhment being repealed by the Army, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppreſſed by the four hundred) he laboured greatly to reconcile the Souldiers to the Governours; or at leaſt to divert their heat another way, and turn it upon the common Enemy. Some of the four hundred approved his motion, as being weary of the tyranny whereof they were partakers, partly becauſe they ſaw it could not long endure, & partly for that themſelves, being leſs regarded by the reſt of their companions, than ſtood with their good liking, ſought to acquit themſelves of it as honeſtly as they might. But the moſt of that Faction laboured to obtain peace of the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring chiefly to maintain both their own authority, and the greatneſs of their City, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wiſh to preſerve their own power, or ſafety at leaſt, than the good Eſtate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made ſundry overtures of peace to the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring to compound in as good terms

terms as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be truſted, than the wavering multitude; eſpecially conſidering that the City of *Sparta* was governed by an Ariſtocracy, to which form they had now reduced *Athens*. All theſe paſſages between the four hundred (or the moſt and chief of them) and the *Lacedæmonians*, were kept as ſecret as might be. For the City of *Athens*, hoping, without any great cauſe, to repair their loſſes, was not inclined to make compoſition; from which upon juſter ground the Enemy was much more averſe, truſting well that the diſcord of the *Athenians* (not unknown abroad) might yield ſome fair opportunity to the deſtruction of it ſelf, which in effect (though not then preſently) came to paſs. And upon this hope King *Agis* did ſometimes bring his forces from *Decelea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, he received ſome ſmall loſſes. Likewiſe the Navy of *Peloponneſus* made ſhew of attempting the City, but ſeeing no likelihood of ſucceſs, they bent their courſe from thence to other places, where they obtained Victories, which in the better fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly have been regarded, than in this their decayed eſtate. Yet it ſeems, without any diſparagement to their wiſdom, they ſhould rather have forborn to preſent unto the City, or to the Countries near adjoyning, any terror of the War. For the diſſention within the walls might ſoon have done more good than could be received from the Fleet or Army without, which indeed gave occaſion to ſet the Citizens at unity, though it laſted not very long. The four hundred, by means of theſe troubles, were fain to reſign their authority, which they could not now hold, when the people, having taken arms to repel forein Enemies, would not lay them down, till they had freed themſelves from ſuch as oppreſſed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of Government a full reſtitution of the ſovereign command unto the people, or whole body of the City, but onely to five thouſand; which company the four hundred (when their authority began) had pretended to take unto them as aſſiſtants: herein ſeeming to do little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who ſeldom aſſembled in greater number. But now when the higheſt power was come indeed into the hands of ſo many, it was ſoon agreed, that *Alcibiades* and his companions ſhould be recalled from exile, and that the Army at *Samos* ſhould be requeſted to undertake the Government: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers deſire.

§. X.

How Alcibiades *won many important victories for the* Athenians; *was recalled from exile; made their General, and again depoſed.*

THis eſtabliſhment of things in the City, was accompanied with ſome good ſucceſs in the Wars. For the *Lacedæmonians* were about the ſame time overthrown at Sea, in a great Battel, by the *Athenian* Fleet, which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joyning ſuch forces as he could raiſe, obtained many Victories. Before the Town of *Abydus*, his arrival with eighteen ſhips, gave the honour of a great Battel to the *Athenians*; he overthrew and utterly deſtroyed the Fleet of the *Lacedæmonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*; took the Towns of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ranſome their City, and fortified *Chryſopolis*. Hereupon Letters were ſent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians* intercepting, found to contain the diſtreſs of the Army, in theſe few words: *All is loſt*; Mindarus *is ſlain*; *the Souldiers want victuals*; *we know not what to do.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* overthrew the *Lacedæmonians* in fight by Land at *Chalcedon*, took *Selymbria*, beſieged and won *Byzantium*, now called *Conſtantinople*, which even in thoſe days was a goodly, rich, and very ſtrong City. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made High Admiral of all the Navy.

But this his honour continued not long, for it was taken from him, and he driven to baniſh himſelf again, only becauſe his Lieutenant, contrary to the expreſs command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his abſence, had loſt a great part of the Fleet.

The ſecond baniſhment of *Alcibiades*, was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the firſt; and the loſs which thereupon they received, was (though more heavy to them, yet) leſs to be pitied of others, than that which enſued upon his former exile. For, whereas at the firſt, he had ſought revenge upon his own City; now, as inured to adverſity, he rather pitied their fury, who in time of ſuch danger, had caſt out him that ſhould have repaired their weak eſtate, than ſought by procuring or beholding the calamity of his people, to comfort himſelf after injury received. Before they, who were inſtituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arrived at the Fleet, he preſented Battel to *Lyſander* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who was not

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ſo confident upon his former Victory, as to undertake *Alcibiades* himſelf, bringing ſhips more in number (notwithſtanding the former loſs of fifteen) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had been under his Lieutenant. But when the Decree of the people was publiſhed in the Navy, then did *Alcibiades* withdraw himſelf to a Town upon *Helleſpont*, called *Bizanthe*, where he had built a Caſtle.

§. XI.

The Battel of Arginuſæ, *and condemnation of the victorious* Athenian *Captains by the people.*

After this time, the *Athenians* receiving many loſſes and diſcomfitures, were driven to fly into the Haven of *Mytelene*, where they were ſtraitly beſieged both by Land and Sea. For the raiſing of this ſiege, neceſſity inforced them to man all their veſſels, and to put the uttermoſt of their forces into the hazard of one Battel. This Battel was fought at *Arginuſæ*, where *Callicratidas*, Admiral of the *Lacedæmonains*, loſing the honour of the day, preſerved his own reputation, by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well have been expected, that the ten Captains, who joyntly had command in chief over the *Athenian* Fleet, ſhould for that good daies ſervice, and ſo happy a Victory, have received great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwiſe, they were forthwith called home, and accuſed, as if wilfully they had ſuffered many of the Citizens, whoſe ſhips were broken and ſunk, to be caſt away, when by appointing ſome Veſſels to take them up, they might have ſaved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captains readily made a very juſt anſwer, That they purſuing the Victory, had left part of the Fleet, under ſufficient men, to ſave thoſe that were wrackt; which if it were not well accompliſhed, it was, becauſe a tempeſt ariſing about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuſe availed not. For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who ſaid, That he himſelf eſcaping in a Meal-tub, had been intreated by thoſe who were in peril of drowning, to deſire of the people revenge of their deaths upon the Captains. It was very ſtrange, that upon ſuch an accuſation maintained with ſo ſlender evidence, men that had well deſerved of their Country ſhould be overthrown. But their enemies had ſo incenſed the raſcal multitude, that no man durſt abſolve them, ſave only *Socrates* the wiſe and virtuous Philoſopher, whoſe voice in this judgement was not regarded. Six of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly eſcaped drowning, and was with much ado relieved by other Veſſels in the ſtorm: but the Captains which were abſent eſcaped; for when the fury of the people was over-paſt, this judgement was reverſed, and the accuſers called into queſtion for having deceived and perverted the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themſelves from the infamy of injuſtice, but the divine Juſtice was not aſleep, nor would be ſo deluded.

§. XII.

The Battel at Ægos-Potamos, *wherein the whole State of* Athens *was ruined; with the end of the* Peloponneſian *War.*

THE *Peloponneſian* Fleet under *Lyſander*, the year next following, having ſcoured the *Ægean* Seas, enter *Helleſpont*, where (landing Souldiers) it beſieged and took the Town of *Lampſacus*. Hereupon all the Navy of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourſcore ſail, made thither in haſte: but finding *Lampſacus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Seſtos*, where having refreſhed themſelves, they ſailed to the River called *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goats-Brook*, or the River of the *Goat*, being on the Continent oppoſite to *Lampſacus*: and there they caſt Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lyſander*, who rode at *Lampſacus* in the harbor. The next day after their arrival, they preſented fight unto the *Pelopponneſians*, who refuſed it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Ægos-Potamos*; and thus they continued five daies, braving every day the Enemy, and returning to their own harbour when it drew towards evening.

The Caſtle of *Alcibiades* was not far from the Navy, and his power in thoſe places was ſuch as might have greatly availed his Country-men, if they could have made uſe of it. For he had waged mercenaries, and making war in his own name upon ſome people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the diſorderly courſe of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired unto them, and ſhewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not ſoon fore-ſee and prevent it. For they lay in a rode ſubject to every weather; neither near enough to any Town where they might furniſh themſelves with neceſſaries,

nor so far off as had been more expedient. *Sestos* was the next Market-town; thither both Souldiers and Mariners resorted, flocking away from the Navy every day, as soon as they were returned from braving the Enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lye at *Sestos*, which was not far off, or at least to consider how near their Enemy was, whose fear proceeded rather from obedience to their General, than from any cowardise. This admonition was so far despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his authority was out of date. Had it not been for these opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the *Lacedæmonians*, either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that he might so have done by transporting the light-armed *Thracians*, his confederates, and others his followers, over the Streights, who assaulting the *Peloponnesians* by Land, would either have compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leave their ships to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counsel no better than hath been rehearsed, he left them to their fortune; which how evil it would be, he did prognosticate.

Lysander all this while defending himself by the advantage of his Haven, was not careless in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was, to send forth some of his swiftest Vessels after them, who observing their doings, related unto him what they had seen. Therefore understanding in what careless fashion they romed up and down the Country; he kept all his men aboard after their departure: and the fifth day gave especial charge to his Scouts, that when they perceived the *Athenians* dis-imbarking, as their custom was, and walking towards *Sestos*, they should forthwith return, and hang up a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lysander* being in a readiness, made all speed that strength of Oars could give, to *Ægos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies aboard their ships, nor many near them, and all in great confusion upon the news of his approach.

Insomuch that the greatest industry which the *Athenians* then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that loss imported, gave over *Athens* as desperate, & made a long flight into the Isle of *Cyprus*; all the rest were taken, and such of the Souldiers as came into the rescue, cut in pieces. Thus was the war which had lasted seven and twenty years, with variable success, concluded in one hour, and the glory of *Athens* in such wise eclipsed, that she never afterward shone in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this Victory, *Lysander*, having taken such Towns as readily did yield upon the first fame of his exploit, set sail for *Athens*, and joyning his forces with those of *Agis* and *Pausanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, summoned the City; which finding too stubborn to yield, and too strong to be won on the sudden, he put forth again to Sea, and rather by terror than violence, compelled all the Islands, and such Towns of the *Ionians* as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to submit themselves to *Sparta*, he did thereby cut off all provision of victuals, and other necessaries, from the City, and inforced the people by meer famine to yield to these conditions; That the long walls, leading from the Town to the Port, should be thrown down; That all Cities subject to their Estate, should be set at liberty: That the *Athenians* should be Masters only of their own Territories, and the fields adjoyning to their Town; And that they should keep no more than twelve ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same, whom the *Lacedæmonians* did, and follow the *Lacedæmonians* as Leaders in the wars.

These Articles being agreed upon, the walls were thrown down with great rejoycing of those who had born displeasure to *Athens*; and not without some consultation of destroying the City, and laying waste the land about it. Which advice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Governors, or rather cruel Tyrants, appointed over the people, who recompenced their former insolency and injustice over their Captains, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slavery.

The only small hope then remaining to the *Athenians* was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repair what their own folly had ruined. But the Thirty Tyrants perceiving this, advertised the *Lacedæmonians* thereof, who contrived, and (as now domineering in every quarter) soon effected his sudden death.

Such end had the *Peloponnesian* war. After which the *Lacedæmonians* abusing the reputation and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to *Greece*, and by combination of many Cities against them, were dispossessed of their high authority, even in that very age in which they

they had ſubdued *Athens*. The greateſt foil that they took, was of the *Thebans* led by *Epaminondas*, under whom *Philip* of *Macedon* Father to *Alexander* the Great, had the beſt of his education. By theſe *Thebans*, the City of *Sparta* (beſides other great loſſes received) was ſundry times in danger of being taken. But theſe haughty attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing; for the ſeveral Eſtates and Signiories of *Greece*, were grown ſo jealous one of anothers greatneſs, that the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Thebans*, which were the mightieſt, aſſociating themſelves with the weaker party, did ſo counterpoize the ſtronger, that no one City could extend the limits of her juriſdiction ſo far as might make her terrible to her neighbours. And thus all parts of the Country remained rather evenly ballanced, than well agreeing, till ſuch time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*, (whoſe fore-fathers had been dependants, and followers, yea almoſt meer Vaſſals to the Eſtates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found means, by making uſe of their factions, to bring them all into ſervitude, from which they never could be free; till the *Romans* preſenting them with a ſhew of liberty, did themſelves indeed become their Maſters.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponneſian *War, or ſhortly following it.*

§. I.

How the affairs of Perſia *ſtood in thoſe times.*

DUring the times of this *Peloponneſian* War, and thoſe other leſs Expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, having peaceably enjoyed a long reign over the *Perſians*, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the Baſtard, whom the *Greek* Hiſtorians (lightly paſſing over *Xerxes* the ſecond, and *Sogdianus*, as Uſurpers, and for their ſhort reign little to be regarded) place next unto them, or to *Xerxes* the ſecond; who, and his Brother *Sogdianus* after him (ſeeming to have been the Sons of *Heſter*) held the Kingdom but one year between them, the younger ſucceeding his elder Brother. It is not my purpoſe (as I have ſaid before) to purſue the Hiſtory of the *Perſians* from henceforth, by rehearſal of all the particulars, otherwiſe than as they ſhall be incident to the affairs of *Greece*. It may therefore ſuffice to ſay, That *Xerxes* the ſecond, being a vicious Prince, did periſh after a month or two, if not by ſurfeit, then by the treachery of his riotous Brother *Sogdianus*. Likewiſe of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his Brother, and more cruel, he ſlew unjuſtly *Bagorazus* a principal Eunuch, and would have done as much to his Brother *Darius* the Baſtard, had not he fore-ſeen it, and by raiſing a ſtronger Army than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leavy, ſeized at once upon the King and Kingdom. *Darius* having ſlain his Brother, held the Empire nineteen years. *Amyrtæus* of *Sais* an *Egyptian*, rebelled againſt him, and having partly ſlain, partly chaſed out of the Land the *Perſian* Garriſons, allied himſelf ſo firmly with the *Greeks*, that by their aid he maintained the Kingdom, and delivered it over to his poſterity, who (notwithſtanding the fury of their civil Wars) maintained it againſt the *Perſian*, all the daies of this *Darius*, and of his Son *Artaxerxes*, *Mnemon*. Likewiſe *Amorges*, a ſubject of his own, and of the Royal blood, being Lieutenant of *Caria*, rebelled againſt him; confederating himſelf with the *Athenians*. But the great calamity, before ſpoken of, which fell upon the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, having put new life into the *Spartans*, and given courage to the Iſlanders and others, ſubject to the State of *Athens*, to ſhake off the yoke of their long continued bondage; It fell out well for *Darius*, that the *Lacedæmonians* being deſtitute of mony, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Navy, without which it was impoſſible to advance the War againſt the State of *Athens*, that remained powerful by Sea, were driven to crave his aſſiſtance, which he granted unto them, firſt upon what conditions beſt pleaſed himſelf, though afterwards the Articles of the league between him and them, were ſet down in more preciſe terms; wherein it was concluded, That

he and they ſhould make war joyntly upon the *Athenians*, and upon all that ſhould rebel from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Aſia* which had formerly been his, or his Predeceſſors, ſhould return to his obedience. By this Treaty, and the War enſuing (of which I have already ſpoken) he recovered all that his Grandfather and Father had loſt in *Aſia*. Likewiſe by aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*, he got *Amorges* alive into his hands, who was taken in the City of *Jaſus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to ſuccour him. Nevertheleſs *Egypt* ſtill held out againſt him; the cauſe whereof cannot be the employment of the *Perſian* forces on the parts of *Greece*: for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occaſions, but they wanted manhood, which cauſed him to fight with gold; which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his natural enemies, what the valour of his own Subjects was inſufficient to perform. *Darius* had in marriage *Paryſatis* his own Siſter, who bare unto him (beſides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to ſay, the Mindful, or the Remembrer, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdom; and *Cyrus* the younger, a Prince of ſingular virtue, and accounted, by all that knew him, the moſt excellent man that ever *Perſia* bred after *Cyrus* the great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leave unto his eldeſt Son *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of the great Empire, did caſt a jealous eye upon the doings of young *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower *Aſia*, took more upon him than befitted a Subject: for which cauſe his Father ſent for him, with intent to have taken ſome very ſharp courſe with him, had not his own death prevented the coming of his younger Son, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the war between theſe Brethren, and ſummarily of *Artaxerxes*, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak ſomewhat in more convenient place.

§. II.

How the thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place very convenient to ſhew the proceedings of the *Greeks*, after the ſubverſion of the walls of *Athens*, which gave end to that War called the *Peloponneſian* War, but could not free the unhappy Country of *Greece* from civil broils. The thirty Governours, commonly called the thirty Tyrants of *Athens*, were choſen at the firſt by the people to compile a body of their Law, and make a collection of ſuch ancient Statutes, as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the City ſtanding as it did in that ſo ſudden alteration. To this charge was annexed the ſupreme authority, either as a recompenſe of their labours, or becauſe the neceſſity of the times did ſo require it, wherein the Law being uncertain, it was fit that ſuch men ſhould give judgement in particular cauſes, to whoſe judgement the Laws themſelves, by which the City was to be ordered, were become ſubject. But theſe thirty, having ſo great power in their hands, were more careful to hold it, than to deſerve it by faithful execution of that which was committed to them in truſt.

Therefore apprehending ſuch troubleſome fellows as were odious to the City, though not puniſhable therefore by Law; they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved, who conſidered their lewd conditions, but did not withall bethink themſelves, how eaſie a thing it would be unto theſe thirty men, to take away the lives of Innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or what elſe they liſted, when condemnation without true trial and proof had been once well allowed. Having thus plauſibly entred into a wicked courſe of Government, they thought it beſt to fortifie themſelves with a ſure guard, ere they brake out into thoſe diſorders, which they muſt needs commit for the eſtabliſhing of their authority. Wherefore diſpatching two of their own company to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedæmonians*, that it was the full intent of the Thirty, to keep the City free from all rebellious motions: to which purpoſe it behoved them to cut off ſuch as were ſeditious; and therefore deſired the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend them a Garriſon, which they promiſed at their own coſt to maintain. This motion was well approved, and a Guard ſent, the Captain of which was ſo well entertain'd by the Thirty, that none of their miſdeeds could want his high commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after baſe and deteſted perſons invaded the principal men of the City, ſending armed men from houſe to houſe, who drew out ſuch as were of great reputation, and likely, or able to make any head againſt this wicked form of Government: whereby there was ſuch effuſion of blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the Thirty) ſeemed very horrible, and unable to eſcape vengeance. His diſlike of their proceedings being openly diſcovered, cauſed his fellows to bethink themſelves

themſelves, and provide for their own ſecurity, and his deſtruction, leſt he ſhould make himſelf a Captain of the diſcontented (which were almoſt the whole City) and redeem his own peace with their ruine. Wherefore they ſelected three thouſand of the Citizens, whom they thought meeteſt, and gave unto them ſome part of the publick authority, the reſt they diſarmed; and having thus increaſed their own ſtrength, and weakned their oppoſites, they began a-freſh to ſhed the blood, not only of their private enemies, but of ſuch whoſe mony, or goods, might inrich them, and enable them for the payment of their Guard. And to this purpoſe they concluded, that every one of them ſhould name one man, upon whoſe goods he ſhould ſeize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* uttered his deteſtation of ſo wicked intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the thirty was moſt tyrannical, accuſe him to the Council, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one main priviledge of the three thouſand was, that none of them ſhould ſuffer death at the appointment of the thirty, but have the accuſtomed tryal) he took upon him to ſtrike out of that number the name of *Theramenes* and ſo reduced him under the trial and ſentence of that order. It was well alledged by *Theramenes* that his name was not more eaſie to be blotted out of the catalogue, than any other mans; upon which conſideration, he adviſed them all to conceive no otherwiſe of his caſe, than as of their own, who were liable to the ſame form of proceeding: but every man chuſing rather to preſerve his own life by ſilence, than preſently to draw upon himſelf the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would never come near him; the Tyrants interpreting ſilence as conſent condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drink poyſon.

§. III.

The Conſpiracy againſt the thirty Tyrants, and their depoſing.

After the death of *Theramenes*, the thirty began to uſe ſuch out-rage; as excelled their former villanies. For, having three thouſand (as they thought) firm unto them, they robbed all others without fear or ſhame, deſpoiling them of lands and goods, and cauſed them to fly into baniſhment, for ſafeguard of their lives. This flight of the Citizens procured their liberty, and the general good of the City. For the baniſhed Citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, entred into conſultation, and reſolved to hazard their lives in ſetting free the City of *Athens*. The very thought of ſuch a practice had been treaſon at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventy men, or thereabout, were the firſt undertakers, who with their Captain *Thraſybulus* took *Phyla*, a place of ſtrength in the Territory of *Athens*. No ſooner did the thirty hear of their exploit, than ſeek means to prevent further danger; aſſembling the three thouſand, and their *Lacedæmonian* guard, with which force they attempted *Phyla*, but were with ſome loſs of their men repelled. Finding the place too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, they intended to beſiege it; which purpoſe came to nought by means of ſnow that fell, and other ſtormy weather, againſt which they had not made proviſion. Retiring therefore to the City which above all they were to make good, they left the moſt of their guard, and two companies of horſe, to weary out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying ſiege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thraſybulus* were increaſed from ſeventy to ſeven hundred, which adventured to give charge upon thoſe guards, of whom they cut off above an hundred and twenty. Theſe ſmall but proſperous beginnings, added more to the number of thoſe in *Phyla*, who now with a thouſand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the ſuburb of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before their coming the thirty had reſolved to fortifie the Town of *Eleuſine*, to their own uſe, whereinto they might make an eaſie retrait, and ſave themſelves from any ſudden peril. It may well ſeem ſtrange, that whereas their barbarous manner of Government had brought them into ſuch danger, they were ſo far from ſeeking to obtain mens good will, that contrariwiſe, to aſſure themſelves of *Eleuſine*, they got all of the place who could bear arms into their hands by a train, and wickedly (though under form of Juſtice) murthered them all. But, *Sceleribus tutum per ſcelera eſt iter*, the miſchiefs which they had already done were ſuch, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of ſafety, than by extending their cruelty unto all, ſeeing few or none were left, whom they could truſt. When *Thraſybulus* and his fellows, who as yet were termed conſpirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thouſand armed again by the Tyrants, and brought to aſſault it; but in this interprize *Thraſybulus* had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom though there were ſlain to the number of ſeventy only, yet the Victory ſeemed the greater,

greater, because *Critias*, and one other of the thirty, perished in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the stout defence of *Piræus*, together with some exhortations used by *Thrasybulus* to the Citizens, wrought such effect, that the thirty were deposed. Nevertheless there were so many of the three thousand, who having communicated with the thirty in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharp account, that no peace, nor quiet form of Government could be established. For Embassadors were sent to *Sparta*, who craving aid against *Thrasybulus* and his followers, had favourable audience, and a power sent to their assistance, both by land and sea, under the conduct of *Lysander*, and his Brother; whom *Pausanias* the *Spartan* King did follow, raising an Army of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*. And here appeared first the jealousie, wherein some people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, who in the late wars had been the most bitter enemies to *Athens*, refused to follow *Pausanias* in this expedition; alledging that it stood not with their oaths, to make war against that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing indeed, lest the *Lacedæmonians* should annex the Territory of *Athens* to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted, that *Pausanias* took this answer in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to cross the proceedings of *Lysander*, whom he envied. Therefore having in some small skirmishes against them of *Thrasybulus* his party, made a shew of war, he finally wrought such means, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirty men, and such others as were like to give cause of tumults, being sent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that tyrannical faction, having withdrawn themselves to *Eleusine*, were shortly after found to attempt some innovation; whereupon the whole City rising against them, took their Captains, as they were coming to Parly, and slew them: which done, to avoid further inconvenience, a law was made, that all injuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made, and carefully observed, the City returned to her former quietness.

CHAP. X.

Of the Expedition of Cyrus *the younger.*

§. I.

The grounds of Cyrus *his attempt against his Brother.*

THE matters of *Greece* standing upon such terms, that no one Estate durst oppose it self against that of *Lacedæmon*; young *Cyrus*, Brother to *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, having in his Fathers life-time very carefully prosecuted the War against *Athens*, did send his messengers to *Sparta*, requesting that their love might appear no less to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous War against the *Athenians*. To this request, being general, the *Lacedæmonians* gave a suitable answer; commanding the Admiral to perform unto *Cyrus* all service that he should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discovered himself, and the *Lacedæmonians* bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the Kingdom of *Persia* should have been the recompence of his deserts; or that, he perishing in battel, as after he did, the subversion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew unto the *Greeks* the wayes, which under the *Macedonian* Enfigns, the victorious foot-steps of their posterity should measure; and opening unto them the riches, and withal the weakness of the *Persian*, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that Conquest, which he reserved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mighty Kingdom, whose hour was not yet come. The love which *Paryſatis* the Queen-mother of *Persia* bare unto *Cyrus* her younger son, being seconded by the earnest favour of the people, and ready desires of many principal men, had moved this young Prince, in his Fathers old age, to aspire after the Succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before been shewed) whose meaning was to curb this ambitious Youth; he found his elder brother *Artaxerxes*

taxerxes eſtabliſhed ſo ſurely by the old Kings favour, that it were not ſafe to attempt any means of diſplanting him, by whoſe diſfavour himſelf might eaſily loſe the place of a Viceroy, which he held in *Aſia* the leſs, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The neareſt neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Aſia*, was *Tiſſaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardiſe, treachery, craft, and all vices which accuſtomably branch out of theſe. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, uſing by the way all fair ſhews of friendſhip, as to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought, that Queen *Paryſatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that *Paryſatis* had uſed the beſt of her endeavour to that purpoſe, alledging that (which in former ages had been much available to *Xerxes*, in the like diſceptation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was born whilſt his Father was a private man, but *Cyrus*, when he was crowned King. All which not ſufficing; when the moſt that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of ſome preſumptuous demeanor, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adjoyning: then did this *Tiſſaphernes* diſcover his nature, and accuſe his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treaſon intended againſt his perſon. Upon this accuſation, whether true or falſe, very eaſily believed, *Cyrus* was arreſted, and by the moſt vehement intreaty of his Mother very hardly delivered, and ſent back into his own Province.

§. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, *and his firſt entry into the War.*

THE form of Government which the *Perſian* Lieutenants uſed in their ſeveral Provinces, was in many points almoſt Regal. For they made war and peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the Kings behoof, but for their own reputation; uſually indeed with the Kings enemies, yet ſometimes one with another: which was the more eaſily tolerated, becauſe their own heads were held only at the Kings pleaſure, which cauſed them to frame all their doings to his will, whatſoever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being ſetled in *Lydia*, began to conſider with himſelf, the intereſt that he had in the Kingdom; the ſmall aſſurance of his Brothers love, held only by his Mothers interceſſion; the diſgrace endured by his late impriſonment; and the means which he had by love of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he had bound unto him, to obtain the Crown for himſelf. Neither was it expedient that he ſhould long ſit idle, as waiting till occaſion ſhould preſent it ſelf: but rather enterpriſe ſomewhat whilſt yet his Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worſe than only queſtionable. Hereupon he firſt began to quarrel with *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſeized upon many Towns of his Juriſdiction, annexing them to his own Province, which diſpleaſed not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (beſides that he was of condition ſomewhat ſimple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accuſtomable Tributes out of thoſe places, was well contented to ſee his brothers hot ſpirit exerciſed in private quarrels. But *Tiſſaphernes*, whoſe baſe conditions were hated, and cowardiſe deſpiſed, although he durſt not adventure to take arms againſt *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Mileſians* were about to give up themſelves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other Towns of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terror to preſerve his reputation, and keep the Town in his own hands. Wherefore he ſlew many, and many he baniſhed, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing fair occaſion to take arms, which was no ſmall part of his deſire. In levying Souldiers he uſed great policy; for he took not only the men of his own Province, or of the Countries adjoyning, whoſe lives were ready at his will; but ſecretly he furniſhed ſome *Grecian* Captains with money, who being very good men of War, entertained Souldiers therewith, ſome of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Theſſaly*, others elſewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to croſs the Seas, at the firſt call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had ſecret inſtructions to prolong their ſeveral Wars, that the Souldiers might be held in continual exerciſe, and ready in arms upon the ſudden. *Cyrus* having ſent a power of men to beſiege *Miletus*, forthwith ſummoned theſe bands of the *Greeks*, who very readily came over to his aſſiſtance, being thirteen thouſand very firm Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almoſt incredible) againſt the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Army, and that which he had levied before, he could very eaſily have forced *Miletus*, and chaſed away *Tiſſaphernes* out of *Aſia* the leſs: but his purpoſe was not ſo to loſe time in ſmall matters; that was to be imployed in the accompliſhment of higher deſigns. Pretending therefore that the

the *Pisidians*, a people of *Asia* the less, not subject to the *Persian*, had invaded his Territory; he raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speed marched Eastward, leaving *Tissaphernes* much amazed, who had no leisure to rejoyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himself, when he considered, that so great an Army, and so strong, was never levied against the Rovers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause taking a band of five hundred horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

§. III.

How Cyrus *took his journey into the higher* Asia, *and came up to his Brother.*

THe tumult which his coming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen *Statira*, against *Parysatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom she called the Author and occasioner of the war. But whilst the King in great fear was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger hasted upon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, having his number much increased by the repair of his Countrey-men, though most strengthened by the access of seven hundred *Greeks*, and of other four hundred of the same Nation, who revolted unto him from the King. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by tryal in a Muster, which (to please the Queen of *Cicilia*, who had brought him aid) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greeks* by his direction making offer of a charge upon the rest of his Army, which contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Camp (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled a-main, the victuallers and baggagers forsaking their Cabins, and running all away for very fear. This was to *Cyrus* a joyful spectacle, who knew very well, that his Brother was followed by men of the same temper, and the more unlikely to make resistance, because they were prest to the war against their will and dispositions, whereas his Army was drawn along by meer affection and good will. Nevertheless he found it a very hard matter to perswade the *Greeks* to pass the River of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had trodden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious return. Therefore he was driven, being yet in *Cicilia*, to seek excuses, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principal Captains, and his own great enemy, lay by the River, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such devices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*; where some of the *Greeks* considering, That who so passed the River first, should have the most thanks, and might safely return if the rest should refuse to follow them; they entred the Foords, whereby all were finally perswaded to do as some had begun: and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seek out *Artaxerxes*, whersoever he was to be found. The King in the mean time having raised an Army of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in trial of a plain battel. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thousand men, had undertaken to make good the Streights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other defences of nature and art, which made the place to seem impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself toward the Kings forces, not daring to look *Cyrus* in the face; who despairing to find any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, by the benefit whereof to have transported his Army. I do not find that this cowardise of *Abrocomas*, or his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Camp, till five dayes were past after the battel, received either punishment, or disgrace; for they, toward whom he withdrew himself; were all made of the same metal.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was upon the point of retiring to the uttermost bounds of his Kingdom, until by *Teribazus*, one of his Captains, he was perswaded not to abandon so many goodly Provinces to the enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharp disputation of Title to a Kingdom is most available) would have grown superiour in reputation. By such advice, the King resolved upon meeting with his Brother, who now began to be secure, being fully perswaded that *Artaxerxes* would never dare to abide him in the field. For the King having cast up a Trench of almost forty miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eighteen foot deep, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe, as to be far distant from his enemies.

§. IV.

The Battel between Cyrus *and* Artaxerxes.

THE Army of *Cyrus* having overcome many difficulties of evil waies, and scarcity

ſcarcity of victuals, was much incouraged by perceiving this great fear of *Artaxerxes*; and being paſt this Trench, marched careleſly in great diſorder, having beſtowed their Arms in Carts; and upon Beaſts of carriage; when on the ſudden one of their Van-currors, brought news of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themſelves, and had ranged their Battels in good order upon the ſide of the River *Euphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they ſaw not till it was afternoon. But when they ſaw the cloud of duſt raiſed by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their near approach how well they were marſhalled, coming on very orderly in ſilence, whereas it had been expected, that ruſhing violently with loud clamors, they ſhould have ſpent all their force upon the firſt brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were ſo unequal in diſtent, being all embattelled in one body and ſquare, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Perſian* manner) in the midſt of his own, did not with the corner, and utmoſt point thereof, reach to the half breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battel, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greeks* begin to diſtruſt their own manhood, which was not accuſtomed to make proof of it ſelf, upon ſuch exceſſive odds. It was almoſt incredible, that ſo great an Army ſhould be ſo eaſily chaſed. Nevertheleſs, it quickly appeared, that theſe *Perſians*, having learned (contrary to their cuſtom) to give charge upon their enemies with ſilence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receive a ſtrong charge with courage. Upon the very firſt offer of an on-ſet, made by the *Greeks*, all that beaſtly rabble of cowards fled amain, without abiding the ſtroke, or ſtaying till they were within reach of a dart. The Chariots armed with hooks and ſithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did ſmall hurt that day, becauſe the drivers of them leaping down, fled away on foot. This baſe demeanour of his enemies gave ſo much confidence to *Cyrus* and his Followers, that ſuch as were about him forthwith adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had been aſſured unto him that day, had not he ſought how to declare himſelf worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiving that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompaſs the *Greeks*, and to ſet upon them in the rear, he advanced with ſix hundred Horſe, and gave ſo valiant a charge upon a ſquadron of ſix thouſand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, ſlaying the Captain thereof *Artagerſes*, with his own hands, and putting all the reſt to flight. Hereupon his whole company of ſix hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chaſe, leaving *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiving where the King ſtood in troop, uncertain whether to fight, or leave the field, could not contain himſelf, but ſaid, *I ſee the man*: and preſently, with a ſmall handful of men about him, ran upon his Brother, whom he ſtrake through the Curace, and wounded in the breaſt. Having given this ſtroke, which was his laſt, he received immediately the fatal blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a Dart, thrown by a baſe fellow, wherewith aſtonied, he fell dead from his horſe, or ſo hurt, that it was unpoſſible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their beſt for his ſafety; not caring afterwards for their own lives, when once they perceived that *Cyrus* their Maſter was ſlain. *Artaxerxes* cauſed the head and right hand of his Brother to be forthwith ſtricken off, and ſhewed to his people, who now purſuing them, fled apace, calling upon the name of *Cyrus*, and deſiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troops, and utterly diſmaid ſuch *Perſian* Captains, as were now, even in their own eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Camp of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned; from whence *Artaxerxes* making all ſpeed, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greeks*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tiſſaphernes*, who having made way through the Battel of the *Greeks*, was ready now to joyn with his Maſter in ſpoiling their Tents. Had not the news, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his Brothers death, been ſufficient to countervail all diſaſters received, the exploit of *Tiſſaphernes* in breaking through the *Greeks*, would have yielded little comfort. For *Tiſſaphernes* had not ſlain any one man of the *Greeks*, but contrariwiſe, when he came upon them, they opening their Battel, drave him with great ſlaughter through them, in ſuch wiſe, that he rather eſcaped as out of an hard paſſage, than forced his way through the ſquadron of the *Greeks*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greeks*, as Maſters of the field, gave chaſe to all that came in their ſight; they ranged their Com-

panies into good order, and followed after these *Greeks*, intending to set upon them in the rear. But these good Souldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seek honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued unto a certain Village, that lay under a hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a bravery, than with purpose to attempt upon these bold fellows any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had secured his estate, whom he would seem to have slain with his own hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough, shewing a manly look half a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displaid on the top of a Spear. This ensign might have encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greeks* espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so near them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discovering their approach, fled upon the spur: so that none remained in the place of battel, save only the *Greeks*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harm, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no news of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was pursuing the Army, they thought it was fittest for them, having that day done enough, to return to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings coming had given them no leisure to dine.

§. V.

The hard estate of the Greeks *after the fight; and how* Artaxerxes *in vain sought to have made them yield unto him.*

IT was now about the setting of the Sun, and they bringing home dark night with them, found their Camp spoiled, little or nothing being left that might serve for food: so that wanting victuals to satisfie their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with sleep. In the mean season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Camp, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceived that the baseness of his people, and weakness of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greeks*: which gave him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shameful demeanor of his Army, should live to carry tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signory. Wherefore he resolved to try all means, whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had seen: to which purpose he sent them a brave message the next morning; charging them to deliver up their Arms, and come to his Gates, to await there upon his Mercy. It seems that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, upon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the *Greeks* being advertised that morning from *Ariæus*, a principal Commander under *Cyrus*, that his Master being slain, he had retired himself to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from thence, whence intending to return into *Ionia*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would joyn with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer back to *Ariæus*, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Ariæus* himself in the Kings Throne, if he would joyn with them, and pursue the victory. Before they received any reply to this answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Camp, whose errand seemed to the Captains very insolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquishers to yield their Weapons; another, that he would dye ere he yielded to such a motion: a third asked, whether the King, as having the victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in a way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie he meant to requite their kindness. To this question *Phalinus* a *Grecian*, waiting upon *Tissaphernes*, answered; That the King having slain *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the middest whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold up their throats; for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told *Phalinus*, that having nothing left, but their Arms and Valour, whilest they kept their Arms, their Valour would be serviceable; but should they yield them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remain their own. Hereat *Phalinus* laughed, saying; This

This young man did seem a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deep speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Arms and Valour to prevail against the great King. It seems that *Phalinus* being a Courtier, and imployed in a business of importance, thought himself too profound a States-man, to be checkt in his Embassage by a bookish discourser. But his wisdom herein failed him. For whatsoever he himself was (of whom no more is known, than that he brought an unhonest message to his own Country-men, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, and Lives, to the mercileſs *Barbarians*) this young Scholar by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principal Commanders were surprised by treachery of the *Persians*, being a private Gentleman, and having never seen the wars before, undertook the conduct of the Army, which he brought safe into *Greece*, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than *Phalinus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithful to the King, as they had been to *Cyrus*, offering their service in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might have use of them. But the final answer was, That without Weapons they could neither do the King good as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalinus* delivered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilst they abode where they then were, denouncing War if they stired thence; Whereunto he required their answer. *Clearchus* the General told him, They liked it. How (saith *Phalinus*) must I understand you? As chooſing peace if we stay, or otherwise war, said *Clearchus*. But whether war or peace, quoth this politique Embassadour? To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose,) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him, no wiser than he came. All that day the *Greeks* were fain to feed upon their Horses, Asses, and other Beasts, which they rosted with Arrows, Darts, and wooden Targets, thrown away by the Enemies.

§. VI.

How the Greeks *began to return homewards.*

AT night they took their way towards *Ariæus*, to whom they came at midnight; being forsaken by four hundred foot, and forty horse, all *Thracians*, who fled over to the King; by whom how they were entertained, I do not find. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces, for had they been kindly used, it may well be thought that some of them should have accompanied *Tissaphernes*, and served as Stales to draw in the rest. *Ariæus* being of too base a temper, and birth, to think upon seeking the Kingdom for himself, with such assistance as might have given it unto *Cyrus*, was very well pleased to make covenant with them for mutual assistance unto the last: Whereunto both parts having sworn, he advised them to take another way homeward, which should be somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relieve them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearisome march, and tired the Souldiers, they found the Kings Army which had coasted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purposed themselves to have encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, because he would not seem by declining them, to shew fear, or weakness. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behaviour; Nor strange, that the *Græcians*, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an unknown Countrey, should be very fearful: but it is almost past belief, that the noise which was heard of these poor men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition inforced them to do, should make the *Persians* fly out of their Camp, and so affright the great King, that in stead of demanding their Arms, he should crave peace of them. The next day very early came messengers from *Artaxerxes*, desiring free access for Embassadors, to entreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars do best open the quality of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to run over the general passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battel, because the *Greeks* (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to hear of truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* dissembling the indignity, was contented sweetly to swallow down this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

§. VII.

How Tiſſaphernes, *under colour of peace, betrayed all the Captains of the* Greeks.

HItherto the *Greeks*, relying upon their own virtue, had rather advanced their affairs, than brought themſelves into any ſtraights or terms of diſadvantage. But now came unto them the ſubtil Fox *Tiſſaphernes*, who circumventing the Chief Commanders by fine ſleights, did miſchievouſly entrap them, to the extreme danger of the Army. He told them, that his Province, lying near unto *Greece*, had cauſed him greatly to deſire, that their deliverance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrymen at home, would not be unthankful for ſuch a benefit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearſe the great ſervice that he had done to his Maſter, being the firſt that advertiſed him of *Cyrus* his intent, and having not only brought him a good ſtrength of men, but in the day of battel ſhewed his face to the *Greeks*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Camp, and gave chaſe to the *Barbarians* that ſtood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alledge to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you ſafe into *Greece*; in which ſute I have good hope to ſpeed, if you will ſend a mild anſwer to him, who hath willed me to ask you, for what cauſe ye have born Arms againſt me. The Captains hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which *Tiſſaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly, as he ſaid) that peace ſhould be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they ſhould paſs freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they took, and committing no ſpoil: yet that it ſhould be lawful for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refuſed to afford them an open Market. Hereupon both parties having ſworn, the League was concluded; and *Tiſſaphernes*, returning to the King to take leave, and end all buſineſs came unto them again after twenty dayes, and then they ſet forward. This interim of twenty days, which *Tiſſaphernes* did ſpend at the Court, miniſtred great occaſion of miſtruſt to his new Confederates. For beſides his long abſence, which alone ſufficed to breed doubt, the Brethren, the Kindred of *Ariæus*, repairing daily to him, and other *Perſians* to his Souldiers, did work him and them ſo with aſſurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more ſtrange to the *Greeks* than formerly he had been. This cauſed many to adviſe *Clearchus*, rather to paſs forward as well as he might, than to rely upon covenants, and ſit ſtill whilſt the King layed ſnares to entrap them. But he on the contrary perſwaded them, to reſt contented whilſt they were well, and not to caſt themſelves again into thoſe difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treaty; reciting withall their own wants, and the Kings means, but eſpecially the Oathes mutually given and taken, wherewith he ſaw no reaſon why the enemy ſhould have clogged himſelf if he meant miſchief, having power enough to do them harm by a fair and open War.

Tiſſaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatneſs and place in Court) which cauſed his Oath to be the more eſteemed; for as much as no inforcement, or baſe reſpect, was like to have drawn it from him. But his falſhood was ſuch, both in ſubſtance and in ſucceſs, as may fitly expound that ſaying, which proceeded from the fountain of Truth, *I hate a rich man a lyar*. A lye may find excuſe when it grows out of fear: for that paſſion hath his original from weakneſs. But when Power, which is a *Character* of the *Almighty*, ſhall be made the ſupporter of untruth, the falſhood is moſt abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, advancing his own ſtrength againſt the Divine Juſtice, doth commit that ſin with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with ſure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tiſſaphernes* found means to deſtroy all the Captains, whom he ſubtilly got into his power by a train; making the General *Clearchus* himſelf the mean to draw in all the reſt. The buſineſs was contrived thus: Having travelled ſome days together in ſuch wiſe, that the *Perſians* did not encamp with the *Greeks*, who were very jealous of the great familiarity appearing between *Tiſſaphernes* and *Ariæus*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to root out of *Tiſſaphernes* his brains all cauſes of diſtruſt, whereof many had grown in that ſhort time. To which purpoſe obtaining private conference with him, he rehearſed the Oath of Confederacy, which had paſt between them, ſhewing how religiouſly he would keep it; and, repeating the benefits, which the *Greeks* did receive by the help of *Tiſſaphernes*, he promiſed that their love ſhould appear to him not unfruitful, if he would make uſe of their ſervice againſt the *Myſians* or *Piſidians*, who were accuſtomed to infeſt his Provinces; or againſt the

the *Egyptians*, who were then Rebels to the Great King. For which cauſe he deſired him, that whereas all divine and humane reſpects had linked them together, he would not give place to any cloſe accuſation or ſuſpicion, whereby might grow ſudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no juſt ground. The faithleſs *Perſian* was very much delighted with this ſpeech, which miniſtred fair occaſion to the execution of his purpoſe. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wiſely conſidered, wiſhing him further to call to mind how many waies he could have uſed to bring them to confuſion, without peril to himſelf; eſpecially by burning the Country, through which they were to paſs, whereby they muſt needs have periſhed by meer famine. For which cauſe he ſaid, that it had been great folly, to ſeek by perjury, odious to God and Man, the deſtruction of ſuch as were already in his hands. But the truth was, that his own love to them had moved him to work their ſafety, not only for thoſe ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleaſures that might redound to himſelf, and the King, by their aſſiſtance; but for that he might by their friendſhip, hope to obtain what *Cyrus* had miſt. Finally, he invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and ſent him away ſo well aſſured of his good will, that he promiſed to bring all the Captains with him to the ſame place, where, in preſence of them all, *Tiſſaphernes* likewiſe promiſed to tell openly, which of them had by ſecret information ſought to raiſe diſſention between them. *Clearchus* himſelf being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chief Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders to repair with him to the Camp of *Tiſſaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had been to ſome common Fair. But being there arrived, *Clearchus*, with other the five principal Collonels, were called into the Tent, the reſt ſtaying without, where they had not waited long ere a ſign was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the reſidue ſlain. Forthwith certain bands of *Perſian* Horſemen ſcoured the field, killing as many *Greeks* as they met, and riding up to the very Camp of the *Græcians*, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cauſe, till one, eſcaping ſorely wounded, informed them of all that had been done. Hereupon the *Greeks* took Arms in haſte, thinking that the enemy would forthwith have aſſailed their Camp. Anon they might perceive the Embaſſadors of *Tiſſaphernes*, among whom were his own Brother, And *Ariæus*, followed with three hundred Horſe, who called for the principal men in the Army, ſaying, That they brought a meſſage from the King, which *Ariæus* delivered to this effect: That *Clearchus* having broken his faith, and the league made, was juſtly rewarded with death; that *Mnemon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Collonels, for detecting his treachery, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to ſurrender their arms, which were due to him, as having belonged unto his ſervant *Cyrus*. When ſome altercation had followed upon this meſſage, *Xenophon* told the Embaſſadors, that if *Clearchus* had in ſuch ſort offended, it was well that he was in ſuch ſort puniſhed: but he willed them to ſend back *Menon* and *Proxenus*, whom they had ſo greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greeks* might be adviſed how to anſwer the *Perſian*. Hereunto the Embaſſadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without ſpeaking one word more. *Clearchus* and the other four were ſent to *Artaxerxes*, by whoſe commandment their heads were ſtricken off. I hold it not amiſs to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiouſneſs of *Tiſſaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He ſaw his Province waſted by the *Greeks*, againſt whom receiving from his Maſter convenient aid of men and mony, he did ſo ill manage his affairs, that neither ſubtilty, nor perjury (to which he failed not to have recourſe) availed him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and ſent a new Lieutenant into thoſe parts, who took it from his ſhoulders. Such was the recompence of his treachery, which made him ſo miſtruſted at home, that the ſervice which he could not do, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; and ſo hated abroad, that he knew not which way to fly from the ſtroke, all the world being ſhut againſt him. But now let us return to the proſperity, wherein he triumphed without great cauſe, having betrayed braver men than himſelf, and intending to bring the like miſchief upon the whole Army.

§. VIII.

How Xenophon *heartned the* Greeks, *and in deſpight of* Tiſſaphernes *went off ſafely.*

GReat was the heavineſs of the ſouldiers, being now left deſtitute of Leaders, and no leſs their fear of the evil hanging over their heads, which they knew not well how

how to avoid. Among the reſt, *Xenophon*, whoſe learning ſupplied his want of experience, finding the deep ſadneſs of the whole Army, to be ſuch as hindred them from taking any courſe of preventing the danger at hand, began to adviſe the under-officers of *Proxenus* his Companies, whoſe familar friend he had been, to bethink themſelves of ſome mean, whereby their ſafety might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: ſetting before their eyes whatſoever might ſerve for to give them hope, and above all, perſwading them in no wiſe to yield to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they deſired him to take upon him the charge of that Regiment; and ſo together with him, the ſame night calling up ſuch as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fitteſt men to ſucceed in the places of thoſe who were ſlain, or taken. This being done, and order ſet down for disburdening the Army of all ſuperfluous impediments, they eaſily comforted themſelves for the loſs of *Tiſſaphernes* his aſſiſtance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than he had been wont to ſell them; To which purpoſe they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among ſome plentiful Villages, and ſo to proceed, marching towards the heads of thoſe great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to paſs them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made upon them by *Tiſſapherners*, whom they, ſerving all on foot, were not able to requite for the harm which they received by the *Perſian* Archers, who ſhot at a farther diſtance than the *Greeks* could reach. For this cauſe did *Xenophon* provide ſlings, wherewith he overreached the enemy; and finding ſome horſes fit for ſervice, that were employed among the carriages, he ſet men upon them; training likewiſe his Archers to ſhoot compaſs, who had been accuſtomed to the point-blank. By theſe means did he bear off the *Perſians*, who aſſailed him; and ſometimes gave them chaſe with that band of fifty Horſe, which being well backt with a firm body of footmen, and ſeconded with troops of the light-armed ſhot and ſlingers, compelled the enemy to lye aloof. *Tiſſaphernes* not daring to come to handy gripes with theſe reſolute men, did poſſeſs the tops of mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to paſs. But finally, when their valour made way through all ſuch difficulties, he betook himſelf to that courſe, which was indeed the ſureſt, of burning the Country. With great ſorrow did the *Greeks* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some adviſed to defend the Country, as granted by the enemy himſelf to be theirs; others to make more fires, if ſo perhaps the *Perſians* might be aſhamed to do that which was the deſire of ſuch as made paſſage in hoſtile manner; But theſe were faint comforts. The beſt counſel was, that being near unto the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the *Perſian*, they ſhould enter into their Country, paſſing over ſome high mountains which lay between them. This courſe they followed, which could not have availed them, if *Tiſſaphernes* had begun ſooner to cut off their victuals, rather than to ſeek to force, or circumvent them by his fine wit.

§. IX.

The difficulties which the Greek *Army found in paſſing thorow the Land of the* Carduchi.

ENtring upon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountred with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accuſtomed by force to defend themſelves againſt the huge Armies of the *Perſian*, were no way inferiour to the *Greeks* in daring, but only in the Art of War. They were very light of foot, skilful Archers, and uſed the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Country were of much uſe againſt theſe poor travellers, afflicting them in ſeven daies which they ſpent in that paſſage, far more than all the power of the Great King had done. Between the Territory of theſe *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ran *Centrites*, a great River, upon which the *Greeks* refreſhed themſelves one day, rejoycing that they had ſo well eſcaped theſe dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove eaſie. But the next morning they ſaw certain troops of Horſe, that lay to forbid their paſſage. Theſe were levied by the Kings Deputies in thoſe parts; *Tiſſaphernes* and his Companies having taken their way towards *Ionia*. The River was broad and deep, ſo that it was not poſſible for ſuch as would enter it, to make reſiſtance againſt thoſe which kept the oppoſite banks. To increaſe theſe dangers, the *Carduchi*, following upon them, lay on the ſide of a Mountain, within leſs than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to diſcover a Foord, by which the greater number of them paſſing over, did eaſily chaſe away the Subjects of the *Perſian*, and then ſending back the moſt expedite men, gave ſuccour to the Rear-ward, againſt which the *Carduchi*

duchi being ſlightly armed, could not on plain ground make reſiſtance hand to hand. Theſe *Carduchi* ſeem to have inhabited the Mountains of *Niphates*, which are not far from the Spring of *Tygris*, though *Ptolemy* place them far more to the Eaſt upon the River of *Cyrus* in *Media*; wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whoſe relation being grounded upon his own knowledge, doth beſt in this caſe deſerve credit. Of the River *Centrites* (as of many other Rivers, Towns, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may indure the ſeverity of a *Critick*. For *Ptolemy*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, add ſmall light to this Expedition: only of this laſt, I think it the ſame which falleth into *Tygris*, not much above *Artaſigarta*, ſpringing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Town of *Sardeva* in *Gordene*, a Province of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greeks* having paſſed *Centrites* did arrive.

§. X.

How Teribaſus *Governour of* Armenia, *ſeeking to entrap the* Greeks *with terms of feigned peace, was diſappointed, and ſhamefully beaten.*

THe Army finding in *Armenia* good proviſion, marched without any diſturbance about fifty or threeſcore miles to the heads of the River *Tygris*, and paſſing over them, travelled as far further without reſiſtance, till they were encountred by *Teribazus*, at the River *Teleboa*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though ſmall, but *Ptolemy* and others omit it. *Teribazus* governed that Country for the *Perſian*, and was in great favour with *Artaxerxes*, whoſe Court may ſeem to have been a School, where the Art of falſhood was taught as wiſdom. He deſired peace of the *Greeks*, which was made upon this condition, That they ſhould take what they pleaſed, but not burn down the Towns and Villages in their way. As ſoon as he had made this league, he levied an Army, & beſetting the ſtreights of certain Mountains which they were to paſs, hoped well to make ſuch benefit of their ſecurity, as might give him the commendation of being no leſs craftily diſhoneſt than *Tiſſaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of ſucceſs. For a great Snow fell, which cauſed the *Greeks* to make many fires, and ſcatter themſelves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* alſo made many fires, and ſome of his men wandred about ſeeking relief. By the fires he was diſcovered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken priſoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the *Greeks*, taking this captive with them for a guide, ſought him out; and coming upon his Camp, did ſo affright him, that before the whole Army could arrive there, the ſhout which was raiſed by the Van-currors, chaſed him away. They took his Pavillion, wherein (beſides many ſlaves, that were Artificers of voluptuouſneſs) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Army went Northward, and paſſing *Euphrates*, not far below the ſprings thereof, travelled with much difficulty through deep Snow, being followed aloof by the enemy, who durſt not approach them, but did cut off ſuch as they found ſtragling behind. The Inhabitants of the Country, thorow which they marched, had their wintering houſes under ground, wherein was found great plenty of Victuals, and of Cattel, which likewiſe did winter in the ſame Cellars with the owners. Having refreſhed themſelves in thoſe parts, and taken ſufficient eaſe after the miſerable journey, which had conſumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-ſlaves, and taking away (beſides other Horſes and Cattel) ſome Colts that were bred up for the Great King.

§. XI.

The paſſage of the Army to Trabyzond, *thorow the Countries bordering upon the River of* Phaſis, *and other obſcure Nations.*

SO without impediment they came to the River *Phaſis*, near whereunto the people called *Phaſiani*, *Tacchi*, and *Chalybes* were ſeated. Theſe Nations joyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountains, which the *Greeks* were to paſs, made countenance of war: but ſome Companies being ſent by night to ſeize upon a place of equal height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, ſecured the aſcent of the reſt; which cauſed theſe people to flye, every one retiring to the defence of his own. The firſt upon whoſe Country the *Greeks* did enter, were the *Tacchi*, who conveying all their proviſion of victuals into ſtrong holds, brought the Army into much want, until with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great ſtore of Cattel were taken; the people, to avoid captivity, threw themſelves head-long down the rocks, the very women throwing down

down first their own children, and then casting themselves upon them. Here was taken a great booty of Cattel, which served to feed them, travelling through the Land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the *Greeks* hand to hand, killing as many as they took prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great grief of their companions living; who were glad, when after seven dayes journey they escaped from those continual skirmishes, wherewith they had been vexed by these *Barbarians*. Hence travelling through a good corn-Country, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the *Scythini*, they came to a rich Town, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoyning, used them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountain, whence they might discover the *Euxine* Sea. From *Gymnius* (which was the name of his Town) he led them through the Territory of his enemies, desiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After five dayes march, they came to a Mountain called *Teches*, being (as I think) a part of the Mountains called *Moschici*, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course: and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones*, (with whom by means of an interpreter, found among themselves, who born in that place had been sold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of *Cholchos*, wherein stands the City of * *Trabisond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colony of the *Greeks*. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hostility, were requited with the like; for the Army having now good leisure to repose themselves among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did spoil the Country thirty dayes together, forbearing only the Borderers upon *Trabizond*, at the Citizens request.

* *Trabisond*, a Colony of the *Greeks*, situate in the bottom of the *Euxine* Sea.

§. XII.

How the Army began at Trabizond *to provide a Fleet, wherewith to return home by Sea: how they came into the Territory of* Synope, *and there prosecuted the same purpose.*

HAving now found an Haven-Town, the Souldiers were desirous to take shipping, and change their tedious Land-journies into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Cherisophus* a *Lacedæmonian*, one of the principal Commanders, promised by means of *Anaxibus* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who was his friend, that he would provide Vessels to embark them. Having thus concluded, they likewise took order for the staying of such ships as should pass that way, meaning to use them for their Navigation. Lest all this provision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Army, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adjoyning to clear the wayes, and make an easie passage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were utterly unwilling to give ear, being desirous to return by Sea: but the Country, fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophons* request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, forsaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of *Trabizond*: the other took Merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessels were stayed to increase the fleet. After long abode, when victuals began to fail, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchi*, near unto the Camp, was already quite wasted, they were fain to embark their sick men, with the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Army took their way by Land to *Cerasus*, a *Greek* Town, where the Fleet likewise arrived. Here the Army being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the Country of the * *Mosynaci*, who were divided into factions. The stronger party despising their friendship, caused them to joyn them with the weaker whom they left Masters of all.

* *Mosynaci* a Nation of *Pontus Cappadocum.*

The next place of their abode was [b] *Cotyora*, a *Greek* Town likewise, and a Colony of the *Synopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Cerasus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sick men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Town by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sick in convenient lodgings taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Provision for the Army they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territory of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Town. These news were unwelcome to [c] *Synope*, whence Embassadors were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings,

[b] *Cotyora* a Port-Town in the same Region.

[c] *Sinope* a Port-Town in *Leucosyria*, a Colony of the *Mylesians*.

lings, and threatning to joyn with the *Paphlagonians*, if redreſs could not otherwiſe be had, were roundly anſwered by *Xenophon*, That meer neceſſity had enforced the Army to teach thoſe of *Cotyora* good manners in ſo bad a method: letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the *Paphlagonian* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonian* would be glad to take *Sinope* it ſelf; to which, if cauſe were given, they would lend aſſiſtance. Upon this anſwer the Embaſſadours grew better adviſed, promiſing all friendſhip that the State of *Sinope* could ſhew, and commanding the Town of *Cotyora* to relieve the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promiſed to aſſiſt them with ſhipping, letting them underſtand how difficult the paſſage by Land would prove, in regard of the many and great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which croſſed their way. This good counſel, and the fair promiſes accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Army, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would ſpare for no coſt, to be freed from ſuch a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would paſs the reſt of the way by Sea; provided, that if there ſhould want ſuch number of Veſſels as might ſerve to imbark every one of them; then would they not put from the ſhore.

§. XIII.

Of diſſention which aroſe in the Army, and how it was embarked.

HItherto the danger of Enemies, and miſeries of weather and wants, had kept the company in firm unity; which now began to diſſolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring air of *Grecce*, warming their heads with private reſpects to their ſeveral ends and purpoſes. Whilſt they, who were ſent as Agents from the Camp, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* conſidering the ſtrength and valour of his men, and the opportunity of the coaſt whereon they lay, thought it would be an honorable work to build a City in thoſe parts, which were ſoon like to prove great and wealthy, in regard both of their own puiſſance, and of the great reſort of the *Greeks* into that quarter. For this cauſe he made ſacrifice, according to the ſuperſtition of his time and Country, divining of his ſucceſs by the entrails of beaſts. The Sooth-ſayer whom he imployed, had received a great reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give battel in ten days: he therefore, having preſerved his money carefully, was deſirous to be ſoon at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpoſe of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diverſity of mens opinions; ſome approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this conſultation, were ſore afraid, leſt the poverty of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintain themſelves at home, ſhould give ſucceſs to the project. Which to prevent, they promiſed to ſupply the Army with a ſufficient Fleet, and likewiſe offered mony to ſome of the Captains, who thereupon undertook to give the Souldiers pay, if they would preſently ſet ſail for *Grecce*. One of theſe Captains being a baniſhed man, deſired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to lead them into *Cherroneſus*. *Xenophon*, who deſired only the common good, was pleaſed greatly with theſe propoſitions, and profeſſed openly that he would have them to ſet forward, and hold together in any caſe, puniſhing him as a Traytor that ſhould forſake the Army, before ſuch time as they were arrived at their journeys end. *Silanus* the Sooth-ſayer, who had uttered *Xenophons* purpoſe, was hereby ſtayed from out-running his fellows, and driven to abide with his wealth among poor men, longer than ſtood with his good liking. Alſo the other Captains were much troubled and affraid, when they perceived, that ſhips were prepared ſufficient for their Navigation, but that the mony promiſed to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Army was now reſolved for the voyage, and that *Xenophon* whom they feared, had perſwaded them to this reſolution, thought it the wiſeſt way to furniſh them with a Navy, whilſt they were in good readineſs, to depart, but to keep the mony to themſelves. The Captains therefore, who being diſappointed by theſe Towns, found themſelves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with fair hopes, repented much of their fair offers, and ſignifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make propoſition to the Army, of taking the ſhips, and ſailing to *Phaſis*, where they might ſeize upon Lands, and plant themſelves in ſuch wiſe as ſhould ſtand beſt with their good liking. But finding him cold in the buſineſs, they began to work the principal of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the reſt. Theſe news becoming publick, bred a ſuſpition of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the reſt of the Captains to his purpoſe, and meant now

to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore assembling the Companies, he gave them satisfaction, and withal complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redress. A general inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadors from *Corylas*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending presents, desired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embassadors were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have been sought, for that the *Greeks*, having now their fleet in a readiness, did soon weigh Anchors, and set sail for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxilius*, who promised to give the Army pay as soon as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIV.

Another great dissention and distraction of the Army. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, *and rescued by* Xenophon.

THe nearer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not return home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Army were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose favour as well the Captains as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedæmonians*, who were jealous of him already (being incensed by that fugitive who forsook the Army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ships) or moved by some tokens appearing to him in the intrails that threatned ill success to his Government, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laid upon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedæmonian*. It seems that *Xenophon*, considering the vexation incident to the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting pay, did wisely in yielding to such tokens as forbad him to accept it: especially, knowing so well their desire, which was, by right or by wrong, to get wealth wheresoever it might be found, without all regard of friend or foe. *Cherisophus* had been General but six or seven days, when he was deposed; for having been unwilling to rob the Town of *Heraclea*, which had sent presents to the Camp, and been very beneficial unto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two daies they had sailed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Rivers, which would have given impediment to their journy by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea, one seditious man began to put them in mind of seeking to get somewhat for themselves; telling them that all their provision would be spent in three dayes, and that being now come out of the enemies Country, victuals and other necessaries could not be had without money; for which cause he gave advice to send messengers into the Town of *Heraclea*, giving the Citizens to understand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of mony, called *Cyzicens*, which sum amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raised to ten thousand *Cyzicens* at least; which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*, as being General, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*, but in vain, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishoneſt. Lest therefore either of these should fail in managing the business which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudency and less discretion were sent; who in such wise delivered their insolent message that the Citizens taking time to deliberate upon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Town, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the Walls. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their ravenous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians* and *Achæans*, they forsook immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, chusing new Leaders out of their own number. Above four thousand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten captains, sailed into the Port of *Calphas*, which is in the midway between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium*, with purpose to assail the *Bythinians* on the sudden. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and four hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and forty horse; which small band had done good service already, and could not have been spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Governor of *Byzantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the River *Calphas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies

Gallies to convey him over into *Greece*; for which cauſe he took his way thither by Land, leaving to *Xenophon* ſuch ſhipping as he had; who paſſing ſome part of the way by Sea, landed upon the confines of *Heraclea*, and *Thraſia Aſiatica*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land Country to the *Propont*. The Mutiners who had landed at *Calphas* by night, with purpoſe to take ſpoils in *Bythinia*, divided themſelves into ten Companies, every Captain leading his own Regiment into ſome Village, five or ſix miles from the Sea; in the greater Towns were two Regiments quartered: and ſo was that part of the Country ſurpriſed on the ſudden, and ſacked all at one time. The place of Rendezvouz was an high piece of Ground, where ſome of them arrived, finding no diſturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger: two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men eſcaped, the reſt were all put to the ſword. For the *Thracians* which had ſlipt at firſt out of the Souldiers hands, did raile the Country; and finding the *Greeks* loaden with booty, took the advantage of their diſorder, cutting in pieces thoſe two Regiments: which done, they attempted the reſt, encompaſſing the hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleaſure make retrait from theſe *Arcadians* and *Achæans*, who wanting the aſſiſtance of horſe, and having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to ſtand meerly upon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many wounds received, the Darts and Arrows of the *Barbarians*, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to crave parly. Whatſoever the Articles of compoſition were, the *Thracians* yielded to all; but pledges for aſſurance they would give none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promiſes of ſuch people, eſpecially ſo incenſed, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of ſome Travellers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* Army, paſſing along thoſe parts: and receiving by them true information of the deſperate caſe into which theſe Gallants had fooliſhly thrown themſelves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides, them who gave him the intelligence. His horſemen he ſent before to diſcover, and to ſcour the ways; the light armed footmen took the hill tops on either hand, all of them ſetting fire on whatſoever they found combuſtible: whereby the whole Country ſeemed to be on a light flame, to the great terrour of the enemies, who thought that ſome huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five miles of the *Arcadians*, encreaſing ſtill the number of his fires, which he cauſed haſtily to be quenched ſoon after ſupper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon them in the dark, which cauſed them in all haſte to diſlodge. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* coming thither in very good order, to have given battel, found that his device, to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Greeks* were alſo departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they removed at break of day, and perceived by ſigns that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calphas*, in which journey he overtook them. They embraced him and his, with great joy: confeſſing that they themſelves had thought the ſame which the enemies did, looking that he ſhould have come by night; wherein finding themſelves deceived, they were afraid leſt he had forſaken them, and therefore haſtened away to overtake him, and joyn with him. So they arrived at the Haven of *Calphas*, where it was decreed, That whoſoever from thenceforth made any motion to diſ-joyn the Army, ſhould ſuffer death.

§. XV.

Of divers pieces of ſervice done by Xenophon; *and how the Army returned into* Greece. *The occaſions of the War between the* Lacedæmonians *and the* Perſians.

THE Haven of *Calphas* lay under a goodly Head-land, that was very ſtrong, and abounding with all kind of Grain and Fruits, except Olives. There was alſo Timber for building and ſhipping, and a very convenient Sea for a great City. All which commodities that might have allured the Souldiers to ſtay there, and to plant, cauſed them to haſte away, fearing leſt *Xenophon* ſhould find ſome device to have ſettled himſelf and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good means to live at home; neither did they ſo much for hope of gain follow *Cyrus* in that War, as in regard of his Honour, and the love which they bare unto him: the poorer ſort were ſuch as left their Parents, Wives and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchaſe) they were now deſirous to return. But whether it were ſo that *Xenophon* found advantage by their own ſuperſtition, to make them ſtay,

which they greatly ſuſpected; or whether the ſigns appearing in the entrails, did indeed forbid their departure; ſo long they were inforced to abide in the place till victuals failed: neither would the Captains lead them forth to forrage the Country, until the Sacrifices ſhould promiſe good ſucceſs. *Cheriſophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ſhips were gone, being returned to the *Heracleans*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joyned to the reſt of the Army, which the greater it was, the more proviſion it needed, & the ſooner felt want. For which cauſe, he that was choſen Colonel into the place of *Cheriſophus*, would needs adventure to gratifie the Souldiers with the ſpoil of ſome Villages that ſtood near at hand; in which enterprize he found ill ſucceſs, the whole Country lying in wait to intrap him, and an Army of Horſe being ſet by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrapa*, or *Vice-roy* of *Phrygia*, to the aſſiſtance of theſe *Bythinian Thracians*, which troops falling upon the *Greeks* that were ſcattered abroad in ſeeking booty, ſlew five hundred of them, and chaſed the reſt to a certain Mountain thereby. The news of this overthrow coming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army, to the reſcue of thoſe that ſurvived, and brought them ſafe to the Camp; upon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps du guarde*, ſlew ſome, purſuing the reſt to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the preſent condition of the Army, ſo diſheartned and unfurniſhed of neceſſaries, cauſed the *Greeks* to remove their Camp to a place of more ſtrength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of ſuch as were leaſt able to endure travel. *Xenophon* with the firmeſt and beſt able men went forth, both to bury thoſe which were lately ſlain, and to abate the pride of the *Thraſians*, and their aſſiſtants. In this journey his demeanor was very honourable. For having given burial to the dead, the enemy was diſcovered, lying on the tops of the hills adjoyning, to whom (notwithſtanding that the way was very rough & troubleſome, ſo that ſome thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backs a wood ſcarce paſſable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with half the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many; and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarians*, he would not fail with the greater reſolution to purſue them; from whom if they could ſafely retire to the camp, yet what ſhould they do there, wanting victuals to ſuſtain them in the place, and ſhips to carry them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their dinners, than another day faſting; and not to regard the uneaſie return, which might ſerve to ſtay Cowards from running away, but to wiſh unto the Enemy a fair and eaſie way, by which he might fly from them. Theſe perſwaſions were followed with ſo valiant execution, that both *Perſians* and *Bythinians* being chaſed out of the field, abandoned the Country forthwith, removing their Families, and leaving all that could not ſuddenly be conveighed away, to the diſcretion of the *Greeks*, who had good leiſure gathered the Harveſt of theſe bad Neighbours fields. This was the laſt fight which they had on the ſide of *Aſia*. For they were not only ſuffered quietly to enjoy the ſpoil of the Country, but when the opinion grew common in thoſe parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony on the Port of *Calpas*, Embaſſadours were ſent from the Neigbour people, to deſire friendſhip, and make offer of their beſt aſſiſtance. But the Souldiers had no mind to ſtay. Wherefore entring further into *Bythinia*, they took a great booty, which they carried away unto *Chryſopolis*, a City near unto *Chalcedon*, where they ſold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly fear, leſt their long ſtay in that Country might breed in them a deſire to viſit his Province, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he ſent to the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, intreating him with much inſtance and large promiſes to waft them over into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admiral condeſcending, promiſed to give the Souldiers pay, as ſoon as they arrived at *Byzantium*. So were they carried out of *Aſia* at the intreaty of the *Perſian*, who in the height of his pride had thought them ſo ſurely impriſoned with mighty Rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to ſurrender their Arms into his hands, and ſo to yield their lives to his diſcretion. How diſcourteouſly they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how, to requite his injurious dealings, they ſeized upon *Byzantium*, which by *Xenophons* perſwaſion they forbare to ſack; I hold it ſuperfluous to relate. For the reſidue of their doings appertain little to the general courſe of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, ſo did it both diſcover the ſecrets of *Aſia*, and ſtir up the *Greeks* to think upon greater enterprizes, than ever their forefathers had undertaken. Likewiſe

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it was the only remarkable action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* Wars did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Towns of *Italy*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet, the *Lacedæmonians* ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seeds of the War shortly following, which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Artaxerxes*, were already sown, before these Companies returned out of the high Countries of *Asia*. For the Towns of *Ionia*, which had sided with young *Cyrus* against *Tissaphernes*, if not against the Great King, prepared to rebel; which they thought safer, than to fall into the hands of *Tissaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Province, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* besought the *Lacedemonians* to send them aid, whereby to recover their liberty; and obtained their request. For a power was sent over, under conduct of *Thimbro* a *Spartan*, who bestowed his men in such Towns as had already revolted, to secure the Cities, and their Fields, but not to make any offensive War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Affairs of Greece, *whilst they were managed by the* Lacedemonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedæmonians *took courage by example of* Xenophons *Army, to make War upon* Artaxerxes.

IT seems that the *Lacedæmonians* did well perceive in how ill part *Artaxerxes* took their favour shewed unto his Brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open War against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no advantage might slip, which could serve to strengthen their Estate, by finding the *Persian* work beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophons* Army had revealed the baseness of those effeminate Asiatiques, and rehearsed the many Victories which they themselves had gotten, upon terms of extreme disadvantage; then was all *Greece* filled with desire of undertaking upon this huge unweildy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joynt-forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to *Susa*, whereof one handful had opened the passage to *Babylon*; and further, finding no power that was able to give them resistance, in all that long journey of four and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty five furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about four thousand two hundred fourscore and one, a very painful march of one year and three months. Nevertheless, the civil distraction, wherewith *Greece* was miserably torn, and especially that hot fire of the *Theban* War, which, kindled with *Persian* gold, brake forth suddenly into a great flame, drew back out of *Asia* the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the defence of their own Estate; leaving it questionable, whether *Agesilaus* having both the same, and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two years, which he spent in *Asia*, his deeds procured more commendation of magnanimity and fair behaviour, than of stout courage, and great or profitable atchievements. For how highly soever it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other Wars, to extol his virtue; his exploits being onely a few incursions into the Countries lying near the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophons* own journey, which I know not whether any Age hath parallel'd: the famous retrait of *Conon* the *Briton* with six thousand men from *Aqualeia*, to his own Country, through all the breadth of *Italy*, and length of *France*, in despite of the Emperor *Theodosius*, being rather like it than equal. But of *Agesilaus* and his Wars in *Asia* and *Greece*, we shall speak more in due place.

§. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the War in Asia.

THimbro receiving *Xenophons* men, began to take in Towns, and to entertain all such as were willing to revolt from the *Persian*, who were many, and some of them such, as had been highly beholding to the King;

King; who seem to have had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to live under the Government of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate, as the King his Master did love him. The managing of the War begun by *Thimro*, was for his oppressions taken out of his hands; and committed to *Dercyllidas* a *Spartan*, who behaved himself as a good man of War, and a wise Commander. For whereas the Rule of the low-Countries of *Asia* was divided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, who did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the Worthier man, but the other by his Princes favour the greater, and having the chief command in those Wars against the *Greeks*; *Dercyllidas*, who did bear a private hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischievous nature, and would not be sorry to see his Corrival throughly beaten, though to the Kings loss) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes*, and forthwith entred *Æolis*, which was under the jurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Province in few daies, he brought into his own power.

That Country of *Æolis* had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gave easie success to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a *Dardanian* had been Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death his Wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein she behaved her self so well, that she not only was beloved of the people under her Government, but enlarged her Territory, by the conquest of certain Towns adjoyning; and sundry times gave assistance to *Pharnabazus* in his Wars against the *Mysians* and *Persians*. For she had in pay some Companies of *Greeks*, whose valour by her good usage, did her great service. But somewhat before the arrival of *Dercyllidas* in those parts, a Son in law of hers, called *Midias*, whom she trusted and loved much, being blinded with ambition, found means to stifle her, and kill her Son of seventeen years old; which done, he seized upon two of her principal Towns, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to have been admitted into possession of her whole Estate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with Presents to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to make him Governour in the place of *Mania*. His Presents were not only rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but revenge of his foul treason threatned, whereby the wicked villain was driven into terms of almost utter desperation. In the mean time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Towns of *Mania*, that held against *Midias*, did quickly open their gates. One only Town stood out four daies (against the will of the Citizens, who were covetous of liberty) the Governor striving in vain to have kept it to the use of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, *Gergethe* and *Scepsis*, which the Traytor held; who fearing all men, as being loved of none, sent Embassadors to *Dercyllidas*, desiring leave to speak with him, and pledges for his security: upon the delivery of which, he issued out of *Scepsis*, and coming into the Camp, made offer to joyn with the *Greeks* upon such conditions as might seem reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to set the Citizens freely at liberty. And presently upon these words they marched toward *Scepsis*. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vain to strive against the Army, and the Townsmen, who were all of one mind; he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*, who remaining but a few hours in the City, did a sacrifice to *Minerva*, and then leading away the Garrison of *Midias*, he left the City free, and departed toward *Gergethe*. *Midias* did not forsake his company, but followed him, earnestly entreating that he might be suffered to retain *Gergethe*: but coming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened; for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I must here likewise do a sacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traytor, not daring to make denial, caused his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, tendred pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serve under his Ensigns. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were seized upon, as belonging to one that had been subject to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemy to the *Greeks*: and so the murderous Wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might find any place to hide his detested head. *Dercyllidas* having in eight daies taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in *Bythinia*, to which end he took Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of War. That Winter, and the Summer ensuing, the Truce being continued, held; in which time, besides the wasting of *Bythinia*, the neck of Land joyning *Cherronea* to the Main, was fortified, being four or five miles in breadth; by which means eleven Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wilde *Thracians*, and made fit and able to victual the Camp. Likewise the City of *Atarne* was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with provision. After this, *Dercyllidas* had

had command from *Sparta* to divert the War into *Caria*, where was the ſeat of *Tiſſaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not uneaſie to recover all the Towns of *Ionia*: *Pharax* the Admiral of the fleet (which was a yearly office) being appointed to joyn with him. Though it was manifeſt that *Tiſſaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of neceſſity; yet was he not in his own danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus*, having reſpect to the Kings ſervice, came to aſſiſt his private enemy *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſo paſſing into *Caria*, they thruſt Garriſons into all places of ſtrength; which done, they marched towards *Ionia*, hoping to find the Towns ill manned for reſiſtance. As the *Perſians* were deſirous to keep the War from their own doors, ſo was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the *Ionians* from the ſpoil and danger of the War, by tranſferring it into *Caria*. For which cauſe he paſſed the River of *Mæander*; and not looking to have been ſo ſoon encountred, marched carelеſſly through the Country: when on the very ſudden the whole Army of *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was diſcovered, conſiſting of *Perſians*, *Carians*, and ſome Mercenary *Greeks*, who were all marſhalled in very good order to preſent battel. The odds was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readineſs, as alſo in advantage of ground: for the *Perſians* had a great multitude of Horſe, the *Greeks* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plain. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the Illanders and others, of ſuch places as bordered upon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themſelves to preſent flight; or abiding a while for ſhame, did plainly diſcover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wiſe. Only *Dercyllidas* with his *Peloponneſians*, regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight, which muſt needs have brought them to deſtruction, if the counſel of *Pharnabazus* had been followed; who perceiving the opportunity of ſo great a victory, was not willing to let it ſlip. But *Tiſſaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, ſeeing that countenance of reſiſtance was made, began to conſider, what ſtrange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had ſhewed, and thinking that all the *Greeks* were of the like reſolution, held it the wiſeſt way to crave parley; the concluſion of which was, That a Truce ſhould be made, to laſt until *Tiſſaphernes* might receive anſwer from the King, and *Dercyllidas* from *Sparta*, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were, on the one part, That all the *Greeks* in *Aſia* might enjoy their own liberty and Laws; but contrariwiſe on the other ſide, That the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould depart *Aſia*, and leave the Towns to the Kings pleaſure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it ſerved to free the *Greeks* from the preſent danger, and to gain time unto *Tiſſaphernes*, who deſired to avoid the War by procraſtination, which he durſt not adventure to finiſh by tryal of a battel.

§. III.

How the Lacedæmonians *took revenge upon the* Eleans *for old diſpleaſures. The diſcontents of the* Corinthians *and* Thebans, *conceived againſt the State of* Sparta.

IN the mean ſeaſon the *Lacedæmonians*, who found none able to withſtand them in *Greece*, began to call the *Eleans* to accompt for ſome diſgraces received by them during the late Wars, when leiſure was wanting to the requital of ſuch petty injuries. Theſe *Eleans* being Preſidents of the *Olympian* Games, had ſet a fine upon the City of *Sparta*; for Non-payment of which, they forbad them to come to the ſolemnity; and publickly whipt one of them that was of note, for preſuming to contend againſt their Decree. Likewiſe they hindred *Agis* King of *Sparta* from doing ſacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points uſed great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no buſineſs that could hinder them from taking revenge: and therefore ſent a peremptory meſſage to the *Eleans*, commanding them to ſet at liberty the Cities which they held in ſubjection. This was the uſual pretence, which they made the ground of all their Wars: though little they cared for the liberty of ſuch Towns, which they cauſed afterwards to become followers, and little better than meer Vaſſals of the *Lacedæmonians*. In their late Wars with *Athens*, the ſtrong oppoſition which they found, cauſed this goodly Title of liberty to work very ſlowly: but having now to do with a State of great ſpirit and ſmall force, it gave preſent ſucceſs to their deſires. Two years together they ſent an Army into the Country of the *Eleans*: the firſt year an Earthquake (held in thoſe times a prodigious ſign, and which did always forbid the proſecution of any enterprize in hand) cauſed them to retire: the ſecond year, all the Towns of the *Eleans* did haſtily revolt, and the City it ſelf was driven to ſubmiſſion; conſenting both to ſuffer their old ſubjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her own Walls thrown down. Only the Preſidentſhip of the *Olympian* Games

was

was left unto them, which it was not to be doubted that they would in time coming ufe modeſtly, finding themſelves to ſtand at the mercy of *Sparta*. in this expedition all the *Greeks* were aſſiſtant to the *Lacedæmonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Beotians*, whoſe aid having been of as much importance in the late *Peloponneſian* War, as the force of *Sparta* it ſelf, they could not ſmother their diſlike of their unequal diviſion following the victory: which gave to *Sparta* the command of all *Greece*; to *Thebes* and *Corinth*, onely ſecurity againſt *Athens*, but ſuch a ſecurity as was worſe than the danger. For when the equal greatneſs of two mighty Eſtates, did counterpoiſe each the other, it was in the power of theſe Neutral Common-weals to adhere to either, as the condition of their affairs required; but when, to revenge injuries, they had by mortal hatred proſecuted the War to extremity, leaving the one City naked of power and friends, the other nightly increaſed in both; it was then (if not neceſſary to obey the greatneſs which themſelves had made, yet) foolish and dangerous to provoke it. Nevertheleſs, it was not the purpoſe of the *Spartans*, to take occaſion of any quarrel, which they could not finiſh at pleaſure, till ſuch time as they had by victory or compoſition made ſome good end with the *Perſian*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§. IV.

The paſſage of Ageſilaus *into* Aſia. *His War with* Tiſſaphernes. *How* Tiſſaphernes *was put to death; and the War diverted into another Province, through perſwaſion and gifts of* Tithrauſtes *his ſucceſſor. How careleſs the* Perſian *Lieutenants were of the Kings good.*

Ageſilaus newly made King of *Sparta*, was deſirous to have the honour of the victory, which not without cauſe, he expected upon thoſe of *Aſia*; and therefore procuring a great Army to joyn with that of *Dercyllidas*, he took his way in great pomp to *Aulis* in *Bœotia*, a Haven lying oppoſite to the Iland of *Eubœa*; in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the War againſt *Troy* many Ages before) had imbarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon*, he meant alſo to do ſacrifice in *Aulis*, which the *Thebans*, Lords of that Country, would not permit, but ſaying, that the performance of ſuch Ceremonies in that place, belonged unto their Officers; they were ſo unable to conceal their malice, that ſending ſome Companies of horſe, they threw down his ſacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for *Ageſilaus* to entangle himſelf and his Country in a new War; therefore waiting better opportunity of revenge, he quietly ſwallowed the contumely, and followed his main intendment. Having landed his men at *Epheſus*, he was entertained by *Tiſſaphernes* with a Treaty of peace, wherein *Ageſilaus* peremptorily requiring that the *Perſian* ſhould reſtore to liberty all the *Greek* Towns in *Aſia*, was promiſed that the King, being firſt informed of his demand, ſhould ſend anſwer to his good liking, if he would in the mean while make Truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tiſſaphernes* had ſought, only to win time of making proviſion for the War, and getting ſupply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*, whilſt *Ageſilaus* was buſie in ſetling the eſtates of his confederate Cities on that ſide of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from war was at the coming down of theſe Forces which *Artaxerxes* had ſent: at what time *Ageſilaus* received a plain meſſage from *Tiſſaphernes*, that either he muſt forthwith depart out of *Aſia*, or make good his abode by ſtrong hand. *Ageſilaus* returning word, that he was glad to hear that his enemies had by perjury deſerved vengeance from heaven, prepared to invade them; and ſending word to all the Towns which lay between him and *Caria*, that they ſhould provide victuals and other neceſſaries for his Army, did eaſily make *Tiſſaphernes* believe, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein *Tiſſaphernes* dwelt, and which was unfit for Horſe, in which part of his Forces the *Perſian* had moſt confidence. Therefore *Tiſſaphernes* beſtowing all his Companies of foot in *Caria*, entred with his Horſe into the plains of *Mæander*, hoping thereby to ſtop the paſſage of a heavy foot-army, not ſuffering them to paſs into that Country which was fitteſt for their ſervice. but the *Greeks* left him waiting there in vain, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, where they took great ſpoil without reſiſtance, till ſuch time as the Horſemen of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a ſmall skirmiſh having the better of the *Greeks*, were the occaſion that *Ageſilaus* returned to *Epheſus*. Although in this laſt fight only twelve men were loſt, yet *Ageſilaus* perceiving by that tryal how hard it would be to prevail, and hold the maſtery of the field, without a greater ſtrength of Horſe, took all poſſible care to increaſe that part of his forces. By which means having enabled

enabled himſelf, whilſt Winter laſted, he entred upon the Country of *Tiſſaphernes*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the Horſe-men of *Tiſſaphernes* in the plain of *Maander*, without aſſiſtance of their infantery, he gave them battel, and had a great Victory, taking their Camp, in which he found great riches. The blame of this loſs fell heavy upon *Tiſſaphernes*, who either upon cowardiſe had abſented himſelf from the battel, or following ſome other buſineſs, was then at *Sardis*. For which cauſe his Maſter having him in diſtruſt, and thinking that peace might be the ſooner had, which he much deſired, if the man, ſo odious to the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, were taken out of the way; he ſent into thoſe parts *Tithrauſtes a Perſian*, to cut off the head of *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſucceed him in the Government. Such was the end of this baſe and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heaven, when by perjury he could advance his purpoſes on Earth, failed at the laſt, through too much over-weening of his own wiſdom, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himſelf moſt perfect; for ſuppoſing, that by his great skill in ſubtile negotiation he ſhould one way or other circumvent the *Greeks*, and make them weary of *Aſia*; he did not ſeek to finiſh the War, and, according to his Maſters wiſh, bring all things ſpeedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might find ſome opportunity of making ſuch end as might beſt ſtand with the Kings honour and his own. Wherein it ſeems that he much miſtook his Princes diſpoſition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aid which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found ſuch means whereby the danger it ſelf might have been avoided: as not loving to have War, whilſt by any conditions (honourable, or not) he might obtain peace. And this appeared well by the courſe which *Tithraustes* took at his firſt poſſeſſion of the low-Countries. For he ſent Embaſſadours to *Ageſilaus*, in very friendly ſort letting him know, that the man who had been Authour of the War, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleaſure to let the *Greeks* enjoy their own laws and liberty, upon condition, that they ſhould pay him the tribute accuſtomed, and the Army be forthwith diſmiſſed. The anſwer to this propoſition, was by *Ageſilaus* referred to the Council of *Sparta*; in the mean ſeaſon he was content to transfer the War into the Province of *Pharnabazus*, at the requeſt of *Tithraustes*, who bought his departure with thirty Talents.

This was a ſtrange manner of War, both on the offenſive, and the defenſive part. For *Ageſilaus* having entertained great hopes of vanquiſhing the great King, was contented to forbear his ſeveral Provinces, at the entreaty of the Lieutenants: and thoſe Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintain his Eſtates againſt all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might eaſily be taken from their ſhoulders) were little offended at any loſs that fell on their next Neighbour-Princes, which were ſubject likewiſe to the ſame Crown of *Perſia*, ſo long as their own Government could be preſerved from waſte and danger. The cauſe of this diſorder on the *Perſian* ſide, I can aſcribe to nothing ſo deſervedly, as to the corrupted eſtate of the Court, wherein Eunuchs, Concubines, and miniſters of pleaſure, were able, by partial conſtruction, to countenance, or diſgrace, the actions of ſuch as had the managing of things abroad; and to that fooliſh manner of the Kings (which was ſo uſual that it might be called a rule) to reward or puniſh the Provincial Governour, according to the benefit or loſs, which the Country, given in charge unto each of them, received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to paſs, that as every one was deſirous to make his own territory yield a large increaſe to the Kings treaſure, ſo no man was carefull to aſſiſt his borderers, if loſs or danger might thereby grow to himſelf and his; but ſate ſtill as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces, it had not been uneaſie to recompence the ſpoil of one Country, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater miſeries.

§. V.

The War and Treaty between Ageſilaus *and* Pharnabazus.

Ageſilaus having thus compounded with *Tithraustes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and waſting the Country without reſiſtance. He took the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant drave him out of the Camp. Theſe Actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their luſtre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of ſtrength, which might have encreaſed his power, and given aſſurance to the reſt of his proceedings: but purchaſed fame and high reputation, by which he drew

unto him ſome that were diſcontented and ſtood upon bad terms with the great King; whom he loſt again as eaſily, by means of ſome ſlight injury done to them by his under-Captains. *Pharnabazus* did not encloſe himſelf in any Town, for fear of being beſieged, but kept the field, lying as neer as he could ſafely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpoſe to fight, but to make ſome good end by compoſition, which he found not uneaſie to do. For the pleaſures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their moſt neceſſity, had been ſo great, that when he (obtaining parley) did ſet before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his love, (which had been ſuch, that beſides many other hazzards of his perſon, he had for the reſcue of their fleet, when it was driven to run aſhore at *Abydus*, adventured to ride into the Seas as far as he could find any ground, and fight on Horſe-back againſt the *Athenians*) together with his faith which had never been violated in word or deed: they knew not how to excuſe their ingratitude, otherwiſe than by telling him, That having War with his Maſter, they were inforced againſt their will, to offend him. *Ageſilaus* did make a fair offer to him, that if he would revolt from the King to them, they would maintain him againſt the *Perſian*, and eſtabliſh him free Prince of the Countrey wherein he was at that time only Deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Maſter did put him in truſt to make war againſt them, he would not fail to do the beſt that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then ſhift ſide, and betake himſelf to their alliance. The iſſue of this parley was, That the Army ſhould no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor again return into it, whileſt employment could be found elſewhere. The excuſe made by *Ageſilaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of thoſe parts, were not ſufficient to appeaſe *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not invaded for want of more neceſſary buſineſs elſewhere; but becauſe his Countrey would yield great booty, and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the *Lacedæmonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their unthankfulneſs with full revenge.

§. VI.

The great commotions raiſed in Greece *by the* Thebans *and others, that were hired with gold from the* Perſian.

IN the mean while *Tithrauſtes*, perceiving that *Ageſilaus* meant nothing leſs than to return into *Greece*, and let *Artaxerxes* reſt quietly in *Aſia*, took a wiſe courſe, whereby the City of *Sparta* was not only driven to look to her own, and give over her great hopes of ſubverting the Empire; but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late victories, and ſaw her Dominion reſtrained unto the narrow bounds of her own Territory. He ſent into *Greece* fifty talents of ſilver, to be imployed in raiſing war againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; which treaſure was by the ſubtle practice of him that was put in truſt with it, in ſuch wiſe diſperſed among the principal men of the *Thebans*, *Argives*, and *Corinthians*, that all thoſe Eſtates having formerly born ſecret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now deſirous of nothing ſo much, as of open war. And leſt this great heat of the incenſed multitude ſhould, for want of preſent exerciſe, begin to faint and vaniſh away in idle words, occaſion was found out to thruſt the *Lacedæmonians* into Arms, that they themſelves might ſeem Authors of the quarrel. Some land there was in the tenure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claim; but the *Phocians* either having the better title, or finding the greater favour, had it adjudged unto them, and received yearly money for it. This money the *Locrians* were either hired or perſwaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning ſo to loſe their Rent, made a diſtreſs by ſtrong hand, recovering a great deal more than their own; which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tenants) requited with an invaſion made upon *Phocis*, waſting that Countrey in the manner of open war. Such were the beginnings of profeſſed hoſtility between *Thebes* & *Sparta*, & the firſt breaking out of their cloſe enmity, that had long time, though hardly, been concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embaſſadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the violence done by the *Thebans*, & requeſting ſuccour, they had very favourable audience, & ready conſent to their ſuit, it being the manner of the *Lacedæmonians* to defer the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occaſion of revenge were offer'd, & then to diſcover their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunity to work their

their own wills, having no other war to diſturb them in *Greece*, and hearing out of *Aſia* no news that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they ſent *Lyſander* to raiſe all the Countries about *Phocis*, and with ſuch forces as he could levy, to attend the coming of *Pauſanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath been ſhewed before, had two Kings) who ſhould follow him with the ſtrength of *Peloponneſus*. *Lyſander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in thoſe parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to revolt from *Thebes*. *Pauſanias* likewiſe raiſed all *Peloponneſus*, except the *Corinthians* (who refuſed, to aſſiſt him in that enterpriſe) meaning to joyn with *Lyſander*, and make a ſpeedy end of the war. The conſideration of ſo great a danger, approaching ſo ſwiftly, cauſed the *Thebans* to ſeek what help they could abroad, foraſmuch as their own ſtrength was far too little to make reſiſtance againſt ſuch mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwiſe affected in heart, than they durſt utter in countenance; but the good wiſhes of ſuch people were little available, conſidering that the moſt which could be expected from them, was, that they ſhould do as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiverſation, the *Corinthians* did at that preſent caſt themſelves into the diſpleaſure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the ſafeſt courſe to procure the aſſiſtance of ſome Eſtate that might preſently declare it ſelf on their ſide, which would cauſe many others to follow the example, and make their party ſtrong. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours to *Athens*, excuſing old offences, as either not committed by publick allowance, or done in time of the general war, and recompenced with friendſhip lately ſhewn in their refuſal of aſſiſting *Pauſanias*, when he came in behalf of the thirty Tyrants againſt the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their own Honour ſake, they requeſted them of aid in the preſent war, offering to do the beſt that they could for the reſtoring of *Athens* to her former eſtate and dignity. *Thraſybulus* and his Friends, who, perſecuted by the Thirty, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the City to make a large requital of the courteſie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* ſhould not only refuſe to aid the *Lacedæmonians* in this War; but that it ſhould aſſiſt the *Thebans*, and engage it ſelf in their cauſe. Whilſt *Pauſanias* lay ſtill waiting the arrival of his Confederates; *Lyſander* being deſirous to do ſomewhat that might advance the buſineſs in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where, though *Pauſanias* did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the Town, and was ſlain in fight by the *Thebans*, who came haſtily to the reſcue. As this victory did incourage the *Thebans*, ſo the coming of *Pauſanias* with his great Army did again amaze them, with preſentation of extreme danger; but their ſpirits were ſoon revived by the ſtrong ſuccour which was brought from *Athens*, in conſideration of which, and of the late battel, *Pauſanias* durſt not hazzard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of thoſe that were ſlain, by compoſition, departed out of their Territory; for which, either cowardiſe or indiſcretion, he was at his return to *Sparta* condemned as a Traitor, and driven to flie unto *Tegea*, where he ended his dayes in baniſhment.

§. VII.

How Ageſilaus *was called out of* Aſia *to help his Countrey. A victory of the* Spartans. Conon *the* Athenian *aſſiſted by* Pharnabazus, *overcomes the* Lacedæmonian *Fleet; recovers the maſtery of the Seas, and re-builds the walls of* Athens.

THis good ſucceſs, and the confederacy made with *Athens*, gave ſuch reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, and *Acarnanes*, did forthwith ſide with them, and raiſing a ſtrong Army, determined to give battel to the *Lacedæmonians* as near as they might, to their own doors; Conſidering that the force of *Sparta* it ſelf was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magiſtrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, ſent for *Ageſilaus*, who readily obeyed them, and promiſing his friends in *Aſia* to return ſpeedily to their aſſiſtance, paſſed the Streights of *Helleſpont* into *Europe*. In the mean time, the Cities of the new league had given battel to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the remainder of their Aſſociats; but with ill ſucceſs. For when the right wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the chaſe in ſome diſorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedæmonians*, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedæmonians*, and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The reporters of this battell meeting *Ageſilaus* at *Amphipolis*, were by

him ſent over into *Aſia*, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his friend, who had ſince his departure ſeen the *Spartan* Fleet beaten, and *Lyſander* the Admiral ſlain. The ſame man, whoſe endeavour had brought the *Athenians* into order by advancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedæmonians* with money, and all manner of ſupplies, was now the occaſion that the power of *Athens* grew ſtrong at Sea, when the City was deſpoyled of her old reputation, and ſcarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her defence. *Pharnabazus* conſidering how much it imported the King his Maſter, to have the *Greeks* divided into ſuch factions as might utterly diſable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the ſafeſt way for himſelf, during theſe broils, to take ſuch order, that he ſhould not need any more to ſeek peace by intreaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who unprovoked, had ſold his love for thirty Talents. To which purpoſe he furniſhed *Conon* the *Athenian* with eight ſhips, who had eſcaped when the Fleet of *Athens* was ſurprized by *Lyſander* at *Ægos-Potamos*; giving him the command of a great *Navy*, wherewith he requited the loſs received at *Ægos-Potamos*, by repaying the *Lacedæmonians* with the like deſtruction of their fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victory *Conon* ſailed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victory, ſo ſtrong a *Navy*, and ſo much Gold, as encouraged the *Athenians* to rebuild their Walls, and think more hopefully upon recovering the Signiory which they had loſt.

§. VIII.

Of ſundry ſmall victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians *loſe all in* Aſia; *the* Athenians *recover ſome part of their old Dominion.*

NEvertheleſs, the *Lacedæmonians*, by many victories at Land, maintained for ſome years the honour of their Eſtate, endangered very greatly by this loſs at Sea. For *Ageſilaus* obtained the better with his horſe-men from the *Theſſalians*, who were accounted the beſt riders in *Greece*. He waſted *Bœtia*, and fought a great battel at *Coronea* againſt the *Thebans* and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his Marſhall *Gylis* forraged the Countrey of *Locris*: which done, he returned home.

The gain of theſe victories was not great, and the reputation of them was, by many loſſes, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the battel of *Coronea* vanquiſh the *Orchomenians*, who ſtood oppoſite unto them, and retired unbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Ageſilaus* charged them in the return from the purſute. Likewiſe *Gylis* was ſlain with a great part of his Army by the *Locrians*; and ſome other exploits by the *Lacedæmonians* performed againſt the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equal dammage, received in the parts adjoyning; many Towns being eaſily taken, and as eaſily recovered. The variety of which enterfeats was ſuch, that the *Thebans* themſelves were drawn by the loſs of the haven of *Corinth*, to ſue for peace, but could not get audience, till ſuch time as the news came of a great victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, General of the *Athenian* forces at *Lechæum*; whereupon the *Theban* Embaſſadors being ſent for, and willed to do their meſſage, required only in ſcorn, to have a ſafe conduct given them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the War was made for a while only by incurſions, wherein the *Achæans*, Confederates of *Sparta*, felt much loſs, their whole State being endangered by the *Acarnanians*; who held with the contrary ſide, until *Ageſilaus* repayed theſe invaders with equal, or greater calamities, brought upon their own Lands, which did ſo afflict the *Acarnans*, that they were driven to ſue for peace. But the affairs at Sea were of moſt conſequence, upon which the ſucceſs of all depended. For when the Towns of *Aſia* perceived that the *Lacedæmonians* were not only intangled in a hard War at home, but almoſt diſabled to paſs the Seas, having loſt their Fleet at *Cnidus*; they ſoon gave ear to *Pharnabazus*, who promiſed to allow that they ſhould uſe their own laws, if they would expell the *Spartan* Governours. Only the City of *Abydus* did ſtand firm, wherein *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his beſt to contain all the Towns about *Helleſpont*, in the Alliance of the *Lacedæmonians*; which he could not do, becauſe the *Athenian* Fleet under *Thraſibulus*, took in *Bizantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Iſle of *Leſbos* to their ancient acknowledgment of *Athens*.

§. IX. *The*

§. IX.

The baſe conditions offered unto the Perſian *by the* Lacedæmonian. *Of ſundry fights and other paſſages in the War. The Peace of* Antalcidas.

ABout this time the *Spartans* began to perceive how uneaſie a thing it would be, to maintain the War againſt men as good as themſelves, aſſiſted with the treaſures of *Perſia*: wherefore they craved peace of *Artaxerxes*, moſt baſely offering not only to renounce the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia*, and to leave them to the Kings diſpoſition; but withall, to ſet the Iſlanders, and every Town in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and abſolute liberty, whereby they ſaid that all their principal Eſtates of their Country would be ſo weakened, that no one, nor all of them ſhould be able to ſtir againſt the Great King. And ſure it was, that the power of the Country being ſo broken and rent into many ſmall pieces, could neither have diſquieted the *Perſian*, by an offenſive War, nor have made any good defence againſt him, but would have left it eaſie for him in continuance of time to have taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himſelf Maſter of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were ſo carried with envy, that perceiving how the dominion of the Seas was like to return to *Athens*, they choſe rather to give all from themſelves and others, and make all alike weak, than to permit that any of their own Nation ſhould grow ſtronger than themſelves, who ſo lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the firſt accepted; both in regard that the other Eſtates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behalf joyned together againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, did by their ſeveral Embaſſadors oppoſe themſelves unto it; and for that it was thought ſafeſt for *Artaxerxes* rather to weaken the *Lacedæmonians* yet more, than by interpoſing himſelf to bring friends and foes on the ſudden to an equality. Eſpecially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* had ſent as his *Lieutenant* into the low-Countries, did ſeek to repay the harm done by *Ageſilaus* in thoſe parts: which his intent appearing plain, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, *Thimbro* was ſent into *Aſia* to make War upon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places: whereby the War being ſcattered about, all the Iſles and Towns on the firm Land, grew almoſt to the manner of Pyracy and Robbery, affording many skirmiſhes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance. *Thimbro* was ſlain by *Struthas*, and in his place *Diphridas* was ſent, who demeaned himſelf more warily. *Dercyllidas* was removed from his charge at *Abydus*, becauſe he had not impeached *Thraſybulus* in his enterprizes about *Helleſpont*; *Anaxibius*, who ſucceeded him, was ſurprized and ſlain in a skirmiſh by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thraſybulus* departing from *Lesbos* toward *Rhodes*, was ſlain by the way at *Aſpendus*. The City of *Rhodes* had long before joyned with the *Lacedæmonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Ariſtocratie*, or the Government of a few the principal Citizens; whereas contrariwiſe the *Athenians* were accuſtomed to put the Soveraignty into the hands of the people, each of them ſeeking to aſſure themſelves by erecting in the Town of their Confederates a Government like unto their own: which doing (where more eſpecial cauſe did not hinder) cauſed the Nobility to favour *Sparta*, and the Commons to incline to *Athens*. The people of *Ægina* roved upon the coaſt of *Attica* which cauſed the *Athenians* to land an Army in *Ægina*, and beſiege their Town: but this ſiege being raiſed by the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, the Iſlanders began a-new to moleſt *Attica*, which cauſed the *Athenians* to man their ſhips again, that returned beaten, having loſt four of thirteen. The loſs of theſe ſhips was ſoon recompenced by a victory which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* General had in *Ægina*, whereupon the Iſlanders were fain to keep home, and leave to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may well ſeem ſtrange that the City of *Athens*, having but newly raiſed her walls, having not by any fortunate and important Battel ſecured her eſtate from dangers by Land; but only depending upon the aſſiſtance of ſuch Confederates, as, carried unto different ends, had often diſcovered themſelves irreſolute in the common cauſe, would ſend a Fleet and an Army to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Evagoras*, when the Maſtery of the Seas was ſo ill aſſured, that an Iſland in the eye of *Pyræus*, had ability to vex the coaſt of *Attica*. But as the over-weening of that City did cauſe it uſually to embrace more than it could compaſs; ſo the inſolency and ſhameleſs injuſtice of the people, had now bred in the chief Commanders, a deſire to keep themſelves far out of ſight, and to ſeek employments at ſuch diſtance as might ſecure them from the eyes of the envious, and from publick judgments, out of which few or none eſcaped. For which cauſe *Timotheus* did paſs away much part of his time in the Iſle of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Country

Country could well have ſpared: with which he returned not when the buſineſs in *Cyprus* came to an end, but ſought new adventures in *Egypt*; whereby aroſe neither thanks to himſelf, nor profit to his City, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus careleſs of things at hand, had a notable blow given unto them, ſhortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, even within their own Haven. For *Teleutias*, a *Lacedæmonian*, being made Governour of *Ægina*, conceived a ſtrong hope of ſurprizing the Navy of *Athens*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking aright, that it was a harder matter to encounter with ten ſhips prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in harbour, whoſe Mariners were aſleep in their Cabbins, or drinking in Taverns. Wherefore he ſailed by night into the mouth of the Port, which entring at the break of day, he found (according to his expectation) moſt of the men on ſhore, and few or none left aboard to make reſiſtance: by which means he took many ſhips laden with merchandizes, many fiſher-men, paſſengers, and other Veſſels, alſo three or four Gallies; having ſunk or broken, and made unſerviceable, as many of the reſt as the time would ſuffer. About this time *Pharnabazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters given to him in marriage, with whom he lived about the Court; and many Officers that favoured the *Lacedæmonians*, were placed in the lower *Aſia*; by whoſe aſſiſtance the Fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Helleſpont*; in ſuch wiſe, that perhaps they ſhould not have needed the peace, which they themſelvs procured by *Antalcidas*, from the Great King, the conditions whereof were ſuch as are mentioned before, giving freedom to all the Cities of *Greece*, and dividing the Country into as many ſeveral States as were petty Boroughs in it. Thus *Artaxexes* having bought his own peace with mony, did likewiſe by his mony become Arbitrator and decider of Controverſies between the *Greeks*, diſpoſing of their buſineſs in ſuch wiſe, as ſtood beſt with his own good. The Tenor of *Artaxerxes* his Decree was, That all *Aſia* and *Cyprus* ſhould be his own; the Iſles of *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus*, be ſubject to *Athens*; all other *Greek* Towns, as well the little as the great, be ſet at liberty; and that whoſoever ſhould refuſe this peace, upon them the approvers of it ſhould make war, the King aſſiſting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ſhips, and treaſure. The *Athenians* were ſo diſcouraged by their loſſes at Sea; the *Lacedæmonians* by revolt of their confederates, and the neceſſity of maintaining many Garriſons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miſeries of the war, whereof they ſaw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did conſent unto theſe Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedæmonians* taking upon themſelves the execution, did not only compell the *Argives* to depart out of *Corinth*, (which, under pretence of defending, they held by Garriſons, lately thruſt into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebans* to leave *Bœotia* free, of which Province *Thebes* had alwayes held the Government, the *Thebans* themſelves being alſo comprehended under the name of the *Bœotians*; but cauſed the *Mantinæans* to throw down their own City, and to dwell in Villages: alledging that they had formerly been accuſtomed ſo to do, though purpoſing indeed to chaſtiſe them, as having been ill-affected to *Sparta* in the late War. By theſe courſes the *Lacedæmonians* did hope that all the ſmall Towns in *Greece* would, when occaſion ſhould require it, willingly follow them in their wars, as Authors of their liberty; and that the great Cities having loſt all their dependants, would be unable to make oppoſition.

§. X.

The War which the Lacedæmonians *made upon* Olynthus. *They take* Thebes *by treaſon; and* Olynthus *by Famine.*

WHilſt theſe wars, which ended without either victory or profit, conſumed the riches and power of *Greece*, the City of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was grown ſo mighty, that ſhe did not only command her neighbour-Towns, but was alſo become terrible to places far removed, and to *Sparta* it ſelf. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principal City of that Kingdom, was taken by the *Olynthians*, who following the uſual pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſet at liberty the places over which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almoſt now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themſelves. The Citizens of *Acanthus*, and of *Apollonia*, being neareſt unto the danger of thoſe incroaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedæmonians* with their fear, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians*, would be too ſtrong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time ſhould give it reputation, which only it wanted: wherefore they requeſted aſſiſtance, but in ſuch terms as did ſound of compulſion, proteſting that either they muſt war upon *Olynthus*, or become ſubject unto her, and fight in her defence.

Hereupon

Hereupon was made a hasty levy of men, two thousand being sent presently away, with promise to be seconded by a greater Army. Whilst these two thousand gave such beginning to the war, as agreed with their small number, the body of the Army following them, surprized the Cittadel of *Thebes*, which was betrayed into the hand of *Phœbidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the slavery of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill-affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any point violated the peace lately made between them; which caused the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt, whether this act of *Phœbidas* were more worthy of reward or of punishment. In conclusion, profit so far over-weighed honesty, that the deed was approved, many principal Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driven into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the Government of the City: by whose authority, and the force of the Garrison, the *Thebans* were compelled to serve the *Lacedæmonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This access of power having strengthened the *Lacedæmonians*, caused them to entertain the greater forces about *Olynthus*, (which notwithstanding the loss of one great Battel, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it self unto their obedience.

§. XI.

How the Thebans *recovered their liberty, driving out the* Lacedæmonian *Garrison.*

After this *Olynthian* War, which endured almost three years, it seemed that no Estate in *Greece* was able to make head against that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a means to shake off their yoak, and gave both example and means to others to do the like. One of the banisht men found by conference with a Scribe of the *Theban* Magistrates, coming to *Athens*, that the tyranny wherewith his Country was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those, who for fear of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid between these two, that soon found very good success, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men forsook *Athens* privily, and entred by night into the fields of *Thebes*; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the evening to the Gates like husband-men returned from work, and so passed undiscovered unto the house of *Charon*, whom *Phyllidas* the Scribe had drawn into the conspiracy. The day following, a solemn feast being then held in the City, *Phyllidas* promised the Governours, who were insolent and lustful men, that he would convey unto them that night the most beautiful Dames of the Town, with whom they should take their pleasure. Having cheared them with such hope, and plenty of good Wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that he could not make good his promise, unless they would dismiss their followers: because the Gentlewomen, who attended without the Chamber, would not endure that any of the servants should see their faces. Upon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maids, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Governours loose behaviour, slew them all upon the sudden with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselves to come to the Governours upon business, they got admittance, and likewise slew those which were of the *Lacædemonian* faction. By the like device they brake into the Prison, slew the Gaoler, and set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed liberty, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captain of the Castle hearing the sudden Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be stronger than indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was a practice to discover such as would be forward upon occasion of revolting. But as soon as daylight revealed the plain truth, all the people took Arms and besieged the Castle, sending hastily to *Athens* for succour. The Garrison also sent for aid unto the Towns adjoyning, whence a few broken troops coming to the rescue, were defeated on the way by the horse-men of *Thebes*. On the other side, the banished *Thebans* did not only make speed to assist their Country-men, but procured some *Athenians* to joyn with them, & thereby came so strong into the City, that the Castle was yielded, more through fear than any necessity, upon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Arms; for which composition, the Captain at his return to *Sparta* was put to death. When the news of the doings at *Thebes*, and the success arrived at *Sparta*, an Army was raised forthwith, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recovering of that City, as if some part of their ancient Inheritance had been taken from the *Lacedæmonians*, and not a Town,

Town perfidiously usurped by them, restored to her own liberty. *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings, was sent on this Expedition, who having wearied his followers with a toilsom Winters journey, returned home without any good or harm done; leaving *Sphodrias*, with part of his Army, at *Thespies*, to infest the *Thebans*; who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt upon the Haven of *Athens*; which failing to take, he wasted the Country adjoyning, and drave away Cattel, causing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the war, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how they might possibly withdraw themselves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing Estate of Thebes, *from the Battel of* Leuctra, *to the Battel of* Mantinaa.

§. I.

How Thebes *and* Athens *joyned together against* Sparta. *How the* Athenians *made peace for themselves, and others, out of which the* Thebans *were excluded. The Battel of* Leuctra, *and beginning of the* Theban *greatness.*

THe *Lacedæmonians* were men of great resolution, and of much gravity in all their proceedings; but one dishonourable Rule they held, That all respects withstanding the commodity of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which Doctrine, even by the best and wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate: but when it was put in execution by insufficient over-weening men, it seldom failed to bring upon them, instead of profit unjustly expected, both shame and loss. And so it befell them in these enterprizes of *Phœbidas*, upon the Castle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* upon the *Piræus*. For, howsoever *Agesilaus* did spoil the Country about *Thebes*, in which he spent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good success of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The *Athenians* likewise began to look abroad, sailing to the Isle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and having in some fights at Sea prevailed, began, as in the *Peloponnesian* War, to surround *Peloponnesus* with a Navy; afflicting so the *Lacedæmonians*, that, had not the *Thebans* by their insolency wearied their friends, and caused them to seek for peace, it had been very likely that the end of this War, should have soon come to a good end, which nevertheless, being prosecuted by the *Thebans* (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the City of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginnings found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiving how *Thebes* encroached every day upon her weak Neighbours, not sparing such as had been dependants upon *Athens*, and finding themselves, whilest engaged in such a War, unable to relieve their complaining friends, resolved to settle the affairs of *Greece*, by renewing that form of peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Persian*. Wherefore they sent Messengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily signifying, That it was their intent to finish the War, to which purpose they willed the *Thebans* to send Embassadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treaty of Peace: which came to pass, being so wrought by the couragious wisdom of *Epaminondas*, who understood it far better than his Countrymen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treaty the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* did soon agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to swear to the Articles in the name of the *Bœotians*, *Agesilaus* required them to swear in their own name, and to leave the *Bœotians* free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made answer, That the City of *Sparta* should give example to *Thebes* by setting the *Laconians* free; for that the Signiory of *Bœotia* did by as good right appertain to the *Thebans*; as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly spoken; but was heard with no patience: for *Agesilaus* bearing a vehement hatred unto those of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawn back out of

of *Aſia* into *Greece*, and diſappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to atchieve by the *Perſian* War, did now paſſionately urge that point of ſetting the *Bœotians* at liberty; and finding it as obſtinately refuſed, he daſht the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the ſame time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta*, lay in *Phocis*, who received command from the Governors of *Sparta* forthwith to enter upon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power; which he did, and was there ſlain at *Leuctra*, and with him the Flower of his Army. This Battel of *Leuctra*, being one of the moſt famous that ever were fought between the *Greeks*, was not ſo notable for any circumſtance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it ſelf, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*; but eſpecially, for that after this Battel (between which and the concluſion of the general Peace, there paſſed but twenty days) the *Lacedæmonians* were never able to recover the ſtrength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and near: whereas contrariwiſe the *Thebans*, whoſe greateſt ambition had in former times confined it ſelf unto the little Region of *Bœotia*, did now begin to undertake the leading and command of many people and eſtates, in ſuch wiſe, that ſoon after they brought an Army of threeſcore and ten thouſand ſtrong unto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much do the afflictions of an hard War, valiantly endured, advance the affairs of the diſtreſſed, and guide them into the way of Conqueſt, by ſtiffening that reſolution with a manly temper, which wealth and eaſe had through luxury, retchleſneſs, and many other vices or vanities, made ruſty and effeminate.

§. II.

How the Athenians *took upon them to maintain the Peace of* Greece. *New troubles hence ariſing.* Epaminondas *invadeth and waſteth the Territory of* Lacedæmon.

THe *Athenians* refuſing to take advantage of this overthrow fallen upon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedæmonians*, did nevertheleſs finely give them to underſtand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking upon themſelves the maintenance of the Peace lately concluded, which *Ageſilaus* (perhaps of purpoſe to make benefit of quarrels that might ariſe) had left unperfect, they aſſembled the Deputies of all the eſtates confederated at *Athens*; where the general liberty of all Towns, as well ſmall as great, was ratified under the ſtile of the *Athenians*, and their aſſociates. Hereupon began freſh garboils. The *Mantinæans*, claiming power by this Decree to order their affairs at their own pleaſure, did (as it were) in deſpight of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their Town, re-edifie it, and allie themſelves with ſuch of the *Arcadians* as ſtood worſt affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a ſtrong Nation, conſiſting of many Cities, were diſtracted with factions; ſome deſiring to hold good correſpondency with the *Lacedæmonians*; ſome to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedæmonians* durſt not give impeachment to the *Mantinæans*, nor take upon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till ſuch time as the factions brake out into violence, and each party called in foreign help. Then was an Army ſent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegea*, againſt the *Mantinæans*, but indeed againſt them both. *Ageſilaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time ſubdued the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, and many others; with the power of which Countries they entred *Peloponneſus* in favour of the *Arcadians*, who had, upon expectation of their coming, abſtained from giving Battel to *Ageſilaus*. The Army of the *Spartans* being diſmiſſed, and *Epaminondas* joyned with the *Arcadians*, the Region of *Laconia* was invaded and ſpoiled: a thing ſo ſtrange, that no Oracle could have found belief if any had foretold it. Almoſt 600 years were ſpent, ſince the *Dorians*, under the poſterity of *Hercules*, had ſeized upon *Laconia*; in all which time the ſound of an Enemies Trumpet was not heard in that Country. Ten years were not fully paſt, ſince all *Greece* was at the devotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Army could once look upon, nor the mighty forces of *Athens*, and other enemy-States had dared to ſet foot on, ſaving by ſtealth, was all on a light fire, the very ſmoak whereof the women of *Sparta* were aſhamed to behold. All which indignity notwithſtanding, the *Lacedæmonians* did not iſſue out of *Sparta* to fight, but ſought how to preſerve the Town, ſetting at liberty as many of their *Heilotes* or Slaves, as were willing to bear Arms in defence of the State, and ſomewhat pitifully entreated the *Athenians*, to give them ſuccour. From *Corinth*, and ſome Towns of *Peloponneſus*, they received ſpeedy aſſiſtance; the

Athenians came forward more ſlowly, ſo that *Epimanondas* returned without battel, having rebuilded the City of *Meſſene*, and peopled it a new by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the *Lacedæmonians* many ages before had chaſed away to other Countries, poſſeſſing their Territories themſelves.

§. III.

The Compoſition between Athens *and* Sparta *for command in War againſt the* Thebans; *who again invade and ſpoil* Peloponneſus. *The unfortunate preſumption of the* Arcadians.

THis journey therefore utterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in ſuch wiſe, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raiſed, nor any manner of precedence: but ſending Embaſſadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held league with it, unto *Athens*, they offered to yield the Admiralty to the *Athenians*, requeſting that they themſelves might be Generals by Land. This had been a compoſition well agreeing with the ſituation and quality of thoſe two Cities; but it was rejected, becauſe the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no mark or eſtimation, in regard of thoſe companies of horſe and foot, whereof the Land-Army was compounded; who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to have ſerved under the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authority ſhould be divided by time: the *Athenians* ruling five days, the *Lacedæmonians* other five, and ſo ſucceſſively that each of them ſhould have command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifeſt, that in this concluſion vain ambition was more regarded than the common profit; which muſt of neceſſity be very ſlowly advanced, where conſultation, reſolution, and performance are ſo often to change hands. This appeared by a ſecond invaſion of *Peloponneſus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies ſo unable to impeach them, that having fortified *Iſthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done againſt *Xerxes*, they were driven out of their ſtrength by *Epaminondas*, who forraged the Country without reſiſtance. But as the Articles of this league between *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by dividing the conduct in ſuch manner, diſable the Society, and make it inſufficient to thoſe ends for which it was concluded; ſo the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanity. For the *Arcadians* conſidering their own numbers which they brought into the field, and having found by many tryals that their people were not inferiour to others in ſtrength of body, in courage, or in good Souldierſhip, thought it good reaſon that they ſhould in like manner ſhare the Government, with their friends the *Thebans*; and not alwayes continue followers of others, by increaſing whoſe greatneſs they ſhould ſtrengthen their own yoke. Hereupon they began to demean themſelves very inſolently, whereby they grew hateful to their Neighbours, and ſuſpected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For, a motion of general peace having been made (which took not effect, becauſe the City *Meſſene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedæmonians*) the next enterprize of the *Spartans* and their friends was upon theſe *Arcadians*, who relying too much upon their own worth, were overthrown in a great battel, their calamity being as pleaſing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

§. IV.

The great growth of the Theban *Eſtate. Embaſſages of the* Greeks *to the* Perſian; *with the reaſons why he moſt favoured the* Thebans. *Troubles in the* Perſian *Empire. The fruitleſs iſſue of the Embaſſages.*

THe *Thebans*, eſpecially rejoyced at the *Arcadians* misfortune, conſidering, that without their aid, the ſucceſs of all enterprizes proved ſo ill; whereas they themſelves had by their own power accompliſhed very well whatſoever they took in hand, and were become not only victorious over the *Lacedæmonians*, but Patrons over the *Theſſalonians*, and moderators of great quarrels that had riſen in *Macedonia*; where compounding the differences about that Kingdom, as pleaſed them beſt, they carried *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas*, and father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hoſtage unto *Thebes*. Having therefore obtained ſuch reputation, that little ſeemed wanting to make them abſolute Commanders of all *Greece*, they ſought means of alliance with the *Perſian* King, to whom they ſent Embaſſador the great and famous Captain *Pelopidas*, whoſe reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant unto the *Thebans* all that they deſired; whereof two eſpecial points were, That *Meſſene* ſhould remain free from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the *Athenians* ſhould forbear to ſend their ſhips of War to Sea; only the

the latter of theſe two was ſomewhat qualified with reference to further advice. The other States of *Greece* did alſo ſend their Embaſſadors at the ſame time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the King having found by long experience, how far it concerned him to maintain a ſure party in *Greece*, did upon many weighty conſiderations reſolve to bind the *Thebans* firmly unto him; juſtly expecting, that their greatneſs ſhould be on that ſide his own ſecurity. The *Athenians* had been ancient Enemies to his Crown; and having turned the profit of their victories upon the *Perſians* to the purchaſe of a great Eſtate in *Greece*, maintained their Signiory in ſuch puiſſant manner, that (ſundry grievous misfortunes notwithſtanding) they had endured a terrible War, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* being followed by moſt of the *Greeks*, and ſupplied with treaſure, and all ſorts of aid by *Darius Nothus*, were not able to vanquiſh them till their own indiſcretion brought them on their knees. The *Lacedæmonians* being victorious over *Athens*, had no ſooner eſtabliſhed their Dominion at home, than they undertook the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, from which though by the commotion raiſed in *Greece* with *Perſian* gold, they were called back, yet having renewed their power, and ſetled things in *Greece*, it was not unlikely, that they ſhould upon the next advantage have purſued the ſame enterprize, had not they been empeached by this *Theban* War. But the *Thebans* contrariwiſe had always diſcovered a good affection to the Crown of *Perſia*. They had ſided with *Xerxes* in his invaſion of *Greece*; with *Darius* and the *Lacedæmonians* againſt *Athens*: And finally, having offered much contumely to *Ageſilaus* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making War on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Beſides all theſe their good deſervings, they were no Seamen, and therefore unlikely to look abroad; whereupon if perchance they ſhould have any deſire; yet were they diſabled by the want of good Haven-Towns; which they could not ſeize upon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving liberty to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condeſcend unto the requeſts of *Pelopidas*, as far forth as he might, without giving open defiance to the reſt of *Greece*; and by that mean he purchaſed his own quiet, being never afterward moleſted by that Nation in the lower *Aſia*. The ill means which the *Greeks* had to diſturb *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficial to the Eſtate of *Perſia* ſhortly after theſe times; in that great rebellion of all the Maritimate Provinces. For had then the affairs of *Greece* been ſo compoſed, that any one City might without empeachment of the reſt have tranſported an Army to aſſiſt the revolting *Satrapæ*, or *Vice-royes* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Myſia*, *Lycia*, *Piſidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*; humane reaſon can hardly find the means, by which the Empire could have been preſerved from that ruine, which the Divine Counſel had deferred unto the days of *Alexander*. But this great Conſpiracy of ſo many large and wealthy Provinces, wanting a firm body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in ſhort ſpace diſcuſſed, and vaniſhed like a miſt, without effect: theſe effeminate *Aſiatiques*, wearied quickly with the travels and dangers incident to War, forſaking the common cauſe, and each man ſtriving to be the firſt, that by treaſon to his company ſhould both redeem the former treaſon to his Prince, and purchaſe withal his own promotion with encreaſe of riches. Of this commotion, which in courſe of time followed ſome actions not as yet related, I have rather choſen to make ſhort mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; but for that it was like a ſudden ſtorm, raſhly commenced, idly followed, and fooliſhly laid down, having made a great noiſe without effect, and having ſmall reference to any other action agreeable; as alſo becauſe in the whole reign of *Artaxerxes*, from the War of *Cyrus* to the invaſion of *Egypt*, I find nothing (this inſurrection, and a fruitleſs journey againſt the *Caduſians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much leſs of digreſſion from the courſe of the buſineſs in *Greece*. All, or the moſt of his time paſſed away ſo quietly, that he enjoyed the pleaſures which an Empire ſo great and wealthy could afford unto ſuch an abſolute Lord, with little diſturbance. The troubles which he found were only, or chiefly, Domeſtical; growing out of the hatred which *Paryſatis* the Queen-Mother bare unto his wife *Statira*, and to ſuch as had been the greateſt enemies to her Son *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: upon whom, when by poyſon and miſchievous practices ſhe had ſatisfied her feminine appetite of revenge, thenceforth ſhe wholly applied herſelf to the Kings diſpoſition, cheriſhing in him the lewd deſire of marrying his own Daughter, and filling him with the perſwaſion, which Princes not endued with an eſpecial grace, do readily entertain; That his own will was the ſupreme law of his ſubjects, and the rule by which all things were to be meaſured and adjudged

to be good or evil. In this imaginary happiness *Pelopidas*, and the other Embassadors of *Greece*, both found and left him; but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of this Treaty with them, being altogether to his own advantage, did seem to promise, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the same felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a full security of danger from *Greece*, whence only could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternity laid by mortal men in this transitory world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either shaken from heaven, or made vain and unprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full height, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Estates of *Greece* that had sent Embassadors to the *Persian*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Towns, as well the little as the great, should be set at liberty, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Judges of all Controversies that might arise, and Leaders in War of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings letters being solemnly published at *Thebes*; in the presence of Embassadors drawn thither from all parts of *Greece*: when an oath was required for observation of the form of peace therein set down, a dilatory answer was made by the Embassadors, who said, that they were sent to hear the articles, not to swear unto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driven to send unto each of the Cities to require the Oath; but in vain. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refused it, saying, that they did not need it; others took courage by their example to do the like, disappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatness, but left them as it found them to relye upon their own swords.

§. V.

How all Greece *was divided between the* Athenians *and* Lacedæmonians *on the one side, and* Thebans *on the other. Of the great tumults arising in* Arcadia.

THE condition of things in *Greece* at that time did stand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each upon envy of the others greatness drawn all their followers into a cruel and intestine War, by which the whole Country, and especially the Estates of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conjoyn their forces against the *Thebans*, who sought to make themselves Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaians*, followed the party of these ancient Governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received, or in dislike of those, who by strong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authority they could not suddenly aspire without some injury and much envy. The City of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom necessity had made warlike, and many Victories in few years had filled with great spirits; and being so mighty independants, that she had reduced all the continent of *Greece* without *Peloponnesus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beside, excepted) under such acknowledgement, as wanted not much of meer Vassallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponnesus* to the like obedience, wherein already she had set good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argives* had been always bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobility Superiors, but were far under them in valour, having been often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of losing all: which caused them to suspect and envy nothing more than the greatness and honour of *Sparta*, taking truce with her when she was at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole force against them; but firmly joyning with her enemies whensoever they found her entangled in a difficult War. As the *Argives* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, sure friends of *Thebes*, so the *Arcadians*, transported with a great opinion of their own worthiness, had formerly renounced and provoked against them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtful adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard, it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas* and the State of *Thebes*, to send an Army into *Peloponnesus*, before such time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutral, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*, which was very strange, and seemed no less to the *Athenians* themselves, who holding a firm league with *Sparta* at the same time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did nevertheless accept this new Confederacy, not relinquishing the old, because they found that howsoever these *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they should hereby

hereby be drawn ſomewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was unlikely to invade *Peloponneſus* with a ſtrong Army. But this did rather haſten, than by any means ſtay the coming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way ſomewhat more clear for him (becauſe the City of *Corinth*, which lay upon the *Iſthmus*, and had been adverſe to *Thebes*, was now, by miſeries of this grievous War, driven to become Neutral) took occaſion hereby, and by ſome diſorders among the *Arcadians*, to viſit *Peloponneſus* with an Army, conſiſting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had riſen in *Arcadia* about conſecrated money, which many principal men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of employing it to publick uſes. In compounding the differences grown upon this occaſion, ſuch as had leaſt will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captain of ſome *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take priſoners many of their Countrymen, as people deſirous of innovation. This was done, but the uproar thereby cauſed was ſo great, that the priſoners were forthwith enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Arms, with much ado ſcarce pacified. When complaint of the Captains proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epimanondas* turned all the blame upon them, who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be ſhortly among them to judge of their fidelity, by the aſſiſtance which they ſhould give him, in that War which he intended to make in *Peloponneſus*. Theſe Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aid of ſo mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently ſuſpect that great preparation to be made againſt themſelves. Hereupon ſuch of them as had before ſought means to ſettle the affairs of their Country, by drawing things to ſome good concluſion of peace, did now forthwith ſend to *Athens* for help, and withall diſpatched ſome of the principal among them as Embaſſadors to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themſelves to the common defence of *Peloponneſus*, now ready to be invaded. This Embaſſage brought much comfort to the *Lacedæmonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas*, againſt whom they well knew, that all their forces, and beſt proviſions, would be no more than very hardly ſufficient. Forbearing therefore to diſpute about prerogatives, they (who had been accuſtomed unto ſuch a ſupremacy, as they would in no wiſe communicate with the powerful City of *Athens*, till other hope of ſecuring their own Eſtate could not be thought upon) did now very gently yield to the *Arcadians*, that the command of the Army in chief, ſhould be given for the time, to that City in whoſe Territory it lay.

§. VI.

A terrible Invaſion of Peloponneſus *by* Epaminondas.

CErtain it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm conſent, and uniform care of the common ſafety. For, beſide the great forces raiſed out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argives* and *Meſſenians* prepared with all their ſtrength to joyn with *Epaminondas*; who having lyen a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, received their intelligence, that the Army coming from *Athens* would paſs by Sea, whereupon he diſlodged, and came to *Tegea*, which City, and the moſt of all *Arcadia* beſides, forthwith declared themſelves his. The common opinion was, that the firſt attempt of the *Thebans*, would be upon ſuch of the *Arcadians* as had revolted; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonian* Captains to fortifie *Mantinæa* with all diligence, and to ſend for *Ageſilaus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that ſmall force of able men which remained in the Town, they might be ſtrong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held ſo good eſpial upon his Enemies, that, had not an unknown fellow brought haſty advertiſement of his purpoſe to *Ageſilaus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantinæa*, the City of *Sparta* had ſuddenly been taken. For thither with all ſpeed and ſecrecy did the *Thebans* march, who had ſurely carried the City, notwithſtanding any defence that could have been made by that handful of men remaining within it, but that *Ageſilaus* in all flying haſte got into it with his Companies, whom the Army of his Confederates followed thither to the reſcue as faſt it was able. The arrival of the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas*, of taking *Sparta*, ſo it preſented him with a fair advantage upon *Mantinæa*. It was the time of Harveſt, which made it very likely, that the *Mantinæans*, finding the War to be carried from their walls into another quarter, would uſe the commodity of that vacation, by fetching in their Corn, and turning out their Cattel into the fields, whilſt no enemy was near, that might impeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantinæa*, ſending

ſending his horſemen before him, to ſeize upon all that might be found without the City. The *Mantineans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were ſcattered abroad in the Country, far more intent upon their Harveſt buſineſs, than upon the war, whereof they were ſecure, as thinking themſelves out of diſtance. By which preſumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattel, being unable to recover the Town, were in a deſperate caſe; and the Town it ſelf in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy ſhould have taken all their proviſion of victuals, with ſo many of the people as had not over-dearly been redeemed, by that Cities returning to ſociety with *Thebes*. But at the ſame time, the *Athenians* coming to the ſuccour of their Confederates, whom they thought to have found at *Mantinæa* were very earneſtly entreated by the Citizens to reſcue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were poſſible by any courageous adventure to deliver thoſe who otherwiſe were given as loſt. The *Thebans* were known at that time to be the beſt Souldiers of all the *Grecks*, and the commendation of good Horſemanſhip had always been given to the *Theſſalians*, as excelling in that quality all other Nations; yet the regard of honour ſo wrought upon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their City, which had entred into this War upon no neceſſity of her own, but only in deſire of relieving her diſtreſſed friend, they iſſued forth of *Mantinæa*, not abiding ſo long as to refreſh themſelves, or their Horſes, with meat; and giving a luſty charge upon the enemy, who as bravely received them, after a long and hot fight, they remained Maſters of the field, giving by this Victory a ſafe and eaſie retrait to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the *Bœotians* arrived in the place ſoon after this Battel, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their aſſiſtants were not far behind.

§. VII.

The great Battel of Mantinæa. *The honourable death of* Epimanondas, *with his commendation.*

EPaminondas, conſidering that his Commiſſion was almoſt now expired, and that his attempts of ſurprizing *Sparta* and *Mantinæa* having failed, the impreſſion of terror which his name had wrought in the *Peloponneſians*, would ſoon vanquiſh, unleſs by ſome notable act he ſhould abate their courage in their firſt growth, and leave ſome memorable character of his Expedition, reſolved to give them Battel, whereby he reaſonably hoped both to ſettle the doubtful affections of his own Aſſociates, and to leave the *Spartans* as weak in ſpirit and ability, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into ſubjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that Battel, wherein Victory ſhould be rewarded with Lordſhip of all *Greece*; and finding the alacrity of his Souldiers to be ſuch as promiſed the accompliſhment of his own deſire; he made ſhew of declining the enemy, and entrenching himſelf in a place of more advantage, that ſo by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heat of their valour, and afterward ſtrike their ſenſes with amazement, when he ſhould come upon them unexpected. This opinion deceived him not. For with very much tumult, as in ſo great and ſudden a danger, the enemy ran to Arms, neceſſity enforcing their reſolution, and the conſequence of that days ſervice, urging them to do as well as they might. The *Theban* Army conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends were ſhort of this number, both in horſe and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantineans* (becauſe the War was in their Country) ſtood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*; the *Athenians* had the left wing; the *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and others of leſs account, filled the body of the Army. The *Thebans* ſtood in the left wing of their own Battel, oppoſite to the *Lacedæmonians*, having by them the *Arcadians*, the *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Meſſenians*, and *Theſſalians*, with others, compounding the main Battel; the *Argives* held the right wing, the horſemen on each part were placed in the flanks, only a troop of the *Eleans* were in the rear. Before the footmen could joyn, the encounter of the horſe on both ſides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithſtanding the valiant reſiſtance of the *Athenians*: who, not yielding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were overlaid with numbers, and ſo beaten upon by *Theſſalian* ſlings, that they were driven to forſake the place, and leave their infantery naked. But this retrait was the leſs diſgraceful, becauſe they kept themſelves together, and did not fall back upon their own footment; but finding the *Theban* horſe to have given them over, and withal diſcovering ſome Companies of foot, which had been ſent about by *Epimanondas*, to charge their Battel in the rear, they brake upon them, routed them,

them, and hewed them all in pieces. In the mean ſeaſon the Battel of the *Athenians* had not only to do with the *Argives*, but was hardly preſſed by the *Theban* Horſemen, in ſuch wiſe that it begun to open, and was ready to turn back, when the *Elean* ſquadron of Horſe came up to the relief of it, and reſtored all on that part. With far greater violence did the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* meet, theſe contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; ſo that equal courage, and equal loſs on both ſides made the hope and appearance of Victory to either equally doubtful: unleſs perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firm abiders, might ſeem the more likely to prevail, as having born the firſt brunt and fury of the on-ſet, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by diſcipline, as it were by Nature, to excel in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few years, cannot be thought to have gotten a habit ſo ſure and general. But *Epaminondas* perceiving the obſtinate ſtiffneſs of the Enemies to be ſuch, as neither the bad ſucceſs of their own horſe, nor all the force of the *Bœotian* Army, could abate ſo far, as to make them give one foot of ground; taking a choice company of the moſt able men, whom he caſt into the form of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the advantage of that figure againſt a ſquadron, and by his own exceeding virtue, accompanied with the great ſtrength and reſolution of them which followed him, did open their ranks, and cleave the whole Battel in deſpight of all reſiſtance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who may juſtly be ſaid to have carried the Victory, ſeeing that they remained Maſters of the ground whereon the Battel was fought, having driven the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alledged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the Victory was partly theirs, the ſlaughter of thoſe Mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behind their Army, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a ceremony regardable only among the *Greeks*, and ſerved meerly for oſtentation, ſhewing that by the fight they had obtained ſomewhat, which the enemy could not get from them otherwiſe than by requeſt. But the *Thebans* arrived at the general immediate end of the battel; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifeſt confeſſion is expreſſed from them, who forſook the place which they had choſen or accepted, as indifferent for trial of their ability and proweſs. This was the laſt work of the incomparable virtue of *Epimanondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troop of men, which broke the *Lacedæmonians* ſquadron, and forced it to give back in diſaray, was furiouſly charged on the ſudden, by a deſperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he nevertheleſs, with a ſingular courage, manitained the fight, uſing againſt the enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his own body; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he received ſo violent a ſtroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the iron and piece of the trunchion in his breaſt. Hereupon he ſunk down, and was ſoon conveyed out of the fight by his friends; having, by his fall ſomewhat animated the *Spartans* (who fain would have got his body) but much more inflamed with revengeful indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at his heavy miſchance, did with great ſlaughter compel their diſordered enemies to leave the field; though long they followed not the chaſe, being wearied more with the ſadneſs of this diſaſter, than with all the travel of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Phyſicians, that when the head of the Dart ſhould be drawn out of his body, he muſt needs dye. Hearing this, he called for his ſhield, which to have loſt, was held a great diſhonor: It was brought unto him. He bade them tell him, which part had the Victory; anſwer was made, that the *Bœotians* had won the field. Then ſaid he, It is a fair time for me to dye; and withal ſent for *Iolidas* and *Diophontes*, two principal men of War, that were both ſlain: which being told him, he adviſed the *Thebans* to make peace, whilſt with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to diſcharge the office of a General. Herewithal he willed, that the head of the weapon ſhould be drawn out of his body, comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of iſſue, by telling them, that the Victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinæa* were two fair daughters, in whom his memory ſhould live.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthieſt man that ever was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Countrey: for he equalled all others in the ſeveral virtues, which in each of them were ſingular. His Juſtice and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wiſdom, and high Magnanimity, were no way inferiour to his Military virtue; in every part whereof he ſo excelled, that he could not properly be called a Wary, a Valiant, a Politick, a Bountiful, or an Induſtrious, and a Provident Captain. Neither

ther was his private converſation unanſwerable to thoſe high parts, which gave him praiſe abroad. For he was Grave, and yet very Affable and Courteous; reſolute in publick buſineſs, but in his own particular eaſie, and of much mildneſs: a lover of his people, bearing with mens infirmities, witty and pleaſant in ſpeech, far from inſolence. Maſter of his own affections, and furniſhed with all qualities that might win and keep love. To theſe graces were added great ability of body, and much Eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of Philoſophy and Learning, wherewith his mind being enlightened, reſted not in the ſweetneſs of Contemplation, but brake forth into ſuch effects as gave unto *Thebes*, which had evermore been an underling, a dreadful reputation among all people adjoyning, and the higheſt command in *Greece*.

§. VIII.

Of the Peace concluded in Greece *after the Battel of* Mantinæa. *The Voyage of* Ageſilaus *into* Egypt. *His death, and qualities; with an examination of the compariſon made between him and* Pompey *the* Roman.

THis Battel of *Mantinæa* was the greateſt that had ever been fought in that Countrey between the Naturals; and the laſt. For at *Maranthon*, and *Platæa*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard trial to the *Grecian* valour; neither were the practice of Arms and Art Military, ſo perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponneſian* War, as long continuance, and daily exerciſe had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, thoſe excepted, which were undertaken againſt foreign enemies, proving for the moſt part unfortunate. But in this laſt fight all *Greece* was intereſſed, which never had more able ſouldiers and brave Commanders, nor ever contended for Victory with greater care of the ſucceſs, or more obſtinate reſolution. All which, notwithſtanding, the iſſue being ſuch as hath been related, it was found beſt for every particular Eſtate, that a general Peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed, every one retaining what he preſently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The *Meſſenians* were by name comprized in this new league; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their ſtanding out hindred not the reſt from proceeding to concluſion, conſidering that *Sparta* was now too weak to offend her Neigbours, and therefore might well be allowed to ſhew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it ſelf in execution. This Peace, as it gave ſome breath and refreſhing to all the Country, ſo to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leiſure to ſeek after wealth by foreign employment in *Egypt*, whither *Ageſilaus* was ſent with ſome ſmall Forces to aſſiſt, or indeed, as a Mercenary, to ſerve under *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his War upon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded under *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, went now as a Voluntary, with ſuch Forces as he could raiſe, by entreaty, and offer of good pay, to the ſame ſervice. Theſe *Egyptian* Kings deſcended from *Amyrtæus* of *Sais*, who rebelled againſt *Darius Nothus*, having retained the Country, notwithſtanding all inteſtine diſſentions, and foreign invaſions, during three Generations of their own race, were ſo well acquainted with the valour of the *Grecks*, that by their help (eaſily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not only to aſſure themſelves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoyning, which were held by the *Perſian*. What the iſſue of this great enterprize might have been, had it not fallen by Domeſtical Rebellion, it is uncertain. But very likely it is, that the Rebellion it ſelf had ſoon come to nothing, if *Ageſilaus* had not proved a falſe Traytor, joyning with *Nectanebus*, who roſe againſt his Prince, and helping the Rebel with that Army which the money of *Tachos* had waged. This falſhood *Ageſilaus* excuſed, as tending to the good of his own Countrey, though it ſeem rather, that he grudged becauſe the King took upon himſelf the conduct of the Army, uſing his ſervice only as Lieutenant, who had made full account of being appointed the General. Howſoever it came to paſs, *Tachos* being ſhamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had repoſed his chief confidence, fled unto the *Perſian*, who upon his ſubmiſſion gave him gentle entertainment; and *Nectanebus* (who ſeems to have been the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his ſtead. At the ſame time the Citizens of *Mendes* had ſet up another King; to whom all, or moſt of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Ageſilaus* fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed ſo far, that he left *Nectanebus* in quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdom; who in recompence of his Treaſon to the former King *Tachos*, and good ſervice done to himſelf, rewarded him with two hundred and thirty Talents of ſilver, with which booty ſailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant,

valiant, and a good Leader in War, free from covetousness, and not reproached with any blemish of lust; which praises are the less admirable in him, for that the discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endue every one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent stream of an ill nature) with all, or the chief of these good qualities. He was nevertheless very arrogant, perverse, unjust and vain-glorious, measuring all things by his own will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses, whose ends were beyond hope. The Expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Persia* should be overthrown; with which conceit being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans* and their Allies, he did ever after bear such hatred unto *Thebes*, as compelled that Estate by meer necessity to grow warlike, and able, to the utter dishonour of *Sparta*, and the irrepayarble loss of all her former greatness. The commendations given to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, have caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance against *Pompey* the great; whose actions (the solemn gravity of carriage excepted) are very disproportionble. Yet we may truly say, That as *Pompey* made great Wars under sundry Climates, and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of employments all that were before him; so *Agesilaus* had at one time or other some quarrel with every Town in *Greece*, had made a War in *Asia*, and medled in the business of the *Egyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predecessors: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* never took. Herein also they were very like; Each of them was the last great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his Country by his own Lordly wilfulness. We may therefore well say, *Similia magis omnia quam paria; the resemblance was nearer than the equality.* Indeed the freedom of *Rome* was lost with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæsar*, whom he had inforced to take Arms; yet the *Roman* Empire stood, the form of Government only being changed: But the liberty of *Greece*, or *Sparta* it self, was not forfeited unto the *Thebans*, whom *Agesilaus* had compelled to enter into a Victorious War; yet the Signiory, and ancient renown of *Sparta* was presently lost; and the freedom of all *Greece* being wounded in the *Theban* War, and after much blood lost, ill healed by the Peace ensuing, did very soon, upon the death of *Agesilaus*, give up the ghost, and the Lordship of the whole Country was seized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whose actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporary passages of things, in any other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertia.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the Reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*, to the Eſtabliſhing of that Kingdom in the Race of *Antigonus*.

THE FOVRTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip *the Father of* Alexander *the Great, King of* Macedon.

§. I.

What Kings Reigned in Macedon *before* Philip.

THE *Greeks* of whom we have already made large diſcourſe, not as yet wearied with inteſtine War, nor made wiſe by their vain contention for ſuperiority, do ſtill, as in formertimes, continue the invaſion and vaſtation of each other.

Againſt *Xerxes*, the greateſt Monarch of that part of the world, they defended their liberty, with as happy ſucceſs as ever Nation had, and with no leſs honour, than hath ever been acquired by deeds of Arms. And having had a tryal and experience more than fortunate, againſt thoſe Nations, they ſo little regarded what might come from them, who had ſo often forfeited the reputation of their Forces, as whatſoever could be ſpared from their own diſtraction at home, they tranſported over the *Helleſpont*, as ſufficient, to entertain and buſie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of mark in the world, that they underfal, and periſh by the hands and harms which they leaſt fear; ſo fared it at this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip* of *Macedon* (of whom we are now to ſpeak) they had ſo little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the faſt-growing greatneſs of ſuch a Neighbour-King; ſhould, in regard of their own ſafeties, have ſerved them for a ſtrong argument of union

union and accord. But the glory of their *Perſian* victories, wherewith they were pampered and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themſelves, and the rather to value at little the power and purpoſes of the *Macedonians*, becauſe thoſe Kings and States, which ſate nearer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the Father of *Philip*, ſo much weakned them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the *Grecians* perſwaded themſelves) in any one age, likely to recover their own, much leſs to work any wonders againſt their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philoſophy to conſider, That all great alterations are, ſtorm-like, ſudden and violent; and that it is then over-late to repair the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are once ſwollen, faſt-running, and inraged. No, the *Greeks* did rather imploy themſelves, in breaking down thoſe defences which ſtood between them and this inundation, than ſeek to rampire and re-enforce their own fields, which by the Level of reaſon they might have found to have lien under it. It was therefore well concluded by *Oroſius*: *Græciæ Civitates imperare ſingulæ cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt*; *The Cities of* Greece *loſt their command, by ſtriving each of them to command all.*

The Kingdom of *Macedon*, ſo called of *Macedon*, the ſon of *Oſirus*, or, as other Authors affirm, of *Jupiter* and *Æthra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth *Greece*; It hath to the Eaſt, the *Ægean* Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-weſt, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the South and South-weſt by *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the family of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by Nation *Argives*; who are liſted as followeth. About ſome ſix years after the tranſlation of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, *Ambaces* then governing *Media*; *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle to lead a Colony into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people: and as he was marching through that Countrey, the weather being rainy and tempeſtuous, he eſpied a great herd of Goats, which fled the ſtorm as faſt as they could, haſting them to their known place of covert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to mind, that he had alſo by another Oracle been directed, to follow the firſt troop of beaſts, that ſhould either lead him, or flie before him; he purſued theſe Goats to the Gates of *Edaſſa*, and being undiſcovered by the Inhabitants, by reaſon of the darkneſs of the air, he entred their City without reſiſtance, and poſſeſt it. Soon after this, by the overthrow of *Ciſſeus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the reſt of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twenty years. *Cœnus* ſucceeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelve years. *Tyrimas* followed *Cœnus*, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Perdiccas the firſt, the ſon of *Tyrimas* governed one and fifty years: a Prince, for his great valour and many other virtues, much renowned: *Solinus*, *Pliny*, *Juſtine*, *Euſebius*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochenus*, and others, affirm, that he appointed a place of burial for himſelf, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Succeſſors, at *Ægæ*: aſſuring them, that the Kingdom ſhould ſo long continue in his Line and Race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is ſaid, that becauſe *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the poſterity of the *Temenidæ* failed in him: a thing rather deviſed after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold by *Perdiccas*.

Argæus ſucceeded unto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Philip the firſt, his ſucceſſor, reigned eight and twenty years.

Æropus followed *Philip*, and governed ſix and twenty years: in whoſe infancy the *Illyrians* invaded *Macedon*, and having obtained a great victory, they purſued the ſame to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians*, gathering new forces, and reſolving either to recover their former loſs or to loſe at once both their Kingdom and their King, they carried him with them in his cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten, (their King being preſent) or rather they perſwaded themſelves that there was no man ſo void of honour and compaſſion, as to abandon their natural Lord, being an Infant, and no way (but by the hands of his ſervants) able to defend himſelf from deſtruction. The like is reported by *Aimonius* of *Clotarius* the ſon of *Fredegunda*.

Alcetas ſucceeded *Æropus*, and ruled nine and twenty years.

Amyntas the firſt, ſucceeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fifty years; He lived a ſuch time as *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, after his unproſperous return out of *Scythia*, ſent *Megabazus* with an Army into *Europe*, who in *Darius* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supream Lord, by yielding unto him Earth and Water. But his Embaſſadors, as you have heard before, were for their inſolent behaviour toward the *Macedonian* Ladies, ſlain by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the ſon of *Amyntas*, and his Succeſſor.

Alexander surnamed the Rich, the son of *Amyntas*, governed *Macedon* three and forty years. He did not only appease the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the slaughter of the *Persian* Embassadors by giving *Gygæa* his Sister, to *Eubares* of the blood of *Persia*; but by that match he grew so great in *Xerxes* grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be united to the Kingdom of *Macedon*. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the *Greeks*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Asia*, and *Mardonius* made General of the *Persian* Army; *Alexander* acquainted the *Greeks* with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sons, *Perdiccas*, *Aleetas*, and *Philip*.

Perdiccas the second, the son of *Alexander*, lived in the time of the *Peloponnesian* War; and reigned in all eight and twenty years. The wars which he made were not much remarkable: the Story of them is found here and there by pieces in *Thucydides* his first six Books. He left behind him two sons; *Perdiccas*, who was very young; and *Archelaus*, who was base-born.

Perdiccas the third, being delivered to the custody and care of *Archelaus*, was at seven years of age cast into a well and drowned by his false Guardian: who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* the Mother of the young King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily, fell thereinto by misadventure. But *Archelaus* stayed not here: for having thus dispatched his brother, he slew both his Uncle *Aleetas* the son of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the son of this *Aleetas*, his Cousin Germain, and enjoyed the Kingdom of *Macedon* himself four and twenty years.

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though he made himself King by wicked murder, yet performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he sought by all means to draw *Socrates* unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured *Euripides* the Tragedian. He had two sons, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*.

Archelaus the second succeeded his Father; and having reigned seven years, he was slain in hunting, either by chance, or of purpose, by *Cratæus*.

Orestes his younger son was committed to the education of *Æropus* of the Royal blood of *Macedon*, and had the same measure which *Archelaus* had measured to his Pupil; for *Æropus* murthered him and usurped the Kingdom, which he held some six years: the same who denied passage to *Agesilaus* King of *Sparta*, who desired, after his return from the *Asian* expedition, to pass by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

This Usuper left three sons, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his father *Æropus*, and having reigned one year, he was driven out by *Amyntas* the son of *Philip*, the son of the first *Perdiccas*, the son of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preserved, when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his Brother *Perdiccas*; his Uncle *Aleetas*, and his son *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* reigned (though very unquietly) four and twenty years; for he was not only infested by *Pausanias*, assisted by the *Thracians*, and by his Brother *Argæus*, incouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the said *Argæus*, for two years dispossest of *Macedon*: but on the other side, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbours near the *Ægean* Sea, made themselves for a while Masters of *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*.

Amyntas the second, had by his wife *Eurydice* the *Illyrian*, three sons; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the Great: and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*. He had also by his second wife *Gygæa*, three Sons; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward slain by their Brother *Philip*. He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomy* surnamed *Alorites*, of the City of *Alorus*, wherein he was born.

Alexander the second reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by *Pausanias*, the son of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great sum of mony) to leave his youngest brother *Philip* in Hostage with the *Illyrians*, who had subjected his Father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander* being invited by the *Alevadæ* against *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, having redeemed his brother *Philip*; to draw the *Thebans* to his assistance, entred into Confederacy with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same Countrey, with whom he also left *Philip* with divers other principal persons, for the gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his Mother falling in love with her Son in Law, who had married her Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practised the death of *Alexander* her son, with a purpose to confer the Kingdom on her Paramour, which *Ptolomy Alorites* did put in execution: by means whereof, he held *Macedon* for three years, but was soon after slain by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodore* hath

hath it otherwiſe of *Philip* being made pledge; and ſaith, That *Amyntas* his Father delivered him for hoſtage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conveyed to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his Father was yet living) was firſt ingaged to the *Thebans*, and delivered for hoſtage a ſecond time by *Alexander* his brother.

Perdiccas the third, after he had ſlain *Alorites* his baſe Brother, governed *Macedon* five years, and was then ſlain in a Battel againſt the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but *Juſtin* affirmeth, that he periſhed by the practice of *Eurydice* his Mother, as *Alexander* did.

§. II.

The beginning of Philip's *Reign: and how he delivered* Macedon *from the troubles wherein he found it intangled.*

Philip the ſecond, the youngeſt ſon of *Amyntaas* by *Eurydice*, having been inſtructed in all knowledge requiſite unto the Government of a Kingdom, in that excellent education which he had under *Epaminondas*, making an eſcape from *Thebes*, returned into *Macedon*, in the firſt year of the hundred and fifth *Olympiad*, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourſcore and thirteen years: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdom was invironed, he took on him, not as a King (for *Perdiccas* left a ſon, though but an Infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of War. Yet his fruitful ambition ſoon over-grew his modeſty, and he was eaſily perſwaded by the people to accept both the title of King, and withall, the abſolute rule of the Kingdom. And, to ſay the truth, the neceſſity of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, beſides the incurſions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did ſet up in oppoſition, *Pauſanias*; the *Athenians*, *Argæus*; ſon of the late Uſurper, *Æropus*: each of theſe labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their own election. Theſe heavy burdens when *Philip* could not well bear, he bought off the weightieſt by mony, and by fair promiſes unloaded himſelf of ſo many of the reſt, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithſtanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with four thouſand *Macedonians*, beſide thoſe that were wounded and taken priſoners; and that the *Pannonians* were deſtroying all before them in *Macedon*; and that the *Athenians* with a Fleet by Sea, and three thouſand Souldiers by Land under *Mantias*, did beat upon him on all ſides and quarters of his Country: yet after he had practiſed the men of War of *Pannonia*, and corrupted them with gifts; and had alſo bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pauſanias*, he forthwith made head againſt the *Athenians* his ſtifleſt enemies; and, for the firſt, he prevented their recovery of *Amphipolis*, a City on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then purſue *Argæus*, the ſon of *Æropus*, ſet againſt him by the *Athenians*, and followed him ſo hard at the heels, in his retrait from *Ægæ*, that he forced him to abide the battel: which *Argæus* loſt, having the greateſt part of his Army ſlain in the place. Thoſe of the *Athenians*, and others which remained unbroken, took the advantage of a ſtrong piece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the preſent fury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the Vanquiſhers life and liberty to return into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded between him and the *Athenians* for that preſent, and for this clemency he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greeks*.

§. III.

The good ſucceſs which Philip *had in many enterprizes.*

NOw had *Philip* leiſure to look Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pœonians*, his irreconcileable Enemies and borderers: both which he invaded with ſo proſperous ſucceſs, as he ſlew *Bardillis*, King of the *Illyrians*, with ſeven thouſand of his Nation, and thereby recovered all thoſe places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*: and withal, upon the death of the King of *Pannonia*, he pierc'd that Country, and after a main Victory obtained, he enforc'd them to pay him tribute. This was no ſooner done, than (without ſtaying to take longer breath) he haſted ſpeedily towards *Lariſſa*, upon the River *Peneus* in *Theſſaly*, of which Town he ſoon made himſelf Maſter; and thereby he got good footing in that Country, whereof he made uſe in time following. Now although he reſolved either to ſubdue the *Theſſalians*, or to make them his own againſt all others, becauſe the horſe men of that Country were the beſt, and moſt feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it moſt for his ſafety to cloſe up the entrances out of *Thrace*, leſt while he invaded *Theſſaly* and

Greece

Greece towards the South, those ample Nations lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or over-run *Macedon*, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous river of *Strimon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*; and won it. He also recovered *Pynda*, and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the City of *Crenides* (sometime *Datus*) and called it after his name, *Philippi*: to the people whereof, Saint *Paul* afterward directed one of his Epistles. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of *Philips* affairs, he drew yearly a thousand talents, which make six hundred thousand French Crowns.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the *Thracian* shores of the *Athenian* Garrisons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entred into league with his Fathers malicious enemies, the *Olynthians*; whom the better to fasten unto him, he gave them the City of *Pynda* with the territory, meaning nothing less than that they should enjoy it, or their own Estate, many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the *Greeks*, he took the fair occasion to deliver the City of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, from the Tyrants *Lycophron* and *Tisiphonus*: who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who usurped upon the liberty of that State, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for ever after fasten the *Thessalians* unto him, and, to his exceeding great advantage, binde them to his service.

§. IV.

Of the Phocian *War which first drew* Philip *into* Greece.

ABout this time, to wit, in the second year of the hundred and sixth *Olympiad*, eight years after the Battel of *Mantinæa*, and about the eighth year of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, began that War, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concur towards the execution of eternal providence, and of every great alteration in the World, there is some preceding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this revengeful hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, conceived against the *Phocians*, not only teach *Philip* how he might with half a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the *Greeks* themselves, beating down their own defences, to give him an easie passage; and beating themselves, to give him Victory without peril; left nothing unperformed towards their own slavery, saving the title and imposition. Of this War the *Thebans* (made over-proud by their Victory at *Leuctra*) were the inflamers. For at the Council of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the general Estates of *Greece*, in which at that time they swayed most, they caused both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Phocians* to be condemned in greater sums of money than they could well bear; the one for surprizing the Castle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing up a piece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being resolved not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on, and encouraged by the *Lacedæmonians*: and for refusal were exposed as Sacrilegers, and accursed to all their neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawful to invade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perswaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captain of their own, cast the same dice of hazard that *Cæsar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their own Nation. And the better to bear out an ungracious quarrel, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolved to sack the Temple it self. For seeing that for the ploughing of a piece of *Apollo*'s ground, they had so much offended their Neighbour-god, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befal them than already was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to prevail against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they took out of the Temple in the beginning of the War, was ten thousand talents, which in those days served them to wage a great many men; and such was their success in the beginning of the War, as they won three great battels against the *Thebans*, *Thessalians* and *Locrians*; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* cast himself headlong over the Rocks.

In the mean while the Cities of *Chersonesus*, both to defend themselves against their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their quarrel, rendred themselves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Methone* lost one of his eyes. It is said,

ſaid, That he that ſhot him, did purpoſely direct his arrow toward him, and that it was written on the ſhaft thereof: *After Philippo*; *After to Philip*: for ſo he was called that gave him the wound. This City he evened with the ſoil.

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was buſied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Theſſalians* ingaged in the holy War, entred *Theſſaly* with new Forces, being aſſiſted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Army, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped ſo to entertain the *Theſſalians* at home, as they ſhould not find leiſure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the ſecond time called into *Theſſaly*; but both the *Theſſalians* and *Macedonians* (*Philip* being preſent) were utterly overthrown by *Onomarchus*, and great numbers of both Nations loſt. From *Theſſaly*, *Onomarchus* drew ſpeedily towards *Bœotia*, and with the ſame Victorious Army brake the forces of the *Bœotians*, and took from them their City of *Coronea*. But *Philip*, impatient of his late miſadventure, after he had re-enforced his Army, returned with all ſpeed into *Theſſaly*, there to find again the honour which he lately loſt: and was the ſecond time encountred by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twenty thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. All this great preparation ſufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* ſurmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Army overturned, ſix thouſand ſlain, and three thouſand taken: of which number himſelf being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Thoſe that fled, were in part received by the *Athenian* Gallies, which ſailed along the coaſt, commanded by *Cares*; but the greateſt number of thoſe that took the Sea, were therein devoured ere they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now again driven out of *Theſſaly*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

§. V.

Of the Olynthian *War.* *The ambitious practices of* Philip.

FRom hence *Philip* reſolved to invade *Phocis* it ſelf, but the *Athenians* did not favour his entrance into thoſe parts; and therefore with the help of the *Lacedæmonians*, they retrench'd his paſſage at the Streits of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon he returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micyberne*, *Torone*, and other Towns, he quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very ſtrong, and had evermore both braved and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is ſaid, that *Philip* having put to death *Archelaus* his half brother (for *Amyntas* had three ſons by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other ſons by *Gygæa*: but *Philips* elder Brother by the ſame Mother being dead, he determined to rid himſelf alſo of the reſt) the two younger held themſelves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiving of them by the *Olynthians* was the cauſe of the War, *Juſtine* affirmeth. Juſt quarrels are ballanced by juſt Princes, but to this King all things were lawful that might ſerve his turn; all his affections, and paſſions, how divers ſoever in other men, were in his ambition ſwallowed up, and thereinto converted. For he neither forbare the murder of his own brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelity: he eſteemed no place ſtrong where his Aſs loaden with gold might enter; nor any City or State unconquerable, where a few of the greateſt, to be made greater, could loſe the ſenſe of other mens ſorrow and ſubjection. And becauſe he thought it vain to practiſe the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had incloſed all the power they had within their own walls; he entred their Territory, and by the advantage of a well-compounded and trained Army, he gave them two overthrows ere he ſate down before the City it ſelf: which done, he bought *Euthicrates* and *Laſthenes* from their people, and from the ſervice of their Countrey and Common-weale, by whoſe treaſon he entred the Town, ſlew his brothers therein, ſackt it, and ſold the Inhabitants for ſlaves by the drum. By the ſpoil of this place he greatly enriched himſelf, and had treaſure ſufficient to buy-in other Cities withal, which he daily did. For ſo was he adviſed by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, *That he ſhould make his aſſaults with ſilver ſpears:* Whereupon *Horace* well and truly ſaid,

—— Diffidit Urbium
Portas vir Macedo, & ſubruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.——

Hor. Carm. Od. 16.

By gifts the *Macedon* clave Gates aſunder,
And Kings envying his eſtate brought under.

And it is true, that he won more by corruption and fraud, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principal Cities of *Greece* his ſecret workers (which way of Conqueſt was well followed by *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*:) So when in the contention between the

the Competitors for the Kingdom of *Thrace*, he was choſen the Arbitrator; he came not to the Council accompanied with Piety and Juſtice, but with a powerful Army, and having beaten and ſlain both Kings, gave ſentence for himſelf, and made the Kingdom his own.

§. VI.

How Philip *ended the* Phocian *War.*

THe War ſtill continued between the *Phocian* and the Aſſociates of the holy War: the *Bœotians*, finding themſelves unable to ſubſiſt without ſome preſent aid, ſent unto *Philip* for ſuccour, who willingly yielded to their neceſſities, and ſent them ſuch a proportion of men, as were neither ſufficient to maſter their enemies, nor to aſſure themſelves; but yet to enable them to continue the War, and to waſte the ſtrength of *Greece*. They alſo ſent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for ſupply of treaſure, who lent them thirty talents, which makes a hundred and fourſcore thouſand Crowns: but when with theſe ſupplies they had ſtill the worſt againſt the *Phocians*, who held from them three of the ſtrongeſt Cities within *Bœotia* it ſelf, they then beſought *Philip* of *Macedon* that he would aſſiſt them in perſon, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territory, and in all things obey his Commandments in War.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himſelf in ſtate to give the law to both, and ſo quitting all his other purpoſes towards the North, he marched with a ſpeedy pace towards *Bœotia*, where being arrived, *Phailechus* who commanded the *Phocian* Army, fearing to ſhock with this victorious King, made his own peace, and withdrew himſelf with a Regiment of eight thouſand Souldiers into *Peloponneſus*, leaving the *Phocians* to the mercy of the Conqueror; and for concluſion he had the glory of that War called *Sacred*, which the *Grecians* with ſo many mutual ſlaughters had continued for ten years; and, beſides the glory, he poſſeſt himſelf of *Orchomene*, *Coronea*, and *Corſia*, in the Country of the *Bœotians*, who invited him to be victorious over themſelves. He brought the *Phocians* into ſervitude, and waſted their Cities, and gave them but their Villages to inhabit, reſerving unto himſelf the yearly tribute of threeſcore talents, which make ſix and thirty thouſand French Crowns. He alſo hereby (beſides the fame of piety for ſervice of the gods) obtained the ſame double voice in the Council of the *Amphyctiones* which the *Phocians* had, with the ſuperintendency of the *Pytian* games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian* ſacrilege.

§. VII.

How Philip *with ill ſucceſs attempted upon* Perinthus, Byzantium, *and the* Scythians.

PHilip, after his triumphant return into *Macedon*, by the Lieutenant of his Army *Parmenco*, ſlaughtered many thouſands of the *Illyrians* and *Dardanians*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their Reveuues. But his next enterprize againſt the *Perinthians* ſtayed his fury. *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace*, ſeated upon *Propontis*, in the mid-way between *Seſtos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great ſtrength, and a people reſolved to defend their liberty againſt *Philip*, where the *Athenians* incouraged and aſſiſted them. *Philip* ſate down before it with a puiſſant Army, made many fair breaches, gave many furious aſſaults, built many over-topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repelled with equal violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continual aſſauls to weary them, and waſte both their men and munition, they were ſupplied, not only from the *Perſian* with men and money, and ſuccoured from *Byzantium*, which ſtood upon the ſame Sea-coaſt, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatſoever was wanting to their neceſſity. But becauſe thoſe of *Byzantium* by reaſon of their neighbourhood, and eaſie paſſage by water, gave them often and ready help, *Philip* removed the one half of his Army, and beſieged it, leaving fifteen thouſand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could: But, to be ſhort, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly do that undertake divers enterprizes at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no leſs diſhonor than loſs: whereupon he made an overture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly deſired it: to which though *Phocion* perſwaded them all he could, and that by the occaſion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions; yet *Demoſthenes* with his eloquence prevailed in the refuſal. In the mean while, *Philip* having digeſted his late affront, and ſupplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred threeſcore and ten Merchants ſhips, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his ſon *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*: but he was alſo unproſperous in that enterprize: For the *Triballi*, a people of *Mœſia*,

Thessa, set on him in his return, wounded him, and took from him the greatest part of the spoils which he had gathered.

§. VIII.

How Philip *overthrowing the* Greeks *in the battel of* Cheronæa, *was chosen Captain-General of* Greece. *The death of* Philip.

AMong these Northern Nations (part of which he suppreſt, and part quieted) he spent some eight years; and in the ninth year, after the end of the Holy War, he was by his great advantage, invited again by the *Græcians* to their assistance. For the Citizens of *Amphissa* having disobeyed the decree of *Amphyctiones*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reason that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gave countenance and aid to the *Amphissonians*, the rest were not of themselves able to constrain them, they besought *Philip* to come in person to their assistance. Now you must think that *Philip* was not long in resolving upon this enterprise; he needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keep back; not other disswasion than a mastering power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Army forthwith to march; the same being compounded of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred *Phocis*, won *Platæa*, and brought into subjection all that Region.

The rest, and especially the *Athenians*, although they had good cause to fear that a great part of this storm would fall on themselves; yet were they disswaded by *Demosthenes* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (having drawn the *Thebans* to joyn with them) to leave the enjoying of their estates and their freedom to the chance of one battel, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratours eloquence cost them dear. It is true, that he could far more easily mind them of the vertue of their Ancestors, than make them such as they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving passion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but he could not transform the *Macedonians* into *Persians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Aristides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had payed with the greatest ingratitude that ever Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the strength of a contrary faction he was at this time in disgrace, and not imployed; in so much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates incountred, although some thousands of the *Athenians* did abide the killing, and the like number well-near of the *Thebans* died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that side to hold up the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the *Macedonians*, incouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as. it gave to *Philip* so shining a victory, that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despight of all the Nations interjacent) in *Persia*, *India*, and *Egypt*; so it cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the *Græcian* glory; Yea their liberty (saith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion won with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for ever lost.

Now this advised King (never passionate to his disadvantage) to the end he might obtain the Soveraignty over all *Greece*, and be acknowledged for their Captain-General against the *Persians*, without any further hazzard or trouble, was content to let go those *Athenians* that were taken at this battel of *Cheronæa*, as he also forbare to attempt any thing against their City: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the vertue of *Epaminondas* triumphed over the rest) he lodged a Garrison of *Macedonians*. And being soon after (according unto the long desire which he had nourished of this Soveraignty) by the general States at *Corinth*, styled the first Commander of all the *Græcians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Army of great strength, and under the Commandment of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, transported the same over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, to begin the War. Of his enterprise against *Persia*, he sought success from the Oracle at *Delphos*, from whence he received such another convertible riddle, as *Crœsus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discern and withstand the flatteries of our own appetites, so did *Philips* ambitious desire to invade *Persia*, abuse his judgement, so far, that the death, wherewith himself was threatned, he understood to be delivered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to invade. Before his purposed departure into *Asia*, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*; to which feast and pastimes thereat appointed, he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the

principal persons of the *Grecian* Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich Presents: but this was indeed the Feast of his Funeral. For, having refused to do justice to one *Pausanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly favoured by *Philip*) had first made drunk, and then left to be carnally abused by divers base persons; this *Pausanias* grew into so great a detestation of the Kings partiality in so foul a fact, as, when *Philip* was passing towards the Theater, he drew a sword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when he had lived six and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. *Justine* reports it, that *Olympias* incouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband; which after his death she bodily avowed, by the honour she did unto *Pausanias*, in crowning his dead body, in consecrating his Sword unto *Apollo*, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces.

§. XI.

What good foundations of Alexanders *greatness were laid by* Philip. *Of his laudable qualities and issue.*

NOw although he were then taken from the World, when he had mastered all opposition on that side of the Sea, and had seen the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripeness and perfection; yet he was herein happy, that he lived to see his Son *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himself been an eye-witness of his resolution and singular valour in this last battel.

The foundation of whose future greatness he had laid so soundly for him, with so plain a pattern of the Buildings which himself meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was far more easie to *Alexander*, though more glorious, than the beginnings unto *Philip*, though less famous. For, besides the recovery of *Macedon* it self in competition between him and the Sons of *Æropus*, the one assisted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*; and besides the regaining of many places possest by the *Illyrians*, the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the overthrow of *Olynthus*, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedom; and the subjection of that famous Nation of *Greece*, which for so many Ages had defended it self against the greatest Kings of the World, and won upon them; He left unto his Son, and had bred up for him, so many choice Commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and judgement in the War, were no less worthy of Crowns, than himself was that ware a Crown: For it was said of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, ungratefull to so great vertue, impiously murthered) That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternal fame, without the King; but the King without *Parmenio* never did any thing worthy of renown: as for the rest of his Captains, though content to obey the Son of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themselves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more Vices, than Nature and his excellent education had enriched him with vertues. For, besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Affections, he had this savour of Piety, that he rather laboured to satisfie those that were grieved, than to suppress them. Whereof (among many other) we find a good example in his dealing with *Arcadion* and *Nicanor*. Whom when for their evil speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death, he answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himself; Secondly, that it was in every mans own power to be well spoken of; and this was shortly proved; for after *Philip* relieved their necessities, there were none within his Kingdom that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told those that had perswaded him to use violence, that he was a better Physitian for evil speech than they were.

His Epistles to *Alexander* his Son are remembred by *Cicero* and *Gellius*; and by *Dion* and *Chrysostome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyænus* and *Erontinus*; his wise sayings, by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his own right, all the time of his reign, yet was he not the true and next Heir thereof; for *Amyntas* the Son of his Brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the Protection during his infancy) had the

the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philip*'s base Son *Aridæus*, her Unkle by the Mothers side: both which *Olympias*, *Philip*'s first Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Aridæus* by extreme torments, *Eurydice* the strangled.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Molossians* (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Uncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her Bother *Alexanders* death slain at *Sardis*, by the commandement of *Antigonus*.

By *Audata* an *Illyrian*, his second Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before.

By *Nicasipolis*, the Sister of *Jason*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, he had *Thessalonica*, whom *Cassander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but she was afterward by her Father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Neece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, caused to be rosted to death in a Copper Pan. Others lay his murder to *Alexander* himself. By the same *Cleopatra* he had likewise a daughter called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers brest.

By *Phila* and *Atteda* he had no issue.

He had also two Concubines, *Arsinoe*, whom after he had gotten with childe, he married to an obscure man called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, called the Son of *Lagus*, but esteemed the Son of *Philip*: by *Thessinna*, his second Concubine, a publick Dancer, he had *Aridæus*, of whom we shall have much occasion to speak hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of ALEXANDER *the Great.*

§. I.

A brief rehearsal of Alexanders *doings, before he invaded* Asia.

ALexander, afterwards called the Great, succeeded unto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no less valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and inriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his reign over the *Macedonians* four hundred and seventeen years, after *Rome* was built, and after his own birth twenty years. The strange dreams of *Philip* his Father, and that one of the gods in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as foolish Tales; but, that the Temple of *Diana* (a work the most magnificent of the World) was burnt upon the day of his birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the news of three several Victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and fore-shewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Upon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppress, began to consult about the recovery of their former liberty, and to adventure it by force of arms. *Alexanders* young years gave them hope of prevailing, and his suspected severity increased courage in those, who could better resolve to die, than to live slavishly. But *Alexander* gave no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily have endangered the health of his Estate. For after revenge taken upon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew upon his Tomb, and the celebration of his Funerals, he first fastened unto him his own Nation, by freeing them from all exactions and bodily slavery, other than their service in his Wars; and used such Kingly austerity towards those that contemned his young years, and such clemency to the rest that perswaded themselves of the cruelty of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, he made a present journey into *Peloponnesus*, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Counsel of the States of *Greece*, he was, according to the great desire of his heart, elected Captain-General against the *Persians*, upon which war *Philip* had not only resoved, (who had obtained the same title of General Commander) but had transported under the leading of *Parmenio*

nio and *Attalus*, a part of his Army, to recover some places on *Asia*-side, for the safe delivery of the rest.

This enterprise against the *Persian* occupied all *Alexanders* affections; those fair marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now shot at both sleeping and waking; all other thoughts and imaginations were either grievous or hatefull. But a contrary winde ariseth: for he receiveth advertisement, that the *Athenians*, *Thebans* and *Lacedæmonians*, had united themselves against him, and, by assistance from the *Persian*, hoped for the recovery of their former freedom. Hereunto they were perswaded by *Demosthenes*, himself being thereto perswaded by the gold of *Persia*: the device he used was more subtile than profitable; for he caused it to be bruited, that *Alexander* was slain in a battail against the *Triballes*, and brought into the assembly a companion whom he had corrupted, to affirm that himself was present, and wounded in the battail. There is indeed a certain Doctrine of Policy (as Policy is now-a-days defined by falsehood and knavery) that devised rumours and lies, if they serve the turn but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true, Common people are sometimes mockt by them as Souldiers are by false alarums in the wars; but in all that I have observed, I have found the success as ridiculous as the invention. For as those that find themselves at one time abused by such like bruits, do at other times neglect their duties, when they are upon true reports, and in occasions perilous, summoned to assemble; so do all men in general condemn the Venters of such trumpery, and for them, fear upon necessary occasion to entertain the truth it self. This labour unlooked for, and loss of time, was not only very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Persians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Græcians*, of whose assistance he thought himself assured, his present undertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot endure to strive against the wind, shall hardly attain the Port which he purposeth to recover: and it no less becometh the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewail them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these Revolters, as that himself, with the Army that followed him, brought them the first news of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moved, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadours to pacifie the King, and to be received again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resolving; for the *Persians* perswaded him to pardon the *Græcians*. Wise men are not easily drawn from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King ever brought to effect any great affair, who hath intangled himself in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certain end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agreans*, and other salvage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only other of his Predecessors, but even *Philip* his Father: with all which, after divers Overthrows given them, he made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good success, he could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more natural to man than liberty: the *Greeks* had enjoyed it over-long, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once again. The *Thebans*, who had in their Cittadell a Garrison of 3000 *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* hasteneth to their succour, and presents himself with 30000. foot, all old Souldiers, and 3000. Horse, before the City, and gave the Inhabitants some days to resolve, being even heart-sick with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So unwilling, indeed, he was to draw blood of the *Græcians*, by whom he hoped to serve himself elsewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliver into his hands *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, the stirrers up of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean Sea) instead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should have made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered unto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the ballance of *Fortune* with the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and many other Provinces, could either have evened the scale or swayed it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacy. For while the *Thebans* oppose the Army assailant, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garrison, their City taken and razed to the ground, six thousand slain, and thirty thousand sold for slaves, at the price of four hundred and forty Talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other *Græcian* Cities.

Many arguments were used by *Cleadas* one of the Prisoners, to perswade *Alexander* to

to forbear the deſtruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to believe that they were rather miſ-led by giving haſty credit to falſe reports, than any way malicious; for being perſwaded of *Alexander*'s death, they rebelled but againſt his ſucceſſour. He alſo beſought the King to remember, that his Father *Philip* had his education in that City, yea, that his Anceſtour *Hercules* was born therein: but all perſwaſions were fruitleſs; the times wherein offences are committed do greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and ſpared, and ſet at liberty *Timoclea*, the Siſter of *Theagenes*, who dyed in defence of the liberty of *Greece* againſt his Father *Philip*. This noble woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him raviſhed, he threatned to take her life unleſs ſhe would confeſs her treaſure: ſhe led that *Thracian* to a Well, and told him, that ſhe had therein caſt it: and when the *Thracian* ſtooped to look into the Well, ſhe ſuddenly thruſt him into the mouth thereof and ſtoned him to death.

Now becauſe the *Athenians* had received into their City ſo many of the *Thebans*, as had eſcaped and fled unto them for ſuccour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their Orators which perſwaded this ſecond revolt, and their Captains; yet in the end, it being a torment unto him to retard the enterprize of *Perſia*, he was content that the Orators ſhould remain, and accepted of the baniſhment of the Captains; wherein he was exceeding ill-adviſed, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the reſiſtance againſt him unprofitable: for theſe good Leaders of the *Græcians* betook themſelves to the ſervice of the *Perſian*, whom after a few dayes he invaded.

§. II.

How Alexander *paſſed into* Aſia, *fought with the* Perſians *upon the River of* Granicus.

WHen all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the truſt of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the firſt of the Spring did paſs the *Helleſpont*, and being ready to diſ-imbark, he threw a Dart towards the *Aſian* ſhore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waſte in their own Territory, or to burn, or deface thoſe buildings which themſelves were preſently, and in the future to poſſeſs. He landed his Army, conſiſting of two and thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, all old Souldiers, near unto *Troy*, where he offered a ſolemn Sacrifice upon *Achilles* Tomb, his maternal Anceſtor.

But before he left his own coaſt, he put to death, without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-laws Kinſmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly advanced, not ſparing ſuch of his own as he ſuſpected. He alſo took with him many of his tributary Princes, of whoſe fidelity he doubted; thinking by unjuſt cruelty to aſſure all things, both in the preſent and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended unto him, though agreeing very well with the Juſtice of God; for all that he had planted, was ſoon after withered, and rooted up; thoſe, whom he moſt truſted, were the moſt traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by ſuch another mercileſs ſword as his own, and all manner of confuſion followed his dead body to the grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexander*'s landing on *Aſia* ſide was brought to *Darius*, he ſo much ſcorned the Army of *Macedon*, and had ſo contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himſelf, as having ſtiled him his ſervant on a letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his diſloyalty and audacity (for *Darius* intitled himſelf King of Kings, and the Kinſman of the gods) he gave order withall to his Lieutenants of the leſſer *Aſia*, that they ſhould take *Alexander* alive, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his preſence: that they ſhould ſink his ſhips, and ſend the *Macedons* taken priſoners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into *Æthiopia*, or ſome other unhealthfull part of *Africa*.

In this ſort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartleſs multitude which he commanded, diſpoſe of the already-vanquiſhed *Macedonians*: But the ill deſtinies of men bearing them to the ground, by what ſtrong confidence ſoever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heap into the field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any diſcouragement at all. For, beſides that they were men utterly unacquainted with dangers; men, who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to prevail againſt thoſe of leſs courage than themſelves; men that took more care how to embroider with gold and ſilver their upper garments, as if they attended the invaſion but of the Sun-beams, than they did to arm themſelves with Iron and Steel againſt

againſt the ſharp pikes, ſwords, and darts of the hardy *Macedonians*: I ſay, beſides all theſe, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turn to fight, filled every one of them with the care of their own ſafety, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their own breath, and that of their Horſes, in running away. The *Macedonians*, as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themſelves with the Gold and Jewels of *Perſia*, both which they needed; ſo the *Perſians*, who expected nothing in that War but blows and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to conſtrain them in aſſembling themſelves for his ſervice; but their own fears and cowardiſe, which in time of danger had moſt power over them, they only then obeyed, when their rebellion againſt ſo ſervile a paſſion did juſtly and violently require it. For, ſaith *Vegetius*, *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles præium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam ſcientiam eſt in pugna uſum ampliùs prodeſſe quam vires. As the well-practiſed Souldier deſires to come to battel, ſo the raw one fears it: for we muſt underſtand, that in fight it more avails to have been accuſtomed unto the like, than only to have rude ſtrength.* What manner of men the *Perſians* were, *Alexander* diſcovered in the firſt encounter; before which time it is ſaid, by thoſe that write his ſtory, that it was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the Conqueſt of an Empire ſo well peopled, with an handfull of men, or the ſucceſs he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the River of *Granick*, which ſevereth the Territory of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Perſians* ſought to ſtop his paſſage, taking the higher ground and bank of the River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime up unto, and ſcale from the Level of the water. Great reſiſtance (ſaith *Curtius*) was made by the *Perſians*, yet in the end *Alexander* prevailed. But it ſeems to me, that the Victory then gotten was exceeding eaſie, and that the twenty thouſand *Perſian* footmen, ſaid to be ſlain, were rather killed in the back, in running away, than hurt in the boſoms by reſiſting. For had thoſe twenty thouſand foot, and two hundred and fifty horſe-men, or, after *Plutarch*, two thouſand and five hundred horſe-men, dyed with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not have bought their lives at ſo ſmall a rate, as with the loſs of four and thirty of all ſorts of his own. And if it were alſo true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountred two of the *Perſian* Commanders, *Spithridates* and *Rœſaches*; and that the *Perſian* horſe-men fought with great fury, though in the end ſcattered; and laſtly, how thoſe *Græcians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themſelves in one body upon a piece of ground of advantage, did (after mercy was refuſed them) fight it out to the laſt; how then doth it reſemble truth, that ſuch reſiſtance having been made, yet of *Alexander*'s Army there fell but twelve footmen, and two and twenty horſe-men?

§. III.

A digreſſion concer ing the defence of hard paſſages, Of things following the Battell of Granick.

THe winning of this paſſage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought ſuch terrour upon all thoſe of the leſſer *Aſia*, as he obtained all the Kingdoms thereof without a blow, ſome one or two Towns excepted. For in all invaſions, where the Nations invaded have once been beaten upon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Streights, and Mountains, they will ſoon have perſwaded themſelves, that ſuch an enemy upon equal terms and even ground, can hardly be reſiſted. It was therefore *Machiavels* counſel, That he which reſolveth to defend a paſſage, ſhould with his ableſt force oppoſe the Aſſailant. And to ſay truth, few Regions of any great circuit are ſo well fenced, that Armies of ſuch force as may be thought ſufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the natural difficulty of the wayes. One paſſage or other is commonly left unguarded: if all be defended, then muſt the forces of the Country be diſtracted; and yet lightly ſome one place will be found that is defended very weakly. How often have the *Alpes* given way to Armies, breaking into *Italy*? Yea, Where ſhall we finde that ever they kept out an Invader? Yet are they ſuch as (to ſpeak briefly) afflict with all difficulties thoſe that travel over them; but they give no ſecurity to thoſe that lye behind them: for they are of too large extent. The Towns of *Lombardy* perſwaded themſelves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers* had undertaken to hinder *Francis* the *French* King from deſcending into the Dutchy of *Milan*: but whileſt theſe Patrons of *Milan*, whom their own dwelling in thoſe Mountains had made fitteſt of all other for ſuch a ſervice, were buſied in cuſtody of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lombardy*, ſo much the

the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the leſs they had expected his arrival. What ſhall we ſay of thoſe Mountains, which lock up whole Regions in ſuch ſort, as they leave but one Gate open; The Streights, or (as they were called) the Gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and thoſe of *Thermopylæ*, have ſeldom been attempted, perhaps becauſe they were thought impregnable: but how ſeldom (if ever) have they been attempted in vain? *Xerxes*, and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of *Thermopylæ*; *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how ſtrongly ſoever they had been locked and barred, yet were thoſe Countries open enough to a Fleet that ſhould enter on the back-ſide. The defence of Rivers, how hard a thing it is, we find examples in all hiſtories that bear good witneſs. The deepeſt have many Foords; the ſwifteſt and broadeſt may be paſſed by Boats, in caſe it be found a matter of difficulty to make a bridge. He that hath men enow to defend all the length of his own bank, hath alſo enow to beat his enemy; and may therefore do better to let him come over, to his loſs, than by ſtriving in vain to hinder the paſſage, as a matter tending to his own diſadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill caſe, having their means of ſafeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of ſuch as are too good for them. Certainly, if a River were ſufficient defence againſt an Army, the Iſle of *Mona*, now called *Angleſey*, which is divided from *North-Wales* by an Arm of the Sea, had been ſafe enough againſt the *Romans*, invading it under the conduct of *Julius Agricola*. But he wanting, and not meaning to ſpend the time in making Veſſels to tranſport his forces, did aſſay the foords. Whereby he ſo amazed the enemies attending for ſhips and ſuch like proviſion by Sea, that ſurely believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men, which came ſo minded to War, they humbly intreated for peace, and yielded the Iſland. Yet the *Britains* were men ſtout enough, the *Perſians* were very daſtards.

It was therefore wiſely done of *Alexander*, to paſs the River of *Granick* in face of the enemy; not marching higher to ſeek an eaſier way, nor labouring to convey his men over it by ſome ſafer means. For, having beaten them upon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no leſs of their reputation, than of their ſtrength, leaving no hope of ſuccour to the partakers and followers of ſuch unable Protectors.

Soon after this Victory he recovered *Sardis*, *Epheſus*, the Cities of the *Trallians*, and *Magneſia*, which were rendred unto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrey, he received with great grace, ſuffering them to be governed by their own Laws. For he obſerved it well; *Novum Imperium inchoantibus, utilis clementiæ fama*; *It is commodious unto ſuch as lay the foundations of a new Soveraignty, to have the fame of being mercifull.* He then by *Parmenio* wan *Miletus*, and by force maſtered *Halicarnaſſæus*, which becauſe it reſiſted obſtinately, he razed to the ground. From whence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queen, who had been caſt out of all that ſhe held (except the City of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, preſented her ſelf unto him, and adopted him her Son and Succeſſor; which *Alexander* accepted in ſo gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdom to her diſpoſing. He then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, and obtained all the Sea-coaſts, and, ſubjecting unto him *Piſidia*, he directed himſelf towards *Darius* (who was ſaid to be advanced towards him with a marvellous Army) by the way of *Phrygia*: For, all the Province of *Aſia* the leſs, bordering upon the Sea, his firſt Victory laid under his feet.

While he gave order for the government and ſettling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they ſent *Cleander* to raiſe ſome new Captains in *Peloponneſus*, and marching towards the North, he entred *Celenas*, ſeated on the River *Meander*, which was abandoned unto him; the Caſtle only holding out, which alſo after forty dayes was given up: for ſo long time he gave them to attend ſuccour from *Darius*. From *Celenas* he paſs'd on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a City called *Gordium*, the Regal Seat, in former times, of King *Midas*. In this City it was, that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to undo, he cut it aſunder with his Sword. For there was an ancient Prophecy did promiſe to him that could untie it, the Lordſhip of all *Aſia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not reſpecting the manner how, ſo it were done, aſſumed to himſelf the fulfilling of the Prophecy, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Aſia* the leſs towards the eaſt, he took care to clear the Sea-coaſt on his back, and to thruſt the *Perſians* out of the Iſlands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Coos*: the charge whereof he committed unto two of his Captains, giving them ſuch order as he thought to be moſt convenient for that ſervice; and delivering unto

unto them fifty Talents to defray the charges: and withall out of his first spoyl gotten, he sent threescore Talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Macedon*. From *Celenas* he removed to *Ancira*, now called *Angueri*, standing on the same River of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there he mustered his Army, and then entred *Paphlagonia*, whose people submitted themselves unto him, and obtained freedom of tribute: where he left *Calus* Governour with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

Here he understood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to pass on towards him; for of this only Captain he had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders he had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as he hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weals, the erection of Monarchies, the Conversion of Kingdoms and Empires, gotten victories of ten against multitudes of equal wealth, strength, contrived victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, converted the fearfull passions of his own followers into magnanimity, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits have been stirred up in sundry Ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and cast down again, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States, to the same certain ends, which the infinite Spirit of the *Universal*, piercing, moving, and governing all things, hath ordained. Certainly, the things that this King did, were marvellous, and would hardly have been undertaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to have invaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would have contented himself with some part thereof, and not have discovered the River of *Inaus*, as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherewith he ran over so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may justly be imputed unto this, that he was never encountred by an equal spirit, concurring with equal power against him. Hereby it came to pass that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, than distant places, and the meer length of tedious journies could make, were like the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praiseworthy, as for the huge bulk. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, discover as brave a spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no less exquisitely, though the effects were less material, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would find the exact pattern of a noble Commander, must look upon such as *Epaminondas*, that encountring worthy Captains, and those better followed than themselves, have by their singular vertue over-topped their valiant enemies, and still prevailed over those, that would not have yielded one foot to any other. Such as these are, do seldom live to obtain great Empires. For it is a work of more labour and longer time, to master the equal forces of one hardy and well-ordered State, than to tread down and utterly subdue a multitude of servile Nations, compounding the body of a gross unweildy Empire. Wherefore these *Parvo-Potentes*, men that with little have done much upon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choice examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactness and greatness concurring so seldom, that I can find no instance of both in one, save only that brave *Roman*, *Cæsar*.

Having thus far digressed, it is now time that we return unto our Eastern Conquerour; who is travailing hastily towards *Cilicia*, with a desire to recover the Streights thereof before *Darius* should arrive there. But first making a dispatch unto *Greece*, he sent to those Cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the *Persian* Targets which he had recovered in this first battel; upon which, by certain inscriptions, he made them partakers of his Victory. Herein he well advised himself; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gains in the Wars, as he doth of the spoils, shall never be long followed of those of the better sort. For men which are either well-born, or well-bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, do as often satisfie themselves with the purchase of glory, as the weak in fortune, and strong in courage, do with the gain of gold and silver.

The Governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexanders* coming on, left some Companies to keep the Streights, which were indeed very defensible; and withall, as *Curtius* noteth, he began over-late to prise and put in execution the Counsel of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Wars advised him to waste all the provisions for Men and Horse, that could not be lodged in strong places, and alwayes to give ground to the Invader, till he found some such notable advantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of Victory. For the fury of an invading Army

Army is beſt broken, by delays, change of diet, and want, eating ſometimes too little, and ſometimes too much, ſometimes repoſing themſelves in beds, and more oftner on the cold ground. Theſe and the like ſudden alterations bring many diſeaſes upon all Nations out of their own Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and ſleep, and, refuſing to give or take battel, had wearied them with his light horſe, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance have ſaved his own life, and his eſtate. For it was one of the greateſt incouragements given by *Alexander*, to the *Macedonians*, in the third and laſt fatal battel, That they were to fight with all the ſtrength of *Perſia* at once.

Xerxes when he invaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, loſt only his men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greeks*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, loſt his Kingdom. *Pericles* though the *Lacedæmonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawn to hazard a battel: for the invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Becauſe we read Hiſtories to inform our underſtanding by the examples therein found, we will give ſome inſtances of thoſe that have periſhed by adventuring in their own Countries, to charge an invading Army. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their deſtruction.

Pompey was well adviſed for a while, when he gave *Cæſar* ground; but when by the importunity of his Captains he adventured to fight at *Pharſalia*, he loſt the battel, loſt the freedom of *Rome*, and his own life.

Ferdinand, in the Conqueſt of *Naples*, would needs fight a battel with the *French* to his confuſion, though it was told him by a man of ſound judgement, that thoſe Counſels which promiſe ſurety in all things, are honorable enough.

The Conſtable of *France* made fruſtrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fifth, when he invaded *Provence*, by waſting the Country, and forbearing to fight; ſo did the Duke of *Alva* weary the *French* in *Naples*, and diſſolve the boiſtrous Army of the Prince of *Orange* in the *Low-Countries*.

The *Leigers*, contrary to the advice of their General, would needs fight a battel with the *Bourgonians*, invading their Country, and could not be perſwaded to linger the time, and ſtay their advantage; but they loſt eight and twenty thouſand upon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* ſet upon King *Edward* at *Creſſie*; and King *John* (when the *Engliſh* were well-neer tired out, and would in ſhort time by an orderly purſuit have been waſted to nothing) conſtrained the black Prince with great fury, neer *Poitiers*, to joyn battel with him: But all men know what lamentable ſucceſs theſe two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fifth of *France* made another kind of *Fabian*-Warfare; and though the *Engliſh* burnt and waſted many places, yet this King held his reſolution to forbear blows, and followed his advice, which told him, That the *Engliſh* could never get his inheritance by ſmoak. And it is reported by *Belloy* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to ſay of this *Charles*, that he wan from him the Dutchy of *Guyen* without ever putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpoſe to deſtroy, wiſe men grow ſhort-lived, and the charge of things is committed unto ſuch as either cannot ſee what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any ſound advice. The courſe which *Memnon* had propounded, muſt in all appearance of reaſon have brought the *Macedonians* to a great perplexity, and made him ſtand ſtill a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more ſhameful to return, or dangerous to proceed. For, had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* been waſted whilſt *Alexander* was far off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* been defended by *Arſenes*, Governor of that Province, with the beſt of his forces; hunger would not have ſuffered the enemy, to ſtay the trial of all means that might be thought upon, of forcing that paſſage: or if the place could not have been maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leiſure have been ſo throughly ſpoiled, that the heart of his Army ſhould have been broken, by ſeeking out miſeries by painful travel.

But *Arſenes* leaving a ſmall number to defend the Streights, took the beſt of his Army with him, to waſte and ſpoil the Country; or rather, as may ſeem, to find himſelf ſome work, by pretence of which he might honeſtly run further away from *Alexander*. He ſhould rather have adventured his perſon in cuſtody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps have ſaved the Province; and in the mean time, all that was in the fields, would have been conveighed into ſtrong Towns. So ſhould his Army, if it were driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himſelf with his horſemen have had the leſs work in deſtroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gave the *Cilicians* cauſe to wiſh for *Alexanders* coming; and as great cauſe

to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all forms of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arsenes* made all haste to joyn himself with *Darius*, burning down all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, began to grow circumspect, and to think that surely their General, who gave as lost the Country behind their backs, had exposed themselves unto certain death, as men that were good for nothing else but to dull the *Macedonian* swords. Wherefore not affecting to dye for their Prince and Country (which honour they saw that *Arsenes* himself could well forbear) they speedily followed the foot-steps of their General, gleaning after his Harvest. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardize of his Enemies, and the whole Province that had been alienated from the *Persian* side by their indiscretion.

§. IV.

Of the unwarlike Army levied by Darius *against* Alexander. *The unadvised courses which* Darius *took in this expedition. He is vanquished at* Issus; *where his Mother, Wife and Children are made prisoners: of some things following the battel of* Issus.

IN the mean season *Darius* approached, who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Army of more than two hundred and ninety thousand Souldiers, out of divers Nations; *Justine* musters them at three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; *Plutarch*, at six hundred thousand.

The manner of his coming on, as *Curtius* describes it, was rather like a Masker than a man of War, and like one that took more care to set out his glory and riches, than to provide for his own safety, perswading himself, as it seemed, to beat *Alexander* with pomp and sumptuous Pageants. For, before the Army there was carried the holy Fire, which the *Persians* worshipped, attended by their *Priests*; and after them three hundred and threescore and five young men, answering the number of the days of the year, covered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Jupiter* drawn with white Horses, with their Riders cloathed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; and after it, the Horse of the *Sun*: Next after these follow ten sumptuous Chariots, in-layed and garnisht with silver and gold; and then the Vantguard of their horse, compounded of twelve several Nations, which the better to avoid confusion, did hardly understand each others language; and these marshall'd in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serve very fitly to disorder all that followed them: in the tail of these Horses the Regiment of foot marched, with the *Persians* called Immortal, because if any died, the number was presently supplied: and these were armed with chains of gold, and their coats with the same metal imbroidered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearl: baits, either to catch the hungry *Macedonians* withal, or to perswade them that it were great incivility to cut, and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said, *Sumptuosè indutus miles, se virtute superiorem aliis non existimet, cum in præliis oporteat fortitudine animi, & non vestimentis muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur*; *Let no man think that he exceedeth those in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparel they put on, that enemies are beaten.* And it was perchance from the *Roman Papyrius* that this advice was borrowed, who, when he fought against the *Samnites* in that fatal battel, wherein they all sware either to prevail or dye, thirty thousand of them having apparelled themselves in white garments, with high crests, and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aside all fear: *Non enim cristas vulnera facere, & per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum*; *For these plumed crests would wound no body, and the* Roman *pile would bore holes in painted and gilded shields.*

To second this Court-like company, fifteen thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breed the more terror) and these were honored with the Title of the Kings Kinsmen. Then came *Darius* himself, the Gentlemen of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the *Macedonians* did not serve, but they served their turns of these, by changing their massie-bodies into thin, portable and currant coyn. The head of this Chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, covered with an open-winged Eagle of the same metal: The hinder part being raised high whereon *Darius* sate, had a covering of inestimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thousand Horsemen, their Lances plated with silver, and their heads guilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the *Macedonian* blood, for fear of marring their beauty.

beauty. He had for the proper Guard of his own perſon, two hundred of the blood Royal; blood, too Royal and precious to be ſpilt by any valorous adventure (I am of opinion that two hundred ſturdy fellows, like the *Switzers*, would have done him more ſervice) and theſe were backt with thirty thouſand foot-men, after whom again were led four hundred ſpare horſes for the King, which if he had meant to have uſed, he would have marſhalled ſomewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Reer-ward, the ſame being led by *Siſygambis* the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great train of Ladies their attendants on horſe-back, with fifteen Wagons of the Kings children, and the wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fifty Concubines, and a world of Nurſes and *Eunuchs*, moſt ſumptuouſly apparalled. By which it ſhould ſeem that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had been *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troop was far fitter to behold thoſe ſports than to be preſent at battels. Between theſe and a company of ſlight-armed ſlaves, with a world of Varlets, was the Kings treaſure, charged on ſix hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this ſort came the *May-game-King* into the field, incumbred with a moſt unneceſſary train of Strumpets, attended with troops of divers Nations, ſpeaking divers languages, and for their numbers impoſſible to be marſhalled; and for the moſt part ſo effeminate, and ſo rich in gold and in garments, as the ſame could not but have encouraged the naked'ſt Nation of the world againſt them. We find it in daily experience, that all diſcourſe of Magnanimity, of National Virtue, of Religion, of Liberty, and whatſoever elſe hath been wont to move and encourage Virtuous men, hath no force at all with the common Souldier, in compariſon of ſpoil and riches. The rich ſhips are boorded upon all diſadvantage, the rich Towns are furiouſly aſſaulted, and the plentiful Countries willingly invaded. Our *Engliſh* Nation have attempted many places in the *Indies*, and run upon the *Spaniards* headlong, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Piſtolets; which, had they been put to it upon the like diſadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poor Country, they would have turned their Pieces and Pikes againſt their Commanders, conteſting that they had been brought without reaſon to the butchery and ſlaughter. It is true that the War is made willingly, and for the moſt part with good ſucceſs, that is ordained againſt the richeſt Nations; for as the needy are always adventurous, ſo plenty is wont to ſhun peril, and men that have well to live, do rather ſtudy how to live well, I mean wealthily, than care to dye (as they call it) honourable. *Car où il n'y a rien a gaigner que des coups, volontiers il n'y va pas. No man makes haſte to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blows.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his conſultation with his Sooth-ſayers, he would have ſatisfied himſelf by the outſides of the *Perſians*, and never have looked into the intrails of Beaſts for ſucceſs. For leaving the deſcription of this ſecond battel (which is indeed no where well deſcribed; neither, for the confuſion and haſty running away of the *Aſians*, could it be; we have enough by the ſlaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to inform us what manner of reſiſtance was made. For if it be true that three-ſcore thouſand *Perſian* footmen were ſlain in this battel, with ten thouſand of their horſemen; Or (as *Curtius* ſaith) an hundred thouſand footmen, with the ſame number of horſemen, and beſides this ſlaughter, 40000 taken priſoners, while of *Alexanders* Army there miſcarried but two hundred and four-ſcore of all ſorts, of which numbers *Arrianus* and other Hiſtorians cut off almoſt the one half; I do verily believe, that this ſmall number rather died with the over-travel and pains-taking in killing their enemies, than by any ſtrokes received from them. And ſurely if the *Perſian* Nation (at this time degenerate and the baſeſt of the World) had had any ſavour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers, they would never have ſold ſo good cheap, and at ſo vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings children; had their own honour been valued by them at nothing, and the Kings ſafety and his eſtate at leſs. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a banithed *Grecian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had aſſembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in paſſing by they would devour, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to aſſail; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattelled in groſs ſquadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well covered with Armour for defence, and furniſhed with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make ſo little accompt of his

delicate *Persians*, loving their ease and their palat, being withall ill armed, and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertain (having so great abundance of treasure to do it withal) a sufficient number of the same *Grecians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equal courage, he would repent him overlate, as taught by the miserable success like to follow.

But this discourse was so unpleasing to *Darius* (who had been accustomed to nothing so much as to his own praises, and to nothing so little as to hear truth) as he commanded that this poor *Grecian* should be presently slain: who while he was a sundring in the Tormentors hand, used this speech to the King, That *Alexander*, against whom he had given this good counsel, should assuredly revenge his death, and lay deserved punishment upon *Darius* for despising his advice.

It was the saying of a Wise man: *Desperata ejus, Principis salus est, cujus aures ita formatæ sunt, ut asperа quæ utilia, nec quicquam nisi jucundum accipiat; That Princes safety is in a desperate case, whose ears judge all that is profitable to be too sharp, and will entertain nothing that is unpleasant.*

For, liberty in Council is the life and essence of Council; Libertas consilii est ejus, vita, & essentia, qua erepta consilium evanescit.

Darius did likewise value at nothing the advice given him by the *Grecian* Souldiers that served him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: But had they been Counsellers and Directors in that War, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the help of a good troop of horsemen been able to have opposed the fury of *Alexander*, without any assistance of the *Persian* foot men. For when *Darius* was overthrown with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those *Grecians*, under their Captain *Amyntas*, held firm, and marched away in order, in despight of the Vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: we read in Histories ancient and modern, what brave retraits have been made by them, though the rest of the Army in which they have served, hath been broken.

At the battel of *Ravenna*, where the Imperials were beaten by the *French*, a squadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off unbroken and undismayed; whom when *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Neumours*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the Victory not entire by their escape, he was overturned and slain in the place. For it is truly said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers, fear them not, That, *Neglecto periculo imminentis mali, opus ipsum, quantumvis difficile, aggrediuntur; They go about the business it self, how hard soever it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which the mischief hanging over their heads may bring*: and as truly of those that know the Wars but by hear-say; *Quod valentes sunt & prævalentes ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis discedunt; They have ability enough, and to spare, till dangers appear; but when peril indeed comes, they get them gone.*

These *Grecians* also that made the retrait, advised *Darius* to retire his Army into the plain of *Mesopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into those large fields and great Champians, he might have invironed the *Macedonians* on all sides with his multitude; and withal they counselled him to divide that his huge Army into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might have fought many battels, and have brought no greater number at once than might have been well marshalled and conducted. But this Counsel was so contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Persians*, as they perswaded *Darius* to inviron the *Grecians* which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as Traytors. The infinite wisdom of God doth not work always by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdoms and Estates, by taking understanding from the Governours, so as they can neither give nor discern of Counsels. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* upon a streightned piece of ground, neer unto the City of *Issus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could (who by the advice of *Parmenio* stayed there, as in a place of best advantage) was utterly overthrown, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Grecian* his followers had perswaded him to leave in *Babylon*, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their train of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queen, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* presence, were entertained with all respect due unto their birth, their Honours preserved, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored unto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a most beautiful Lady, and his Daughters of excellent form, yet *Alexander* mastred his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Aristobulus* the Historian, that he imbraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*,

non, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of *Persia* in effect, fell into captivity; at which time also *Darius* Treasure (not lost at *Issus*) was seized, amounting to six thousand and two hundred talents of coyn, and of Bullion five hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himself leaving his brother dead, with divers other of his chief Captains, (casting the Crown from his head) hardly escaped.

After this overthrow given unto *Darius*, all *Phœnicia* (the City of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Governor.

Aradus, *Zidon* and *Biblos*, Maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him so fast, that it trod on his heels; for *Antigonus*, *Alexanders* Lieutenant in *Asia* the less, overthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately revolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius* Admiral, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly levied; the *Lacedæmonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten; four thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retrait at the last battel, forsaking both the party of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdoms.

Alexander to honor *Ephestion*, whom he loved most, gave him power to dispose of the Kingdom of *Zidon*. A man of a most poor estate, that laboured to sustain his life being of the Royal blood, was commended by the people unto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the same hour.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wisht that he could bear his prosperity with the same moderation, and quietness of heart, that he had done his adversity; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not perform in himself that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a sign that he did but accompany, and could not Govern his felicity.

While he made some stay in those parts; he received a letter from *Darius*, importing the ransome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had received an overthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more scornful answer upon the offer of peace, than they did before the tryal of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast leaf; the one a resolved, well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdained the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word, that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himself.

§. V.

How Alexander *besieged and won the City of* Tire.

Alexander coming near the City of *Tyre*, received from them the present of a golden Crown, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he took very thankfully, returning them answer, That he desired to offer a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their City, from whom he was descended. But the *Tyrians* like not his company within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old City adjoyning, now abandoned and desolate. To be short, *Alexander* resolved to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Island whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Main, yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Lybanus*, he filled the passage of the Sea between the Island and the Main, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea upon a storm of wind, sometime by the *Tyrians* fired, and sometime torn asunder; yet with the help of his Navy which arrived (during the siege) from *Cyprus*, he overcame all difficulties and prevailed, after he had spent seven months in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the City, in respect whereof, and of the great loss of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those that escaped the fury, to be hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and reserved for slaves (saith *Diodore*) thirteen thousand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thousand. Many *Arrian.*

more

more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that ſerved *Alexander*, conveyed great numbers away by ſhipping unto their own City.

Joſ. 18. Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Town was taken: for one of the *Tyrians* having dreamt, that this god meant to forſake the City, they bound him faſt with a golden chain to the Idol of *Hercules*; but *Alexander*, like a gracious Prince, looſed him again.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprize, and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nebuchodonoſor* had taken it before, and filled up the Channel that lay between the Iſland and the Main.

The Government of this Territory he gave to *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio*: *Cleon*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant under *Parmenio*; *Epeſtion* had charge of the Fleet, and was directed to find *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

§. VI.

How Darius *offered Conditions of Peace to* Alexander. Alexander *wins* Gaza, *and deals graciouſly with the* Jews.

IN the mean while *Darius* ſends again to *Alexander*, ſets before him all the difficulties of paſſing on towards the Eaſt, and layeth the loſs of the laſt Battel to the ſtreightneſs of the place: he hoped to terrifie him by threatning to encompaſs him in the plain Countries, he bids him to conſider, how impoſſible it was to paſs the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the reſt, with all ſuch other fearful things: for he that was now filled with nothing but fear, had arguments enow of that nature to preſent unto another. All the Kingdoms between the River of *Alys*, and the *Helleſpont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloved Daughter. But *Alexander* anſwered, That he offered him nothing but his own, and that which victory and his own virtue had poſſeſt him of; That he was to give conditions, and not to receive any, and that he having paſſed the Sea it ſelf, diſdained to think of reſiſtance in tranſporting himſelf over Rivers. It is ſaid, That *Parmenio*, who was now old, and full of honour and riches, told the King, That were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* anſwered, That ſo would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and coming before *Gaza*, *Getis*, a faithful ſervant to *Darius*, ſhuts the Gate againſt him, and defends the Town with an obſtinate reſolution, at the ſiege whereof *Alexander* received a wound in the ſhoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his leg with a ſtone. He found better men in this place than he did at the former Battels; for he left ſo many of his *Macedonians* buried in the Sands of *Gaza*, that he was forced to ſend for a new ſupply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* firſt began to change condition, and to exerciſe cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by aſſault, and taken *Betis* (whom *Joſephus* calleth *Babemeſis*) that was weakned with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the Aſſailants; he bored holes through his feet, and cauſed him to be drawn about the ſtreet, whilſt he was as yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himſelf, diſdained to ask him either life or remiſſion of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his tyranny, but the imitation of his Anceſtor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Hector*? It is true, that cruelty hath always ſomewhat to cover her deformity.

Joſ. Ant. From *Gaza* (ſaith *Joſephus*) he led his Army towards *Jeruſalem*, a City, for the antiquity and great fame thereof, well known unto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had ſent for ſome ſupply thither, which *Jaddus* the High-Prieſt, being ſubject and ſworn to *Darius*, had refuſed him. The *Jews* therefore fearing his revenge, and unable to reſiſt, committed the care of their eſtates and ſafety to *Jaddus*, who, being taught by God, iſſued out of the City covered with his Pontifical Robes, to wit, an upper garment of Purple, embroidered with gold, with his Mitre, and the plate of gold wherein the Name of God was written, the Prieſts and Levites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner ſo unuſual, ſtately, and grave, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Joſephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the High-Prieſt, as reverencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it. Howſoever it was, I am of opinion, that he became ſo confident in his enterprize, and ſo aſſured of the ſucceſs after the Prophecy of *Daniel* had been read unto him, wherein he ſaw himſelf, and the Conqueſt of *Perſia* ſo directly pointed at, as nothing thenceforth could diſcourage him, or fear him. He confeſſed to *Parmenio* (ſaith *Joſephus*) that in *Dio* a City of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, he ſaw in his ſleep ſuch a perſon as *Jaddus*, and ſo apparelled, profeſſing one and the ſame God; by whom he was encouraged to purſue the purpoſe he had in hand, with aſſurance of victory. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his fantaſie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes, wherewith he was ſo exceedingly

ingly pleaſed and emboldened, as contrary to the practice of the *Phœnicians* (who hoped to have ſacked and deſtroyed *Jeruſalem*) he gave the *Jews* all, and more than they deſired, both of liberty and immunity, with permiſſion to live under their own Laws, and to exerciſe and enjoy their own Religion.

§. VII.

Alexander *wins* Egypt: *and makes a journey to the Temple of* Hammon.

FRom *Jeruſalem*, *Alexander* turned again towards *Egypt*, and entred it; where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Aſtaces*, received him, and delivered into his hand the City of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treaſure, and all other the Kings riches. By this we ſee, that the King of *Perſia*, who had more of affection than of judgement, gave to the valianteſt man he had, but the command of one City, and to the veryeſt coward the government of all *Egypt*. When he had ſet things in order in *Egypt*, he began to travel after *God-head*, towards *Jupiter Hammon*; ſo fooliſh had proſperity made him. He was to paſs over the dangerous and dry Sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels back was ſpent, he could not but have periſhed, had not a marvellous ſhowr of rain fallen upon him, when his Army was in extreme deſpair. All men that know *Egypt*, and have written thereof, affirm, That it never rains there: but the purpoſes of the Almighty God are ſecret, and he bringeth to paſs what it pleaſeth him; for it is alſo ſaid, That when he had loſt his way in thoſe vaſt deſarts, that a flight of Crows flew before the Army; who making faſter wing when they were followed, and fluttering ſlowly when the Army was caſt back, guided them over thoſe pathleſs Sands to *Jupiters* Temple.

Arrianus, from the report of *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Lagus*, ſays, That he was led by two Dragons; both which reports may be alike true. But many of thoſe wonders and prodigious things, are fained by thoſe that have written the Story of *Alexander*; as, That an Eagle lay hovering directly over his head at the battel of *Iſſus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when he ſlept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnaſſæus*, fore-ſhewing the treaſon of *Æropus*, practiſed by *Darius* to have ſlain him; That from the Iron bars of which the *Tyrians* made their defenſive Engines, when *Alexander* beſieged them, there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loaf of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the ſame time; That a Turf of earth fell on his ſhoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the Air. The *Spaniards* in the Conqueſt of the Weſt *Indies* have many ſuch pretty tales; telling how they have been aſſiſted in battel by the preſence of our Lady, and by Angels riding on white horſes, with the like Romiſh miracles, which I think themſelves do hardly believe. The ſtrangeſt thing that I have read of in this kind, being certainly true, was, That the night before the battel at *Novara*, all the Dogs which followed the *French* Army, ran from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning upon them, as if they had been bred and fed by them all their lives, and in the morning following, *Trivulzi* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by theſe imperial *Switzers* utterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idol of *Jupiter Hammon* is ill deſcribed by *Curtius*: for he bounds it by the *Arabian Troglodites* on the South, between whom and the Territory of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebais*, or the ſuperior *Egypt*, with the Mountains of *Lybia*, and the River of *Nilus*, are interjacent; and on the North he joyns it to a Nation called *Naſſamones*, who bordering the Sea-ſhore, live (ſaith he) upon the ſpoils of ſhip-wrack: whereas the Temple or Grove of this Idol hath no Sea near it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; theſe *Naſſamones* being due Weſt from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*.

When *Alexander* came near the place, he ſent ſome of his Paraſites before him to practiſe the Prieſts attending the Oracle, That their anſwer might be given in all things, agreeable to his mad ambition; who affected the title of *Jupiter*'s Son. And ſo he was ſaluted, *Son of Jupiter*, by the Devils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as ſome think) defective in the *Greek* Tongue; For whereas he meant to ſay, *O padion*, he ſaid, *O pai dios*; that is, *O Son of Jupiter*, inſtead of *O dear Son*: for which Grammatical errour he was richly rewarded, and a rumour preſently ſpread, that the Great *Jupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his own.

He had heard that *Perſeus* and *Hercules* had formerly conſulted with this Oracle, The one when he was employed againſt *Gorgon*; The other againſt *Antæus* and *Buſiris*; and ſeeing theſe men had derived themſelves from the gods, Why might not he?

By

By this it seems, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fools, though indeed he made himself one, by thinking to cover from the worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirm his followers in the belief of his Deity, he had practised the Priests to give answer to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should be pleasing to *Jupiter* to honor *Alexander* as his Son.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a Bos carried in a Boat, or by a Ram, or a Rams head, I see that many wise men have troubled themselves to find out; but, as *Arrianus* speaks of *Dionysius* or *Liber Pater* (who lived, saith S. *Augustine*, in *Moses* time) *Ea quæ de diis veteres fabulis suis conscripsere, non sunt nimium curiosè perscrutanda; We must not over-curiously search into the fables which the Ancients have written of their gods.*

But this is certain and notable, that after the Gospel began to be preached in the World, the Devil, in this, and all other Idols, became speechless. For, that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cæsar*, and in the time of *Trajan* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witness.

There is found near his Temple a Fountain called *Fons solis* (though *Ptolomy* in his third *African* Table sets it farther off) that at Mid-night is as hot as boiling water, and at Noon as cold as any Ice: to which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard of some other Wells of like nature, and because it is reported by S. *Augustine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others; and indeed our Bathes in *England* are much warmer in the night than in the day.

§. VIII.

How Alexander *marching against* Darius, *was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemy.*

FRom the Temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis*, where, among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher *Psammones*, who, belike understanding that he affected the title of *Jupiters* Son, told him that God was the Father King of all men in general; and refining the pride of this haughty King, brought him to say, That God was the Father of all mortal men, but that he acknowledged none for his children, save good men.

He gave the charge of the several Provinces of *Egypt* to several Governors, following the rule of his Master *Aristotle*, That *a great Dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one:* whom therein the *Roman* Emperors also followed, not daring to commit the Government of *Egypt* to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gave order for the founding of *Alexandria* upon the Westermost branch of *Nilus*. And having now setled (as he could) the estate of *Egypt*, with the Kingdoms of the lesser *Asia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria* (which being but the pawns of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy victory would readily have redeemed) he led his Army towards *Euphrates*, which passage, though the same was committed to *Mazeus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without resistance past it. From thence he marched towards *Tigris*, a River for the swiftness thereof called by the *Persians*, *The Arrow*. Here, as *Curtius*, and Reason it self tells us, might *Darius* easily have repelled the invading *Macedonian*: for the violent course of the stream was such, as it drave before it many weighty stones, and those that moved not, but lay in the bottom, were so round and well polished by a continual rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing; nor the *Macedonian* footmen to wade the River, otherwise than by joyning their hands, and enterlacing arms together, making one weighty and entire body to resist the swift passage, and furious race of the stream. Besides this notable help, the Chanel was so deep towards the Eastern shore, where *Darius* should have made head, as the footmen were enforced to lift their Bows, and Arrows, and Darts, over their heads to keep them from being moistened, and made unserviceable by the Waters. But it was truly and understandingly said of *Homer*,

Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq;
(Deorumq;

The minds of men are ever so affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the world, by the surfeit of misgovernment have been subject to many grievous, and sometimes mortal diseases: So had the Empire of *Persia* at this time brought it self into a burning and consuming Feaver, and thereby become frantick, and without understanding, fore-shewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Eastern shores of *Tygris*, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place;

place; where *Mazeus* (who had charge to defend the Paſſage both of *Euphrates* and it) preſented himſelf to the *Macedonians*, followed with certain companies of Horſemen, as if with uneven forces he durſt have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude far exceeding them, he forſook the advantage which no valour of his enemies could eaſily have overcome. But it is commonly ſeen, that fearfull and cowardly men do ever follow thoſe wayes and counſels, whereof the opportunity is already loſt.

It is true, that he ſet all proviſions afire, wherewith the *Macedonians* might ſerve themſelves over *Tygris*, thinking thereby greatly to have diſtreſſed them; but the execution of good counſel is fruitleſs, when unſeaſonable. For now was *Alexander* ſo well furniſhed with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Thoſe things alſo which he ſought to waſte, *Alexander* being now in ſight, were by his Horſe-men ſaved and recovered. This *Mazeus* might have done ſome dayes before at good leiſure; or at this time with ſo great a ſtrength of horſemen, as the *Macedonians* durſt not have purſued them, leaving the ſtrength of their foot out of ſight, and far behind.

§. IX.

The new Proviſions *of* Darius. *Accidents foregoing the Battel of* Arbela.

Darius, upon *Alexanders* firſt return out of *Egypt*, had aſſembled all the forces, which thoſe Regions next him could furniſh, and now alſo were the *Arians*, *Scythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arrived; Nations (ſaith *Curtius*) that rather ſerved to make up the names of men, than to make reſiſtance. *Arrianus* hath numbred them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all ſorts ten hundred thouſand, and of horſe four hundred thouſand, beſides armed Chariots, and ſome few Elephants. *Curtius*, who muſters the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thouſand foot, and near fifty thouſand Horſe, comes (I think) nearer to the true number; and yet ſeeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vaſſals, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all ſorts ſome three or four hundred thouſand, with which he hoped in thoſe fair plains of *Aſſyria*, to have overborn the few numbers of the invading Army. But it is a Rule in the Philoſophy of the War;

In omni prælio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium ſolent præſtare victoriam; In every Battel skill and practice do more towards the Victory, than multitude and rude audacity.

While *Alexander* gave reſt to his Army after the paſſage over *Tygris*, there happened an Eclipſe of the Moon, of which the *Macedonians* not knowing the cauſe and reaſon, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwayes are) took it for a certain preſage of their overthrow and deſtruction, inſomuch as they began not only to murmure, but to ſpeak it boldly; That for the ambition of one man, a man that diſdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Jupiter*, they ſhould all periſh; for he not only enforced them to make War againſt worlds of enemies, but againſt Rivers, Mountains, and the Heavens themſelves.

Hereupon, *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a halt, and to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the *Egyptian* Aſtrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be aſſured that this defection of the Moon was a certain preſage of good ſucceſs; for, that it was natural, they never imparted to the common people, but reſerved the knowledge to themſelves, ſo as a ſorry Almanack-maker had been no ſmall fool in thoſe dayes.

Of this kind of ſuperſtitious obſervation *Cæſar* made good uſe, when he fought againſt *Arioviſtus* and the *Germans*: for they being perſwaded by the caſting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moon, they ſhould certainly loſe the Battel, *Cæſar* forced them to abide it, though they durſt not give it; wherein, having their minds already beaten by their own ſuperſtition, and being reſolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole Army in effect periſhed.

Theſe *Egyptians* gave no other reaſon than this, That the *Grecians* were under the aſpect of the Sun, the *Perſians* of the Moon; and therefore the Moon failing and being darkened, the ſtate of *Perſia* was now in danger of failing, and their glory of being obſcured. This judgement of the *Egyptian* Prieſts being noiſed through all the Army, all were ſatisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the War, which, though deviſed ſince, was well obſerved then: *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat; Let not a Captain lead his Army to the fight when it is poſſeſſed with matter of terrour.*

It is truly obſerved by *Curtius*, that the

people are led by nothing ſo much as by ſuperſtition; yea, we find it in all ſtories, and often in our own, that by ſuch inventions, deviſed tales, dreams, and Prophecies, the people of this Land have been carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and inſurrections, and ſtill to their own loſs and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew near the *Perſian* Army, certain Letters were ſurprized, written by *Darius* to the *Græcians*, perſwading them for great ſumms of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But theſe, by the advice of *Parmenio*, he ſuppreſſed.

At this time alſo *Darius* his fair Wife, oppreſt with ſorrow, and wearied with travel, died. Which accident *Alexander* ſeemed no leſs to bewail than *Darius*, who upon the firſt bruit, ſuſpected that ſome diſhonourable violence had been offered her; but being ſatisfied by an Eunuch of his own that attended her, of *Alexanders* Kingly reſpect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he deſired the immortal gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Maſter of the *Perſian* Empire, then it would pleaſe them to conferr it on ſo juſt and continent an enemy as *Alexander*; to whom he once again, before the laſt tryal by Battel, offered theſe conditions of Peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliver up, and reſign all *Aſia* the leſs; and, with *Egypt*, all thoſe Kingdoms between the *Phœnician* Sea, and the River of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the Ranſome of his Mother, and his other Daughters, thirty thouſand Talents, and that for the performance thereof, he would leave his Son *Occhus* in hoſtage: To this they ſought to perſwade *Alexander* by ſuch arguments as they had. *Alexander* cauſing the Embaſſadours to be removed, adviſed with his Council, but heard no man ſpeak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perſwaded him to accept of theſe fair conditions. He told him, That the Empire between *Euphrates* and *Helleſpont*, was a fair addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the *Perſian* Priſoners was a great cumber, and the treaſure offered for them of far better uſe than their perſons, with divers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable, that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within thoſe limits, he might have lived as famous for virtue, as for Fortune, and left himſelf a Succeſſour of able age to have enjoyed his eſtate, which afterward indeed he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himſelf: who, to aſſure themſelves of what they had uſurped upon his Iſſues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few years after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going ſo far into the Eaſt, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a juſt and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, adviſed, and gratefull: and being taught new Leſſons by abundance of proſperity, became a lover of wine, of his own flattery, and of extreme cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath obſerved, the taint of one unjuſt ſlaughter, amongſt many, defaced and withered the flouriſhing beauty of all his great acts, and glorious victories obtained. But the *Perſian* Embaſſadours ſtay his anſwer, which was to this effect, That whatſoever he had beſtowed on the wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his own natural clemency and magnanimity, without any reſpect to their Maſter; but thanks to an enemy was improper: that he made no Wars againſt adverſity, but againſt thoſe that reſiſted him; not againſt Women and Children, but againſt armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great ſumms of money to perſwade his friends to attempt upon his perſon, he had reaſon to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant; yet he could not (were it otherwiſe and faithfull) reſolve in haſte to accept the ſame, ſeeing *Darius* had made War againſt him, not as a King with Royal and overt-force, but as a Traitor by ſecret and baſe practice; That for the Territory offered him, it was already his own, and if *Darius* could beat him back again over *Euphrates*, which he had already paſt, he would then believe that he offered him ſomewhat in his own power: Otherwiſe he propounded to himſelf for the reward of the War which he had made, all thoſe Kingdoms as yet in *Darius* poſſeſſion; wherein, whether he were abuſed by his own hopes or no, the Battel which he meant to fight in the day following ſhould determine. For in concluſion he told them, that he came into *Aſia* to give, and not to receive; That the Heavens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if *Darius* would be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, he might perchance be perſwaded to give him conditions fit for a ſecond Perſon, and his Inferiour.

§. X.

§. X.

The Battel of Arbela: *and that it could not be ſo ſtrongly ſought as report hath made it.*

WIth this Anſwer the Embaſſadors return; *Darius* prepares to fight, and ſends *Mazeus* to defend a paſſage, which he never dared yet ſo much as to hazard. *Alexander* conſults with his Captains. *Parmenio* perſwades him to force *Darius* his Camp by night; ſo that the multitude of enemies might not move terrour in the *Macedonians* being but few. *Alexander* diſdains to ſteal the Victory, and reſolves to bring with him the day-light, to witneſs his valour. But it was the ſucceſs that made good *Alexander*'s reſolution, though the counſel given by *Parmenio* was more ſound: For it is a ground in War, *Si pauci neceſſariò cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, conſilium eſt noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare.* Notwithſtanding upon the view of the multitude at hand, he ſtaggers and trenches himſelf upon a ground of advantage, which the *Perſian* had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for fear of ſurprize had ſtood with his Army in Armour all the day, and forborn ſleep all the night, *Alexander* gave his men reſt and ſtore of food; for reaſon had taught him this Rule in the War, *In pugna Milites validiùs reſiſtunt, ſi cibo potuque refecti fuerint; nam fames intrinſecus magis pugnat, quàm ferrum exterius: Souldiers do the better ſtand to it in fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and drink; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than ſteel without.*

The numbers which *Alexander* had, ſaith *Arrianus*, were forty thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe; theſe belike were of the *Europæan* Army: for he had beſides, both *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Egyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of thoſe Regions. He uſed but a ſhort ſpeech to his Souldiers to encourage them. And I think that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former Battels upon the River of *Granick*, and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were beſt taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true ſaying, *Victoria victoriam parat, animumque victoribus auget, & adverſariis auſert; One victory begets another, and puts courage into thoſe that have already had the better, taking ſpirit away from thoſe that have been beaten.*

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large deſcriptions of this Battel, fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell us of many charges and re-charges; That the Victory inclined ſometime to the *Perſians*, ſometime to the *Macedonians*; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being overthrown, who led the left wing; That *Alexander*'s Rere-guard was broken, and his carriages loſt; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both ſides, Fortune her ſelf was long unreſolved on whom to beſtow the Garland: And laſtly, that *Alexander* in perſon wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But in concluſion, *Curtius* delivers us in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible dayes work, ſaying, That *Epheſtion*, *Perdiccas*, and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* finds not a third part of this number ſlain; of the *Perſians* there fell forty thouſand (ſaith *Curtius*) thirty thouſand, according to *Arrianus*; ninety thouſand, if we believe *Diodore*. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former Battels, the *Perſians* upon the firſt charge ran away, and that the *Macedonians* purſued; For if of thoſe four or five hundred thouſand *Aſians* brought into the field by *Darius*, every man had caſt but a dart or a ſtone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the Empire of the Eaſt at ſo eaſie a rate, as ſix or ſeven hundred men in three notorious Battels. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* upon the banks of *Euphrates*, and had armed but fifty or threeſcore thouſand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the moſt of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impoſſible for *Alexander* to have paſt that River ſo eaſily, much leſs the River of *Tigris*. But as a man whoſe Empire God in his Providence had determined, he abandoned all places of advantage, and ſuffered *Alexander* to enter ſo far into the bowels of his Kingdom, as all hope and poſſibility of eſcape by retrait being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had preſented unto them the choice, either of death or victory; to which election *Darius* could no way conſtrain his own, ſeeing they had many large Regions to run into from thoſe that invaded them.

§. XI.

Of things following the Battel of Arbela. *The yielding of* Babylon *and* Suſa.

Darius, after the rout of his Army, recovered *Arbela* the ſame night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded unto them that ran after him, his purpoſe of making a retrait into *Media*, perſwading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of ſpoyl and riches, would rather

attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, and other Cities filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander soon after *Darius* his departure arrives at *Arbela*, which with a great mass of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred to him: for the fear which conducted *Darius*, took nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had been twice beaten, should rather have sent his treasure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, so near the place where he abid the coming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leisure; but being overcome, he knew it unpossible to drive Mules and Camels laden with gold from the pursuing enemy, seeing himself, at the overthrow he had in *Cilicia*, cast the Crown from his head, to run away with the more speed. But errours are then best discerned when most incurable; *Et prætorita magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi*; *It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past*.

From *Arbela* *Alexander* took his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazeus*, in whom *Darius* had most confidence, rendred himself, his Children, and the City. Also the Captain of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streets with flowers, burnt Frankincense upon Altars of silver, as *Alexander* passed by, and delivered unto him whatsoever was committed to his trust. The *Magi* (the *Chaldæan* Astrologers) followed this Captain in great solemnity to entertain their new King: after these came the *Babylonian* horse-men, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poor in warlike furniture. Between these (though not greatly to be feared) and himself, *Alexander* caused his *Macedonian* foot-men to march. When he entred the Castle, he admired the glory thereof, and the abundance of treasure therein found, amounting to fifty thousand Talents of silver uncoyned. The City itself I have elsewhere described, with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the wonderful place of pleasure about two miles in Circuit, surrounded with a wall of fourscore foot high, and on the top thereof (being under-born with Pillars) a Grove of beautifull and fruitfull Trees, which it is said that one of the Kings of *Babylon* caused to be built, that the Queen and other Princesses might walk privately therein. In this City, rich in all things, but most of all in voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himself and the whole Army four and thirty dayes, consuming that time in banquetting, and in all sorts of effeminate exercise; which so much softned the minds of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the severe discipline of War, which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painful travel, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed over them, who thereupon were stiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honour those Captains which were found by certain selected Judges to have deserved best in the late War. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the foot-bands in this latter age hath been the cause (saith the Marshall *Monluc*) that the title and charge of a Captain hath been bestowed on every *Picque-Bœuf*, or Spurn-Cow; for when the Captains of foot had a thousand Souldiers under one Enfign, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honourable, and the Kings were less charged, and far better served. King *Henry* the eighth of *England* never gave the Command of any of his good Ships, but to men of known valour, and of great estate; nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of quality Commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*; for *Antipater* sent him six thousand foot, and five hundred horse out of *Macedon*; of *Thracians* three thousand foot, and the like number of horse; and out of *Greece* four thousand and four hundred horse, by which his Army was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon*, could hardly be brought again, *De quitter la plume pour dormir sur la dure*; *To change from soft beds to hard boards*.

He left the Castle and City of *Babylon*, with the Territories about it, in charge with three of his own Captains, to wit, *Agathon*, *Minetus*, and *Appolidorus*; to supply all wants, a thousand Talents: but to grace *Mazeus*, who rendred the City unto him, he gave him the title of his Lieutenant over all, and took with him *Bagistines* that gave up the Castle; and having distributed to every Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left *Babylon*, and entred into the Province *Satrapene*: from thence he went on toward *Susa* in *Persia*, the same which *Ptolomy*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*, situate

on

on the River *Euleus*, a City ſometime governed by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* alſo, Governour of this famous City, gave it up to the Conquerour, with fifty thouſand talents of ſilver in bullion, and twelve Elephants for the War, with all other the treaſures of *Darius*. In this ſort, did thoſe Vaſſals of fortune, lovers of the Kings proſperity, not of his perſon, (for ſo all ambitious men are) purchaſe their own peace and ſafety with the Kings treaſures. And herein was *Alexander* well adviſed, that whatſoever titles he gave to the *Perſians*, yet he left all places of importance in truſt with his own Captains, to wit, *Babylon*, *Suſa*, and *Perſepolis*, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet living) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battel, all the Nobility of *Perſia* would have returned unto their natural Lord. Thoſe that are Traitors to their own Kings, are never to be uſed alone in great enterpriſes by thoſe Princes that entertain them, nor ever to be truſted with the defences of any frontier-Town, or Fortreſs of weight, by the rendring whereof they may redeem their liberty and eſtates loſt. Hereof the *French* had experience, when *Don Pedro de Navarra*, being baniſhed out of *Spain*, was truſted, with *Fonterabe*, in the year 1523.

While *Alexander* ſpoiled *Arbela*, *Mazeus* might have furniſh'd the King from *Babylon*; and while he ſtayed four and thirty dayes at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might have holpen him from *Suſa*; and while he feaſted there, *Tiridates* from *Perſepolis* might have relieved him; for the great maſs of Treaſure was laid up in that City. But who hath ſought out and friended fearful adverſity? It is certain, that benefits bind not the ambitious, but the honeſt? for thoſe that are but greedy of themſelves, do in all changes of fortune only conſult the conſervation of their own greatneſs.

The Government of *Suſa*, with the Caſtle and Treaſure, he committed to his own *Macedonians*, making *Abulites*, who rendred it unto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazeus* and others, in giving them titles, but neither truſt nor power; for he left three thouſand old Souldiers in Garriſon to aſſure the place; and *Darius* mother and her children to repoſe themſelves.

It is ſaid that *Charles* the fifth, having promiſed *Charles* of *Bourbon* the Government of *Marſeilles*, if he could have forc'd it, and whereof he made ſure accompt, told ſome of his neareſt Counſellors, that he meant nothing leſs than the performance of that promiſe, becauſe he ſhould thereby have left the Duke (revolted from his Maſter) very well wherewithall to have recovered his favour.

§. XII.

How Alexander *came to* Perſepolis, *and burnt it.*

FRom *Suſa Alexander* leadeth his Army toward *Perſepolis*, and when he ſought to paſs thoſe Mountains which ſunder *Suſiana* and *Perſia*, he was ſoundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended againſt him thoſe Streights, called *Pylæ Perſidis*, or *Suſoidæ*, and after the loſs of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was forc'd to ſave himſelf by retrait, cauſing his Foot to march cloſe together, and to cover themſelves with their Targets from the ſtones tumbled on them from the Mountain-top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a *Lycian*, living in that Country diſcovered unto him, and came thereby ſuddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being inforc'd to fight upon even ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to *Perſepolis*; but (after that they of *Perſepolis* had refuſed to receive him) he returned and gave a ſecond charge upon the *Macedonians*, wherein he was ſlain. In like manner did King *Francis* the firſt, in the year 1515, find a way over the *Alpes*, the *Switzers* undertaking to defend all the paſſages, who if their footmanſhip had not ſaved them upon the Kings deſcent on the other ſide, they had been ill payd for their hard lodging on thoſe Hills.

Four thouſand *Greeks*, ſaith *Curtius* (*Juſtine* numbers them but at eight hundred) having been taken priſoners by the *Perſians*, preſented themſelves to *Alexander* now in ſight of *Perſepolis*. Theſe had the barbarous *Perſians* ſo maimed and defaced, by cutting off their hands, noſes, ears, and other members, as they could no way have been known to their Countrey-men, but by their voices; to each of theſe *Alexander* gave three hundred Crowns, with new garments, and ſuch Lands as they liked to live upon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his falſe-hearted Grandees, hearing of *Alexanders* approach, made him know that *Perſepolis* was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, becauſe there was a determination in the people to ſpoyl the Kings treaſure. This City was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants upon *Alexanders* arrival, and they that ſtayed followed the worſt Counſel; for all was left to the liberty of the Souldiers, to ſpoil and kill at their pleaſure. There was

no

no place in the world at that time, which, if it had been laid in the ballance with *Persepolis*, would have weighed it down. *Babylon* indeed, and *Susa*, were very rich; but in *Persepolis* lay the bulk and main store of the *Persians*. For after the spoyl that had been made of money, curious Plate, Bullion, Images of Gold and Silver, and other Jewels, there remained to *Alexander* himself one hundred and twenty thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand *Macedonians* in *Persepolis*, which he had done in *Susa*, and gave the same formal honour to the Traitor *Toridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his own. The body of his Army he left here for thirty dayes, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thousand Horse, and certain troops of chosen foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time these parts of *Persia*, which the Snow had covered; a fruitless and foolish enterprise, but, as *Seneca* sayes; *Non ille ire vult, sed non potest stare: He hath not a will to go, but he is unable to stand still.* It is said and spoken in his praise, That when his Souldiers cryed out against him, because they could not endure the extreme frost, and make way, but with extreme difficulty, through the snow, that *Alexander* forsook his Horse, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to shew how well himself can endure it? His walking on foot did no otherwise take off their wearines that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drink, did quench their thirst, that could less endure it. For mine own little judgement, I shall rather commend that Captain that makes careful provision for those that follow him, and that seeks wisely to prevent extreme necessity, than those witless arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the Wars that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the *Roman* Commanders, that the provision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Coligni*, Admiral of *France*; *That who so will shape that Beast* (meaning War) *must begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persepolis*, where those Historians that were most amorous of his vertues, complain, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drink; That he smothered in carowsing cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reverend Throne of the greatest King, into the company and familiarity of base Harlots, he began to be despised both of his own and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle and City of *Persepolis* to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the *Asians*, to think hardly of him, and thereby alien their hearts; for they might well believe that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing less than (after such vastation) to hold their possession. *Post vinolentiam crudelitas sequitur; Cruelty doth commonly follow drunkenness:* For it so fell out soon after, and often, in *Alexander*.

Curt. Lib. 5.

Sen. Ep. 83.

§. XIII.

The Treason of Bessus *against* Darius. Darius *his death.*

ABout this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to find *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Army, which he meant to have increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexanders* coming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which was numbred at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once again to try his fortune. He therefore calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propounds unto them his resolution, who being desperate of good success, used silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of War, who had sometime lived with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake the ice, and protesting that he could never be beaten by any adversity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firm confidence, that all the rest were of the same condition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, *Nabarzanes* and *Bessus*, whereof the later was Governour of *Bactria*, had conspired against their Master; and therefore advised the King to lay a new foundation for the War, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the

the gods nor fortune had in all things declared themſelves to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburzanes* uſed, and in concluſion adviſed the election of his fellow Traytor *Beſſus*, with promiſe that, the Wars ended, the Empire ſhould again be reſtored to *Darius*. The King ſwollen with diſdain, preſt towards *Naburzanes* to have ſlain him, but *Beſſus* and the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the reſt, with-held him. In the mean while *Naburzanes* with-drew himſelf, and *Beſſus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the reſt of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull ſervant, perſwaded him to be adviſed and ſerve the time, ſeeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at leaſt make ſhew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle diſpoſition, willingly yielded unto. *Beſſus* makes his ſubmiſſion, and attends the King, who removes his Army. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of four thouſand *Greeks*, which had in all the former battels ſerved *Darius* with great fidelity, and alwayes made the retrait in ſpight of the *Macedonians*, offered himſelf to guard his perſon, proteſting againſt the Treaſon of *Beſſus*; but it was not his deſtiny to follow their advice who from the begining of the War gave him faithful counſel, but he inclined ſtill to *Beſſus*, who told him, that the *Greeks*, with *Patron* their Captain, were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practiſed the diviſion of his faithful ſervants. *Beſſus* had drawn unto him thirty thouſand of the Army, promiſing them all thoſe things, by which the lovers of the World and themſelves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, ſafety, and honour.

Now the day following, *Darius* plainly diſcovered the purpoſes of *Beſſus*, and being overcome with paſſion, as thinking himſelf unable to make head againſt theſe ungrateful and unnatural Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithfull ſervant to depart from him, and to provide for himſelf. In like ſort he diſcharged the reſt of his attendants, all ſave a few of his Eunuchs; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His *Perſians* being moſt baſe cowards, durſt not undertake his defence againſt the *Bactrians*, notwithſtanding that they had four thouſand *Greeks* to joyn with him, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forſakes himſelf, no man follows. It had been far more Man-like, and King-like, to have dyed in the head of thoſe four thouſand *Greeks*, which offered him the diſpoſition of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* perſwaded him) than to have lyen bewailing himſelf on the ground, and ſuffering himſelf to be bound like a ſlave by thoſe ambitious Monſters that laid hand on him, whom neither the conſideration of his former great eſtate, nor the honour he had given them, nor the truſt repoſed in them, nor the world of benefits beſtowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his preſent adverſity, which above all things ſhould have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungratefull hearts. Vain it was indeed to hope it; for, Infidelity hath no compaſſion.

Now *Darius*, thus forſaken, was bound and laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beaſts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be diſcovered; and, to add deſpight and deriſion to his adverſity, they faſtned him with Chains of Gold, and ſo drew him on among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Beſſus* and *Naburzanes* perſwaded themſelves to redeem their lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a priſoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themſelves Kings by his ſlaughter; and then to defend themſelves by force of Arms. But they failed in both. For it is againſt the nature of God, who is moſt juſt, to pardon ſo ſtrange villany, yea, though againſt a Prince purely Heatheniſh and an Idolater.

Alexander having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durſt not abide his coming, haſtened after him with a violent ſpeed, and becauſe he would not force his footmen beyond their powers, he mounted on horſe-back certain ſelected companies of them, and beſt armed, and with ſix thouſand other Horſe, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treaſon of *Beſſus*, and ſecretly forſook him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Beſſus* took, and how near he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being diſcovered by *Beſſus* his Rear, *Beſſus* brought a Horſe to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perſwading him to mount thereon, and to ſave himſelf. But the unfortunate King refuſing to follow thoſe that had betrayed him, they caſt Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beaſts that drew him, and ſlew two poor Servants that attended his perſon. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the reſt to the mercy of the *Macedonian* ſwords.

Polyſtratus a *Macedonian*, being by purſuit of the vanquiſhed preſt with thirſt, as he

was

was refreshing himself with some water that he had discovered, espying a Cart with a Team of wounded beasts breathing for life, and not able to move, searched the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his own blood: And by a *Persian* Captive which followed this *Polystratus*, he understood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of his barbarous Tragedy. *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the living God can be comforted) that he cast not out his last sorrows unheard, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traytors, which had dealt no less unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to *Alexander* by this messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his own honour, and for the safety of all that did, or should after wear Crowns. He also having nothing else to present, rendred thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace used towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, desiring the immortal Gods to submit unto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking, impatient Death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired water, which *Polystratus* presented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherewith to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

§. XIV.

How Alexander *pursued* Bessus, *and took into his grace* Darius *his Captains.*

IT was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their travels were near an end, every man preparing for his return. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved, for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundless Ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on his Army farther into the East, but that which had most strength, was, that *Bessus*, a most cruel Traytor to his Master *Darius*, having at his devotion the *Hyrcanians* and *Bactrians*, [would in short time (if the *Macedonians* should return) make himself Lord of the *Persian* Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former travels. In conclusion he wan their consents to go on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certain Regiments of foot, and *Amyntas* with six thousand horse in *Parthenia*, he enters not without some opposition into *Hyrcania*; for the *Mardons*, and other barbarous Nations, defended certain passages for a while. He passeth the River of *Zioberis*, which taking beginning in *Parthia*, dissolves it self in the *Caspian* Sea: it runneth under the ledge of Mountains, which bound *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, where hiding it self under ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth again, and followeth its former course. In *Zadracarta*, or *Zeudracarta*, the same City which *Ptolomy* writes *Hyrcania*, the *Metropolis* of that Region, he rested fifteen dayes, banquetting and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of *Darius* his greatest Commanders, with others of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their places and Governments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* most highly for his approved and constant faith to his Master *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand and five hundred *Greeks*, the remainder of all those that had served *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end, they render themselves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he imprisoned, their Leader having slain himself. He was also wrought (though to his great dishonour) to receive *Nabarzanes* that had joyned with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

§. XV.

Of Thalestris *Queen of the* Amazons; *where, by way of digression, it is shewed, that such* Amazons *have been and are.*

HEre it is said, that *Thalestris* or *Minothea*, a Queen of the *Amazons*, came to visit him, and her sute was, (which she easily obtained) that she might accompany him till she were made with childe by him: which done (refusing to follow him into *India*) she returned into her own Country.

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But indeed, the letters of *Alexander* himself to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonian* business, may justly breed suspition of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vain tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his books to *Lysimachus* (then King of *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage, was laught at by the King for inserting such news of the *Amazons*; and *Lysimachus* himself had never heard

heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander*, took upon him to write his acts; which to amplifie, He told how the King had fought single with an Elephant, and slain it. The King hearing such stuff, caught the book, and threw it into the river of *Indus*; saying, That it were well done to throw the Writer after it, who by inserting such fables, disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we believe and know that there are Elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one; so may we give credit unto Writers making mention of such *Amazons*, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some modern discoverers touching these warlike Women, because not only *Strabo*, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether or no there were any such kind of people. *Julius Solinus* seats them in the North parts of *Asia* the less. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one on the River *Thermodoon*, the other neer the *Caspian* Sea; *Quas* (saith he) *Sauromatidas appellant*; *Which the people call* Sauromatides. The former of these two had the *Cimerians* for their Neighbours; *Certum est* (saith *Vadianus*, who hath commented upon *Mela*) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuisse*; *It is certain that the* Cimerians *were the next Nations to the Amazons*. *Ptolomy* set them farther into the Land North-wards, near the Mountains *Hippaci*, not far from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Asia* it self toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tell us. Where they governed a people called the *Pandeans* or *Padeans*, so called after *Pandea* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest derive themselves. *Claudian* affirms, That they commanded many Nations: For he speaks (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

—— Medis levibusque Sabæis
Imperat hic Sextus: Reginarumque sub armis,
Barbariæ pars magna jacet.

Over the *Medes*, and light *Sabæans* reigns
This female sex: and under arms of Queen,
Great part of the *Barbarian* Land remains.

Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (saith he) than those which kept the banks of *Thermodoon*, a River falling into the Euxine Sea, neer *Heraclium*. *Herodotus* doth also make report of these *Amazons*, whom he tells us that the *Scythians* call *Æorpatas*, which is as much as *Virecidas*, or men-killers. And that they made incursion into *Asia* the less, facke *Ephesus*, and burnt the Temple of *Diana*. *Manethon* and *Aventinus* report; which they performed forty years after *Troy* was taken. At the siege of *Troy* it self we read of *Penthesilea*, that she came to the succour of *Priamus*.

Am. Marcellinus gives the cause of their inhabiting upon the River of *Thermodoon*, speaking confidently of the wars they made with divers Nations, and of their overthrow.

Plutarch in the life of *Theseus*; out of *Philochorus*, *Hellenicus* and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiopa* Queen of the *Amazons* by *Hercules*, and by him given to *Theseus*; though some affirm, That *Theseus* himself got her by stealth, when she came to visit him aboard his ship. But in substance there is little difference; all confessing, That such *Amazons* there were. The same Author in the life of *Pompey* speaks of certain companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aid the *Albanians* against the *Romans*, by whom after the battel, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken up: and he saith farther, That these women entertain the *Gelæ* and *Legales* once a year, Nations inhabiting between them and the *Albanians*.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez*, who hath written the navigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the river of *Amazon* from *Peru* in the year, 1542. (upon which river, for the divers turnings, he is said to have sailed six thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Council of the *Indies*, That he both saw those women, and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

It is also reported by *Ulrichus Schmidel*, that in the year, 1542. when he sailed up the Rivers of *Paragna* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that Country, called *Scherves*, inhabiting under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, who gave his Captain *Ernando Rieffere*, a Crown of silver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queen of the *Amazons* in those parts.

Ed. Lopez, in his description of the Kingdom of *Congo*, makes relation of such *Amazons*, telling us, That (agreeably to the reports of elder times) they burn off their right breasts, and live apart from men, save at one time of the year, when they feast and ac-

company them for one month. These (saith he) possess a part of the Kingdom of *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest Guards of this Emperour, all the *East-Indian Portugals* know.

I have produced these authorities in part, to justifie mine own relation of these *Amazons*, because that which was delivered me for truth by an ancient *Cacique* of *Guiana*, how upon the River of *Papamena* (since the *Spanish* discoveries called *Amazons*) that these women still live and govern, was held for a vain and unprobable report.

§. XVI.

How Alexander *fell into the* Persian *Luxury: and how he further pursued* Bessus.

NOw as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Persepolis*: so at this time his prosperity had so much over-wrought his virtue, as he accounted clemency to be but baseness, and the temperance which he had used all his life-time, but a poor and dejected humour, rather becoming the instructers of his youth, than the condition and state of so mighty a King as the World could not equal. For he perswaded himself, that he now represented the greatness of the gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground and adore him; he ware the robes and garments of the *Persians*, and commanded that his Nobility should do the like: he entertained in his Court and Camp, the same shameless rabble of Curtisans, and Sodomitical Eunuchs, that *Darius* had done; and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and detested manners of the *Persians*, whom he had vanquished. So lincentious is felicity, as notwithstanding that he was fully perswaded, that the gods whom he served (detesting the vices of the invaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himself, contrary to the Religion he profest (which how Idolatrous soever it were, could not be but fearful unto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a more foul and fearful Monster than *Darius*, from whose tyranny he vaunted to have delivered so many Nations. Yea, those that were deerest and neerest unto him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornful discourse; That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the *Macedonians* were in the end of so many travels, more impoverished in their virtues, than inriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered, were the baser slaves. Neither were these opinions so reserved, but that the noise of them came to his ears. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacifie the better sort, and those of whose judgements he was most jealous; and making it known to the Army, that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a King, and called himself *Artaxerxes*, and that he had compounded a great Army of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, he had arguments enow to perswade them to go on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themselves (so far engaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoils of so many Cities, as the whole Army seemed but the guard of their carriages (not much unlike the warfare of the *French*) having commanded every mans fardels to be brought into the Maket-place, he, together with his own, caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but have proved most dangerous unto him, seeing the common Souldiers had more interest in these things which they had bought with their painful travels, and with their blood, than in the Kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often observed) his happy temerity overcome all things. As he was in his way, news came to him, that *Satribarzanes*, whom he had established in his former Government over the *Arians*, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of *Bactria*, he sought him out; but the Rebel, hearing of his coming, fled to *Bessus*, with two thousand Horse. He then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire, with the advantage of a strong wind, won the passage over an high and unaccessable Rock, which was defended against him with thirteen thousand foot. For the extremity of the flame and smoak forced them from the place, otherwise invincible. I saw in the third civil War of *France*, certain Caves in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high-Rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by certain bundles of straw, let down by an Iron chain, and a weighty stone in the midst, those that defended it, were so smothered, as they rendred themselves, with their plate, mony, and other goods therein hidden. There were also some three years before my arrival in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Country-people, who

who did ſet the long dry graſs on fire to the Eaſtward of them (the wind in thoſe parts being alwaies East) ſo as, notwithſtanding their flying from the ſmoak, there was not any one that eſcaped. Sir *John Burrowes* alſo, with a hundred *Engliſh* was in great danger of being loſt at *Margarita*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, by having the graſs fired behind him; but the ſmoak being timefully diſcovered, he recovered the Sea-ſhore with the loſs of ſixteen of his men. I remember theſe things; but to give caution to thoſe that ſhall in times to come invade any part of thoſe Countries, that they alwaies, before they paſs into the Land, burn down the graſs, and ſedge, to the East of them; they may otherwiſe, without any other enemy than a handful of ſtraw ſet on fire, dye the death of Hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hive.

§. XVII.

A Conſpiracy againſt Alexander; *The death of* Philotas *and* Parmenio.

ALexander was, after he parted hence, no where reſiſted, till he came into *Aria*, to the East of *Bactria*, where the chief City of that Province, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended againſt him, by the revolt of *Satribarzanes*; but in the end he received the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Army was re-enforced with a new ſupply of five thouſand and five hundred foot, and neer five hundred horſe, out of *Greece*, *Theſſalie*, and other places. His journey out of *Perſia* into theſe parts, is very confuſedly deſcribed. For, having (as all his Hiſtorians tell us) a determination to find *Beſſus* in *Bactria*, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obſcure *Mardi*, upon the *Caſpian*-Sea, and thence over the Mountain *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Dranginia*.

At this time it was that the treaſon of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio* was accuſed, as acceſſary, if not principal. This *Dimnus*, having (I know not upon what ground) conſpired with ſome others againſt the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loved, into the ſame treaſon. The Youth, although he was firſt bound by oath to ſecrecy, when he heard ſo foul a matter uttered, began to proteſt againſt it ſo vehemently, that his friend was like to have ſlain him for ſecurity of his own life. So, conſtrained by fear, he made ſhew as if he had been won by perſwaſion; and by ſeeming at length to like well of the buſineſs, he was told more at large what they were that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of rank, whoſe names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterprize) reckoned up to *Nichomachus*. *Nichomachus* had no ſooner freed himſelf from the company of this Traytor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his own Brother *Ceballinus* with the whole Hiſtory: whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with leaſt ſuſpicion) ſhould go to the Court, and utter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole buſineſs; deſiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promiſed to do, but did not. Two daies paſſed, and *Philotas* never brake with the King about the matter, but ſtill excuſed himſelf to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leiſure. This his coldneſs bred ſuſpicion, and cauſed *Ceballinus* to addreſs himſelf to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armory, who forthwith brought him to *Alexanders* preſence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had paſſed between *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perſwade himſelf that this concealment of the treaſon, argued his hand to have been in the buſineſs. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traytor no other queſtion than this: *Wherein have I ſo offended thee, that thou ſhouldeſt think* Philotas *more worthy to be a King than I?* *Dimnus* perceiving when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had ſo wounded himſelf, that he lived no longer, than to give his laſt groan in the Kings preſence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the ſuſpicion, which his ſilence might juſtly breed. His anſwer was, That when the practice was revealed unto him by *Nichomachus*, he judging it to be but trivolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithal, until he might have better information. This error of his, (if it were only an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious ſervices of his Father *Parmenio*, of his Brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himſelf, had freely pardoned and given his hand for aſſurance; yet, by the inſtigation of *Craterus*, he again ſwallowed his Princely promiſe, and made his enemies his Judges. *Curtius* gives a note of *Craterus* in this buſineſs; How he perſwaded himſelf, that he could never find a better occaſion to oppreſs his private enemy, than by pretending Piety, and duty towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a note as much better, as it is moſt general, in his *Philotas*:

(*hate,*
See how these great men cloathe their private
In these fair colours of the publick good;
And, to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection stood:
And, arm'd with Power and Princes jealousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest rank of treacheries,
That no one action shall seem innocent:
Yea, valour, honor, bounty shall be made
As accessaries unto ends unjust:
And even the serivce of the State must lade
The needfull'st undertaking with distrust;
So that base vileness, idle Luxury,
Seem safer far, than to do worthily, &c.

Now, although it were so, that the King following the advice of *Craterus*, had resolved the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very evening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a Banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to bind him, he cryed out upon the King in these words; *O* Alexander, *the malice of mine Enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is far more constant than the word of a King.* Many circumstances were urged against him by *Alexander* himself (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeed, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a god) That when *Alexander* wrote unto him concerning the title given him by *Jupiter Hammon*; He answered, That he could not but rejoyce that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but withal grieve for those that should live under such a one as would exceed the nature of man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firm perswasion unto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in despight. See what a strange Monster Flattery is, that can perswade Kings to kill those that do not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude to hear the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vile garments, and bound like a Thief; where he heard himself, and his absent Father, the greatest Captain of the World, accused; his two other Brothers, *Hector* and *Nicanor* having been lost in the present War. He was so greatly oppress with grief, as for a while he could utter nothing but tears, and sorrow had so wasted his spirits, as he sank under those that led him. In the end, the King asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might understand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perswading the assembly, that he disdained the language of his own Country; and so withdrawing himself, left him to his mercileſs enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the King, who had so sharply inveighed against him, would not vouchsafe to hear his excuse. For not his enemies only were emboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, having discovered the Kings disposition and resolution, contended among themselves, which of them should exceed in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments, which he used in his own defence, this was not the weakest; That when *Nichomachus* desired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of mark and power were his partners in the conspiracy (as seeming unwilling to adventure himself with mean and base Companions) *Dimnus* named unto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and some others; but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly have valued the party, and have incouraged *Nichomachus*. Indeed, as *Philotas* said well for himself, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to have heartned *Nicomachus*, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certain proof, that he knew nothing of their intents that practised against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforced by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that adversity being seldom able to bear her own burthen, is for the most part found so malicious, as she rather desires to draw others (not always deserving it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the extremity of resistless and unnatural torments, devised by his profest enemies *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Ephestion*, and others, *Philotas* accused his own self; being perswaded that they would have slain him forthwith. But he failed even in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on flesh and blood, he was forced to deliver, not what he knew, but whatsoever best pleased their ears, that were far more mercileſs than death it self.

Of

Of this kind of judicial proceeding St. *Augustine* greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with Fountains of tears, *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur; & cum quæritur utrum sit nocens, cruciatur; & innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimas pœnas: non quia illud commisisse deteritur sed quia non commisisse nescitur. What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his own cause; and tormented whilst yet it is in question whether he be guilty; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certainty: not because he is known to have committed the offence, but because others do not know that he hath not committed it?*

It had been enough for *Alexanders* safety, if *Philotas* had been put to death without torment, the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Hemolaus*, who afterward conspired against him, made the Kings cruelty and delight in blood, the greatest motive of his own ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca*, speaking of *Alexander*, saith thus, *Crudelitas minime humanum malum est, indignum tam miti animo; ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abjecto homine, in silvestre animal transire; Cruelty is not a humane vice, it is unworthy of so mild a spirit: It is even a beastly rage to delight in blood and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage Monster.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedy, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confession that *Philotas* made, were to give end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeed; For (saith he) in this case, they that speak truly, or they that deny falsly, come to one and the same end. Now while the Kings hands were yet wet in blood, he commanded that *Lyncestes*, Son in Law to *Antipater*, who had been three years in prison, should be slain: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accused: others there were that were suspected because they had followed *Philotas*; but when they had answered for themselves, that they knew no way so direct to win the Kings favour, as by loving those whom the King favoured, they were dismist. But *Parmenio* was yet living; *Parmenio*, who had served with great fidelity as well *Philip* of *Macedon* the Kings Father, as himself; *Parmenio*, that first opened the way into *Asia*; that had depresst *Attalus* the Kings enemy; that had alwaies, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vanguard, that was no less prudent in counsel, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloved of the men of War, and, to say the truth, he that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore revenge the death of his Son, though not upon the King (for it was unlikely that he would have dishonored his fidelity in his eldest age, having now lived threescore and ten years) yet upon those that by the witchcraft of flattery had possest themselves of his affection, it was resolved, that he should be dispatcht. *Polydamas* was employed in this business, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* trusted most, and loved best, who (to be short) finding him in *Midia*, and having *Cleander* and other murderers with him, slew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings Letters. *Hic exitus* Parmenionis *fuit, militiæ domique clari viri; Multa sine Rege prospere, Rex sine illo nihil magnæ rei gesserat; This was the end of* Parmenio (*saith* Curtius) *who had performed many notable things without the King; but the King, without him, did never effect any thing worthy of praise.*

§. XVIII.

How Alexander *subdued the* Bactrians, Sogdians, *and other people. How* Bessus *was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the* Scythians.

WHen these things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Army, and brought under his obedience the *Araspians*, or *Evergitans*; he made *Amenides* (sometime *Darius* his Secretary) their Governor, then he subdued the *Arachosians*, and left *Menon* to command over them. Here the Army, sometimes led by *Parmenio*, finds him, consisting of twelve thousand *Macedons* and *Greeks*, with whom he past through some cold Regions with difficulty enough. At length he came to the foot of the Mountain *Taurus* towards the East, where he built a City, which he honoured with his own name, and peopled it with seven thousand of his oldest *Macedons*, worn with age, and with travels of the War. The *Arians*, who since he left them were revolted, he subdued again by the industry and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*. And now he resolves to find out the new King *Bessus* in *Bactria*. *Bessus*, hearing of his coming, prepares to pass over the great River of *Oxus*, which divides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Governor of *Bactria* abandoned by *Bessus*; The *Macedonian* Army suffereth for want of Water, insomuch as when they came to the River

River of *Oxus*, there dyed more of them by drinking inordinately, than *Alexander* had loſt in any one Battel againſt the *Perſians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after object unto him) he fought againſt women, and not againſt men; and not againſt their perſons, but their ſhadows. He found on the banks of this great River no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boats, bridges, or raft, but was forced to ſew together the hides that covered his carriages, and ſtuff them with ſtraw, and on them in ſix days to paſs over his Army; which *Beſſus* might eaſily have diſtreſt, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army afar off. He had formerly complained againſt *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tygris*, and other paſſages; and yet now, when this trayterous ſlave had ſtiled himſelf a King, he durſt not perform any thing worthy of a ſlave. And therefore thoſe that were neereſt unto him, and whom he moſt truſted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moved both by the care of their own ſafety, and by the memory of *Beſſus* his treaſon and cruelty againſt *Darius*, bound him in the like manner, that he had done his Maſter, but with this difference, that he had the chain cloſed about his neck like a Maſtiff-Dog, and ſo was dragged along to be preſented to his Enemy.

In the mean while *Alexander* was arrived at a certain Town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before he returned out of *Greece*; whoſe Iſſues had well-neer forgotten their Country-language. Theſe moſt cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the ſword, and deſtroyed their City. At this place he received *Beſſus*, and having rewarded *Spitamenes* with the reſt that delivered him, he gave the Traytor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his Brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himſelf ſecure, ſome twenty thouſand Mountainers aſſaulted his Camp; in repelling whom he received a ſhot in the leg, the arrow-head ſticking in the fleſh, ſo as he was carried in a Horſe-litter, ſometime by the Horſemen, ſometime by the foot.

Soon after he came unto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Perondinus* takes to be *Samarchand*, the regal City of the great *Tamerlain*. It had in compaſs threeſcore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* ſaith.) Here he received the Embaſſadors of the *Scythians* (called *Avians*) who offered to ſerve him.

The *Bactrians* are ſhortly again with the *Sogdians* ſtirred to rebellion, by the ſame *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately delivered into his hands the Traytor *Beſſus*. Many Cities were reſolvedly defended againſt him, all which, after victory, he defaced and razed, killing all therein. At one of theſe he received a blow on the neck, which ſtruck him to the ground, and much diſabled him for many days after. In the mean while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, againſt whom he employed *Menedemus* with three thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe.

In the heat of theſe tumults *Alexander* marched on (if we may believe *Curtius* and others) till he came to the River of *Tanais*; upon whoſe bank he built another *Alexandria*, threeſcore furlongs in compaſs, which he beautified with houſes within ſeventeen days after the walls built. The building of this City is ſaid to have been occaſion of a War between him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perſwading himſelf, that this new Town was fortified of purpoſe to keep him under. I do not well underſtand, why the *Scythians*, offering war in ſuch terrible manner, that *Alexander* was judged by his own Souldiers to counterfeit ſickneſs for very fear, ſhould nevertheleſs make ſute for peace: neither find I the reaſon why *Alexander* (not intending the Conqueſt of thoſe Northern deſarts, but only the defence of his own bank) ſhould refuſe to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they ſhould agree to ſuffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a victory deſcribed; in purſuit of which the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his Expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* have greatly miſtaken this River, which they call *Tanais*. For it was the River of *Jaxartes*, that runs between *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* paſt over, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarchand*: But *Tanais*, which divides *Aſia* from *Europe*, is neer two thouſand miles diſtant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and the way deſart and unknown. So that *Alexander* had (beſides *Jaxartes*) the great River of *Volga*, and many others to ſwim over, ere he could recover *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have diſcovered with the Army that followed him, if he had employed all the time that he lived in *Aſia* in that travel.

Wherefore it is enough to believe, that the *Aſiatique Scythians*, making ſome offer to diſturb the erection of his new City, which was like to give ſome hinderance to their

their excurſions, were driven away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defenſive Arms, eaſily chaſed ſome ten or twelve miles; which is the ſubſtance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his journey, like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life-time he were as ſober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that waſte Country, where he could find nothing but trees and ſtones, nor other buſineſs than to ſet up a Monument.

Threeſcore of the *Macedonians* are ſaid to have been ſlain, and one thouſand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might eaſily be in paſſing a great River, defended againſt them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horſes one thouſand eight hundred were brought into the Camp, and many priſoners. It is forbidden by ſome Hiſtorians, and indeed it is hardly poſſible, to ſet down the numbers of ſuch as periſh in Battel: yet *Cæſar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the Victors hath been ſo inquiſitive into the greatneſs of their own ſucceſs, that Writers have been able to deliver ſuch particulars by credible report, I hold it not unlawful to ſet down what we find; eſpecially when it ſerves to give light to the buſineſs in hand. The ſmall number which the *Macedonians* loſt; the omiſſion of the number which they ſlew (a thing not uſual in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may ſet out the greatneſs of *Alexander*) and the little booty that was gotten, do make it probable, that this War was no better than the repulſion of a few roving *Tartars* (the like being yearly performed by the *Moſcovite*, without any boaſt) and therefore better omitted by ſome Hiſtorians, than ſo highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While *Alexander* was aſſuring himſelf of thoſe *Scythians* bordering upon *Jaxartes*, he received the ill news that *Menedemus* was ſlain by *Spitamenes*, the Army (by him led) broken, and the greateſt numbers ſlain, to wit, two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe. He therefore, to appeaſe the rebellion, and to take revenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haſte he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burns, and lays waſte all before him, not ſparing the innocent children, and ſo departs, leaving a new Governor in that Province.

To repair this loſs, he received a great ſupply of nineteen thouſand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which, and the old Army he returns towards the South, and paſſeth the River of *Oxus*; on the South ſide whereof he built ſix Towns neer each other for mutual ſuccour. But he finds a new ſtart-up-Rebel, called *Arimazes* (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thouſand Souldiers, that defended againſt him a ſtrong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had ſought in vain to win by fair words, he made choice of three hundred young men, and promiſed ten talents to the firſt, nine to the ſecond, and ſo in proportion to the reſt, that could find a way to creep up to the top thereof. This they performed with the loſs of ſome two and thirty of their men, and then made a ſign to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandment. Hereupon he ſent one *Cophes* to perſwade *Arimazes* to yield the place; who, being ſhewed by *Cophes* that the Army of *Macedon* was already mounted up, yielded ſimply to *Alexanders* mercy, and was (with all his kindred) ſcourged and crucified to death; which puniſhment they well deſerved for neglecting to keep good watch in ſo dangerous a time. For the place, as ſeems by the deſcription, might eaſily have been defended againſt all the Armies of the World. But, what ſtrength cannot do, Mans wit, being the moſt forcible engine, hath often effected: Of which I will give you an example in a place of our own.

The Iſland of *Sark*, joyning to *Garnſey*, and of that Government, was in Queen *Maries* time ſurprized by the *French*, and could never have been recovered again by ſtrong hand, having cattel and corn enough upon the place to feed ſo many men as will ſerve to defend it, and being every way ſo inacceſſible, that it might be held againſt the Great *Turk*. Yet by the induſtry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this ſort regained. He anchored in the road with one Ship of ſmall burthen, and pretending the death of his Merchant; beſought the *French*, being ſome thirty in number, that they might bury their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappel of that Iſle; offering a preſent to the *French* of ſuch Commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they ſhould not come athore with any weapon, no not ſo much as with a Knife) the *Frenchmen* yielded. Then did the *Fleming*, put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carkaſs, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebuſſes; The *French* received them at their landing; and ſearching every of them ſo narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gave them leave to draw their Coffin up the Rocks with great difficulty; ſome part of the *French* took the *Flemiſh* Boat, and rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the commodities promiſed, and what

elſe

else they pleased; but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappel, shut the door to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, set upon the *French*; they run to the Cliff, and cry to their company aboard the *Fleming* to come to their succour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings* yielded themselves and the place. Thus a Fox-tail doth sometims help well to piece out the Lyons-skin that else would be too short.

§. XIX.

How Alexander *slew his own friends.*

After these *Sogdian* and *Scythian* Wars, we read of *Alexanders* killing of a Lion, and other Frivolous matters, and that he committed the Government of *Maracanda*, and the Country about it, to *Clytus*, and how he slew him soon after, for valuing the virtue of *Philip* the Father before that of *Alexander* the son, or rather because he objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hammon:* for therein he touch't him to the quick, the same being delivered in publick, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deserved as much at the Kings hands, as any man living had done, and had in particular saved his life, which the King well remembred when he came to himself, and when it was too late. Yet, to say the truth, *Clytus* his insolency was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom he offended, so the King in his (for neither of them were themselves) forgat whom he went about to slay: for the grief whereof he tare his own face, and sorrowed so inordinately, as, but for the perswasions of *Calisthenes*, it is thought he would have slain himself.

Wine begat Fury, Fury matter of Repentance: But preceding mischiefs are not amended by succeeding bewailing: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obstantem malis conatibus verecundiam removet; ubi possedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, sed protrahit; Drunkenness both kindles and lays open every vice; it removes out of the way that shame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; where wine gets the mastery, all the ill that before lay hidden breaks out: drunkenness indeed rather discovers vices, than makes them.*

Soon after this, *Spitamines*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murthered by his Wife, and his head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dacons* also seized upon his Fellow-Conspirator *Dataphernes*, and delivered him up. So *Alexander* being now freed from all these petty Rebels, disposed of the Provinces which he past over, and went on with his Army into *Gabaza*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storm, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Train. From hence he invaded the *Sacans*, and destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of *Cohortanes*, who submitted himself unto him, feasted him greatly, and presented him with thirty beautiful Virgins, among whom *Roxana*, afterwards his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* disdained, yet none of them durst use any freedom of speech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his course towards *India*, having so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the mean while he would needs be honored as a god: whereto that he might allure the *Macedonians*, he employed two pernicious Parasites, *Hagis* and *Cleo*; whom *Calisthenes* opposed: For, among many other honest arguments used to the assembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought, that *Alexander* would disdain the gift of God-head from his Vassals; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those, who in their life time had done the greatest things, yet it never accompanied any one as yet living in the world. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a Banquet, and upon drink (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carowsing feast:) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding ages numbred among the gods. *Alexander* stood behind a partition, and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunity to be revenged on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a lover of the Kings honor, was yet soon after tormented to death; not for that he had betrayed the King to others, but because he never would condescend to betray the King to himself, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracy against the King made by one *Hermolaus* and others (which they confest) he caused *Calisthenes* without confession, accusation or trial, to be torn asunder upon the rack: This deed unworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus censureth, *Hoc est* Alexandri *crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum fœlicitas redimet: Nam quoties quis dixerit,*

dixerit, Occidit Perſarum multa milia; opponitur, & Caliſthenem. *Quoties dictum erit, Occidit* Darium; *opponitur, &* Caliſthenem. *Quoties dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenus vicit, ipſum quoq; tentavit nouis claſſibus, & Imperium ex angulo Thraciæ uſq; ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, ſed* Caliſthenem *occidit. Omnia licèt antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla tranſierit, ex his quæ fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam ſcelus* Caliſthenis; *This is the eternal crime of* Alexander, *which no vertue nor felicity of his in War ſhall ever be able to redeem: For as often as any man ſhall ſay, He ſlew many thouſand* Perſians; *it ſhall be replyed, he did ſo, and he ſlew* Caliſthenes. *When it ſhall be ſaid, he ſlew* Darius; *it ſhall be replyed, and* Caliſthenes. *When it ſhall be ſaid, he wan all as far as the very Ocean, thereon alſo he adventured with unuſual Navies, and extended his Empire from a corner of* Thrace, *to the utmoſt bounds of the Orient; It ſhall be ſaid withall, But he killed* Caliſthenes. *Let him have out-gone all the ancient examples of Captains and Kings; none of all his acts make ſo much to his glory, as* Caliſthenes *to his reproach.*

§. XX.

Of Alexanders *journey into* India. *The battel betweeu him and* Porus.

WIth the Army before remembred, of one hundred and twenty thouſand foot and horſe, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where ſuch of the Princes, as ſubmitted themſelves unto him, he entertained lovingly, the reſt he conſtrained, killing, Man, Woman, and Childe, where they reſiſted. He then came before *Niſa*, built by *Bacchus*, which after a few dayes was rendred unto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made feaſts for ten dayes together. Now when he had drunk his fill, he went on towards *Dedula*, and from thence to *Acadera*, Countreys ſpoyled and abandoned by the Inhabitants; by reaſon whereof, victuals failing, he divides his Army: *Ptolomy* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himſelf the reſt. They take many Towns, whereof that of greateſt fame was *Mazage*, which had in it three hundred thouſand men; but after ſome reſiſtance, it was yielded unto him by *Cleophe* the Queen, to whom again he reſtored it; at the ſiege of this City he received a wound in the leg. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polyſperchon*, and a Rock of great trength by hamelt: he wan alſo a paſſage upon one *Epix*, who was ſlain by his company, and his head preſented to *Alexander*. This is the ſum of *Alexanders* doings in thoſe parts, before ſuch time as he arrived at the River of *Indus*. Coming to *Indus*, he found there *Epheſtion*, who (being ſent before) had prepared Boats for the tranſportation of his Army, and ere *Alexanders* arrival, had perſwaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Country, to ſubmit himſelf to this great Conquerour. Therefore, ſoon upon *Alexanders* coming, *Omphis* preſented himſelf with all the ſtrength of his Countrey, and ſix and fifty Elephants, unto him; offering him his ſervice and aſſiſtance. He made *Alexander* know, that he was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abiaſares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleaſed, hoping by this diſ-union to make his own Victory by far the more eaſie. He preſented *Alexander* with a Crown of Gold, ſo did he the reſt of his Commanders, and withall fourſcore Talents of Silver Coyn; which *Alexander* not only refuſed, but to ſhew that he was covetous of glory, not of gold, he gave *Omphis* a thouſand Talents of his own treaſure, beſides other *Perſian* rarities. *Abiaſares*, having heard that *Alexander* had received his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, reſolved to make his own peace alſo: For, knowing that his own ſtrength did but equal that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference between them, than that which the chance of War gave, he thought it an ill match, when *Alexander*, who had already beaten under foot all the greateſt Princes of *Aſia*, ſhould make himſelf a Party and Head of the quarrel. So had *Alexander* none now to ſtand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he ſent a commandement, that he ſhould attend him at the border of his Kingdom, there to do him homage. But from *Porus* he received this manly anſwer; That he would ſatisfie him in his firſt demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgment he was reſolved to take counſel of his Sword. To be ſhort, *Alexander* reſolves to paſs over the River *Hydaſpes*, and to find *Porus* at his own home. *Porus* attends him on the farther bank with thirty thouſand foot, fourſcore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troop of Horſe. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had ſurely ſtayed ſomewhat longer ere he had ſeen *India*. The River was four furlongs broad, which makes half a mile, and withall deep and ſwift. It

had in it many Islands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacity. *Alexander* sent *Ptolomy* up the River with a great part of the Army, shrowding the rest from the view of *Porus*: who by this device being drawn from his first incamping, sets himself down opposite to *Ptolomy*, supposing that the whole Army of *Macedon*, meant to force their passage there. In the mean while *Alexander* recovers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troops, and advanceth towards *Porus*, who at first rather believes, that *Abisares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had been come over *Hydaspes* to his aid, than that *Alexander* had past it. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his brother *Hagis* with four thousand Horse, and a hundred armed Waggons to entertain him. Each Waggon had in it four to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little use: for there had fallen so much rain, and thereby the fields were so moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The *Scythians* and *Dahans* had the Vantguard, who so galled these *Indians*, as they brake their rains, and other Furniture, overturning the Waggons, and those in them. *Peraiccas* also gave up the *Indian* horse-men, and the one and the other were forc'd to recoil. *Porus* moves forward with the gross of his Army, that those of his Vanguard scattered might recover his Rear; *Alexander* being followed with *Ephestion*, *Ptolomy*, and *Perdiccas*, took on him to charge the *Indian* horse-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenus* or *Cenon* to invade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, he directed to break upon *Porus* his battel of foot, strengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himself being carried upon one of them, of the greatest stature. By these beasts the *Macedonian* foot were most offended; but the Archers and Darters, being well guarded with the long and strong pikes of the *Macedonians*, so galled them, as being inraged, they turned head, and ran over the foot that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulness of the *Macedonian* Captains, the victory fell to *Alexander*, who also far exceeded *Porus* in number: for besides the *Macedonians* and other Eastern and Northern Nations, *Porus* was assailed by his own Confederate and Country-people. Yet for his own person he never gave ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Army, he became a prisoner to the Conquerour, from whom again he received his estate with a great enlargement.

§. XXI.

How Alexander *finished his Expedition, and returned out of* India.

I Forbear to trouble my self and others with a frivolous discourse of Serpents, Apes and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these their travels: or of those petty Wars which *Alexander* made between the overthrow of *Porus*, and his sailing down the River of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better known unto us in this Age, by means of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no sort be perswaded to believe, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seen between *London* and *Staines*.

Our great traveller *Mandevile*, who died in the year 1372, and had seen so much of the World, and of the East *India*, we accounted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witness the Monument made of him in the Covent of the Friers *Guillimius* in *Liege*, where the Religious of that place keep some things of his, *Comme pour honourable memoire de son Excellence*; *For an honourable memory of his Excellency*, saith *Guichardine*. Gui. in Descr. of the Low Countr.

The Countreys towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Rivers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradis*, *Acesines*, and the rest fall into the main stream, are now possest by the great *Mogol* the ninth from *Tamberlain*, who commands all the tract between *Persia* and *Indus* towards the West, as also a great extent of Country towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Ascension*, a Ship of *London*, suffered shipwrack, in the year 1609. and some of the company travelled over Land till they came to *Agra*, the same great City (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*.

Philostratus in the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the East *India*, tells us, that those two great Captains (whom *Alexander* sought by all means to out-fame) when they endevoured to subject to them the *Oxidracæ*, a people inhabiting between the Rivers of *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the

the aſſault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be underſtood by the great Ordnance that thoſe people had then in uſe. For it is now certainly known, that the great Kings of the uttermoſt Eaſt, have had the uſe of the Cannon many hundreds of years ſince, and even ſince their firſt civility and greatneſs, which was long before *Alexander*'s time. But *Alexander* pierc'd not ſo far into the Eaſt. It ſufficed, that having already over-wearied his Army, he diſcovered the reſt of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had ſubdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the River *Ganges*, was the powerfulleſt King of all thoſe Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thouſand Foot, three thouſand Elephants, twenty thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed than ever to proceed in this diſcovery and conqueſt, yet all the art he had, could not perſwade the Souldiers to wander over thoſe great Deſarts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible unto them than the greateſt Army that the Eaſt could gather. Yet at the laſt contented they were, after many perſwaſive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to diſcover ſuch part of the Ocean Sea, as was nearer at hand, whereunto the River of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* ſeeing that it would be no otherwiſe, deviſed a pretty trick, wherewith he hoped to beguile poſterity, and make himſelf ſeem greater than he was. He enlarged his Camp, made greater trenches, greater Cabbins for Souldiers, greater Horſe-ſtalls, and higher Mangers than Horſes could feed in. He cauſed all furniture of men and horſes to be made larger than would ſerve for uſe; and ſcattered theſe Armours and Bridles about his Camp, to be kept as reliques, and wondred at by the Savages. Proportionable to theſe he raiſed up twelve great Altars to be the monument of his journeys end. This was a ready way to encreaſe the fame of his bigneſs; to his greatneſs it could add nothing ſave a ſuſpition, that it was leſs than is thought, ſeeing he ſtrove ſo earneſtly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned again to the bank of *Aceſines*, and there determined to ſet up his fleet, where *Aceſines* and *Hydaſpes* incounter; where to teſtifie by a ſurer monument, how far he had paſt towards the Eaſt, he built by thoſe Rivers two Cities: the one he called *Nicæa*, and the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloved Horſe *Bucephalus*. Here again he received a fourth ſupply of ſix thouſand *Thracian* Horſe-men, ſeven thouſand Foot; and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* five and twenty thouſand Armours, garniſhed with ſilver and gold, which he diſtributed among his Souldiers. About theſe Rivers he wan many Towns, and committed great ſlaughter on thoſe that reſiſted; It is then written of him, that aſſaulting a City of the *Oxidracans*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, againſt all the Inhabitants; tales like thoſe of *Bevis* of *Southampton*, frivolous and incredible. Finally, he paſs'd down the River with his fleet, at which time alſo the news came unto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arrival of an hundred Embaſſadours from a King of *India*, who ſubmitted himſelf unto him. He feaſted theſe Embaſſadours upon a hundred beds of gold, with all the ſumptuoſity that could be deviſed, who, ſoon after their diſpatch, returned again with a preſent of three hundred Horſes, one hundred and thirty Waggons, and to each of them four Horſes, a thouſand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he ſailed towards the South, paſſed through many obſcure Nations, which did all yield unto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among theſe he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he took in this paſſage, *Samos* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought againſt him with poyſoned ſwords, with one of which *Ptolomy* (afterward King of *Egypt*) was wounded, and cured by an herb which *Alexander* dreamt he had ſeen in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neer the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies, as they were on a ſudden ſhuffled one upon another by the Flood, ſo on the Ebb they were left on the dry ground, and on the ſandy banks of the River, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few dayes obſerved well the courſe of the Sea, he paſt out of the Rivers mouth ſome few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to inform himſelf, he ſent *Nearchus* and *Oneſicritus*, to diſcover the coaſt towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his ſixth Book hath written this paſſage down the River of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Veſſels in which he tranſported his Army, the Commanders that were uſed therein, and other the marvellous proviſions made.

Near the out-lets of this River, he ſpent ſome part of the Winter, and in eighteen dayes march from thence recovered *Gedroſia*, in which paſſage his Army ſuffered ſuch miſery for want of food, that of a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

§. XXII.

Of Alexanders *Riot, Cruelty, and Death.*

FRom *Gedroſia*, *Alexander* led his Army into *Carmania*, and ſo drawing near to *Perſia*, he gave himſelf wholly to feaſting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swiniſh vice be hatefull enough in it ſelf, yet it alwayes inflamed this King to Cruelty. *For* (ſaith *Curtius*) *the Hang-man followed the feaſt: for* Aſpaſtes, *one of his Provincial Governours, he commanded to be ſlain; ſo as neither did the exceſs of voluptuouſneſs qualifie his cruelty, nor his cruelty hinder in ought his voluptuouſneſs.*

While he refreſhed his Army in theſe parts, a new ſupply of five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had been employed in the Killing of *Parmenio*. Againſt theſe Murderers, great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Provinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were ſo outragious, as *Alexander* was perſwaded, that, had they not altogether deſpaired of his return out of *India*, they durſt not have committed them. All men were glad of the occaſion, remembring the vertue of him, whom they had ſlaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chief, with ſix hundred Souldiers by them employed, were delivered over to the Hang-man: every one rejoycing that the Ire of the King was at laſt executed on the miniſters of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Oneſicritus* were now returned from the coaſt, and made report of an Iſland rich in gold, and of other ſtrange things; whereupon they were commanded to make ſome farther diſcovery: which done, that they ſhould enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and find the King at *Babylon*.

Arrianus hath a far different deſcription of *Cyrus* Tomb.

As he drew near to *Babylon*, he viſited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Paſargada*, now called *Chalquera*: where he was preſented with many rich gifts by *Orſines*, one of the Princes of *Perſia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But becauſe *Bagoas*, an *Eunuch* in ſpecial favour with the King, was neglected; he not only practiſed certain looſe fellows to witneſs againſt *Orſines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* Tomb, for which he was condemned to dye; but he aſſiſted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time alſo *Alexander* cauſed *Phradites* to be ſlain, ſuſpecting his greatneſs. *Cæperat* (ſaith *Curtius*) *eſſe præceps ad repræſentanda ſupplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began head-longly to ſhed blood, and believe falſe reports.* It is true, that he took a way to make all men weary of his Government, ſeeing cruelty is more fearful, than all adventures that can be made againſt it.

At this time it is ſaid, that *Calanus* the Philoſopher burnt himſelf, when he had lived threeſcore and thirteen years. Whether herein he followed the cuſtome of his Country, being an *Indian*, or ſought to prevent the griet and incommodity of elder age, it is uncertain: but in this the Hiſtorians agree, that fore-ſeeing and fore-ſhewing *Alexanders* death, he promiſed to meet him ſhortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Paſargada* he came to *Suſa*, where he married *Statira Darius* his eldeſt Daughter, giving her younger ſiſter to his beloved *Epheſtion*, and fourſcore other *Perſian* Ladies to his Captains. There were ſix thouſand gueſts invited to the feaſt, to each of which he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto him three thouſand young Souldiers, out of his conquered Provinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treaſurer in *Babylon*, having laviſhly conſumed the moneys in his keeping, got him going with five thouſand Talents, and ſix thouſand hired Souldiers; but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there ſlain. *Alexander* greatly rejoyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with theſe forces and treaſures could not ſtirr: yet he ſent commandment, that they ſhould again receive their baniſhed men, whereunto (fearfull of his indignation) all ſubmitted themſelves (except the *Athenians*) though they reſolved, that it was a manifeſt preparation towards their bondage. After this, there followed a marvellous diſcontentment in his Army, becauſe he had reſolved to ſend into *Macedon* all thoſe old Souldiers which could no longer endure the travel of War, and to keep the reſt in *Aſia*. He uſed many Orations to ſatiſfie them, but it was in vain during the tempeſt of their fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawn to the Land with a twine-thred, when they have tumbled a while; ſo are the unconſiderate multitude eaſily conducted when their firſt paſſions are evaporate. With ſuch as were licenſed to depart, he

he ſent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the Lieutenantſhip of *Macedon*, *Theſſaly*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his firſt departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellions *Greeks* in his abſence, diſcharged the truſt committed unto him with great fidelity, and ſent him ſo many ſtrong ſupplies into *Aſia* from time to time. Certainly, if *Alexander* had not taken counſel of his cups, he would have caſt ſome better colour on this alteration, and given *Antipater* a ſtronger reaſon for his remove, than to have imployed him in the conduction of a new ſupply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the War being now at an end. For *Antipater* ſaw nothing in this remove, but the Kings diſpoſition to ſend him after *Parmenio*, and the reſt. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithſtanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, do not ſtand in doubt of every man ill-affected, though valiant: but there is a kind of Kingly courage, compounded of hardineſs and underſtanding, which is many times ſo fearfull unto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themſelves thereof.

After he had ſent for *Antipater*, he made a journey into *Media* to ſettle things there; where *Epheſtion*, whom he favoured moſt of all men, dies. The King, according to the greatneſs of his love, laments his loſs, hangs his Phyſician, and beſtows upon his Monument twelve thouſand talents: After which he returns to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but ſent; and not to excuſe himſelf, but to free himſelf. For if we believe *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gainſay) *Antipater* by his Sons, *Caſſander*, *Philip*, and *Iolla*, who waited on *Alexanders* cup, gave him poyſon; *Theſſalus* (who was of the Conſpiracy) having invited him to a drinking-feaſt of purpoſe. For after he had taken a carouſe in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drink ſtronger than *Hercules* himſelf, he quitted the World within a few dayes.

Certainly the Princes of the World have ſeldom found good, by making their Miniſters over-great, and thereby ſuſpicious to themſelves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelity to be a debt, but is perſwaded, that Kings ought to purchaſe it from their Vaſſals, will never pleaſe himſelf with the price given. The only reſtorative, indeed, that ſtrengthens it, is the goodneſs and virtue of the Prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent; ſo as proportion and diſtance be obſerved. It may be, that *Antipater*, having commanded two or three Kingdoms ten or twelve years, knew not how to play any other part; no more than *Cæſar* did, after he had ſo long a time governed the *Gauls*, where he utterly forgat the art of obedience. A moſt cruel and ungrateful Traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* do not belye him: For though he feared ſome ill meaſure upon his remove (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Calliſthenes*, having been ſo lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had reſolved to have given him ſome other great Government in *Aſia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance deſired to be governed by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former War.

§. XXIII.

Of Alexanders *perſon and qualities.*

HOwſoever it were, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot be excuſed, no more than his vanity to be eſteemed the Son of *Jupiter*, with his exceſſive delight in drink and drunkenneſs, which others make the cauſe of his feaver and death. In that he lamented his want of enterpriſing, and grieved to conſider what he ſhould do when he had conquered the World, *Auguſtus Cæſar* found juſt cauſe to deride him, as if the well-governing of ſo many Nations and Kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have offered him matter more than aboundant, to buſie his brains withall. That he was both learned, and a lover of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his firſt Book of the Advancement of Learning, hath proved it ſufficiently. His liberality, I know not how to praiſe, becauſe it exceeded proportion. It is ſaid, That when he gave a whole City to one of his ſervants, he, to whom it was given, did out of modeſty refuſe it, as diſproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replyed, That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give: of which *Seneca*; *Animoſa vox videtur & regia, cùm ſit ſtultiſſima. Nihil enim per ſe quenquam decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. ſine quibus facti ratio non conſtabit; habeatur perſonarum & dignitatum proportio, & cum ſit ubiq; virtutis modus, æquè peccat quod excedit, quàm quod deficit; It ſeems a brave and Royal ſpeech, whereas indeed it is very fooliſh. For nothing ſimply conſidered by it ſelf beſeems a man. We muſt regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which conſiderations, no act can be approved. Let honours be proportioned unto the perſons: for whereas virtue is ever limited* L. 2. de Ben. c. 1.

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Near the out-lets of this River, he ſpent ſome part of the Winter, and in eighteen dayes march from thence recovered *Gedroſia*, in which paſſage his Army ſuffered ſuch miſery for want of food, that of a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

§. XXII.

Of Alexanders *Riot, Cruelty, and Death.*

FRom *Gedroſia*, *Alexander* led his Army into *Carmania*, and ſo drawing near to *Perſia*, he gave himſelf wholly to feaſting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swiniſh vice be hatefull enough in it ſelf, yet it alwayes inflamed this King to Cruelty. *For* (ſaith *Curtius*) *the Hang-man followed the feaſt: for* Aſpaſtes, *one of his Provincial Governours, he commanded to be ſlain; ſo as neither did the exceſs of voluptuouſneſs qualifie his cruelty, nor his cruelty hinder in ought his voluptuouſneſs.*

While he refreſhed his Army in theſe parts, a new ſupply of five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had been employed in the Killing of *Parmenio*. Againſt theſe Murderers, great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Provinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were ſo outragious, as *Alexander* was perſwaded, that, had they not altogether deſpaired of his return out of *India*, they durſt not have committed them. All men were glad of the occaſion, remembring the vertue of him, whom they had ſlaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chief, with ſix hundred Souldiers by them employed, were delivered over to the Hang-man: every one rejoycing that the Ire of the King was at laſt executed on the miniſters of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Oneſicritus* were now returned from the coaſt, and made report of an Iſland rich in gold, and of other ſtrange things; whereupon they were commanded to make ſome farther diſcovery: which done, that they ſhould enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and find the King at *Babylon*.

Arrianus hath a far different deſcription of *Cyrus* Tomb.

As he drew near to *Babylon*, he viſited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Paſargada*, now called *Chalquera*: where he was preſented with many rich gifts by *Orſines*, one of the Princes of *Perſia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But becauſe *Bagoas*, an *Eunuch* in ſpecial favour with the King, was neglected; he not only practiſed certain looſe fellows to witneſs againſt *Orſines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* Tomb, for which he was condemned to dye; but he aſſiſted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time alſo *Alexander* cauſed *Phradites* to be ſlain, ſuſpecting his greatneſs. *Cœperat* (ſaith *Curtius*) *eſſe præceps ad repræſentanda ſupplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began head-longly to ſhed blood, and believe falſe reports.* It is true, that he took a way to make all men weary of his Government, ſeeing cruelty is more fearful, than all adventures that can be made againſt it.

At this time it is ſaid, that *Calanus* the Philoſopher burnt himſelf, when he had lived threeſcore and thirteen years. Whether herein he followed the cuſtome of his Country, being an *Indian*, or ſought to prevent the griet and incommodity of elder age, it is uncertain: but in this the Hiſtorians agree, that fore-ſeeing and fore-ſhewing *Alexanders* death, he promiſed to meet him ſhortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Paſargada* he came to *Suſa*, where he married *Statira Darius* his eldeſt Daughter, giving her younger ſiſter to his beloved *Epheſtion*, and fourſcore other *Perſian* Ladies to his Captains. There were ſix thouſand gueſts invited to the feaſt, to each of which he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto him three thouſand young Souldiers, out of his conquered Provinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treaſurer in *Babylon*, having laviſhly conſumed the moneys in his keeping, got him going with five thouſand Talents, and ſix thouſand hired Souldiers; but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there ſlain. *Alexander* greatly rejoyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with theſe forces and treaſures could not ſtirr: yet he ſent commandment, that they ſhould again receive their baniſhed men, whereunto (fearfull of his indignation) all ſubmitted themſelves (except the *Athenians*) though they reſolved, that it was a manifeſt preparation towards their bondage. After this, there followed a marvellous diſcontentment in his Army, becauſe he had reſolved to ſend into *Macedon* all thoſe old Souldiers which could no longer endure the travel of War, and to keep the reſt in *Aſia*. He uſed many Orations to ſatiſfie them, but it was in vain during the tempeſt of their fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawn to the Land with a twine-thred, when they have tumbled a while; ſo are the unconſiderate multitude eaſily conducted when their firſt paſſions are evaporate. With ſuch as were licenſed to depart, he

he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellions *Greeks* in his absence, discharged the trust committed unto him with great fidelity, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certainly, if *Alexander* had not taken counsel of his cups, he would have cast some better colour on this alteration, and given *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remove, than to have imployed him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the War being now at an end. For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remove, but the Kings disposition to send him after *Parmenio*, and the rest. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, do not stand in doubt of every man ill-affected, though valiant: but there is a kind of Kingly courage, compounded of hardiness and understanding, which is many times so fearfull unto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After he had sent for *Antipater*, he made a journey into *Media* to settle things there; where *Ephestion*, whom he favoured most of all men, dies. The King, according to the greatness of his love, laments his loss, hangs his Physician, and bestows upon his Monument twelve thousand talents: After which he returns to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but sent; and not to excuse himself, but to free himself. For if we believe *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gainsay) *Antipater* by his Sons, *Cassander*, *Philip*, and *Iolla*, who waited on *Alexanders* cup, gave him poyson; *Thessalus* (who was of the Conspiracy) having invited him to a drinking-feast of purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drink stronger than *Hercules* himself, he quited the World within a few dayes.

Certainly the Princes of the World have seldom found good, by making their Ministers over-great, and thereby suspicious to themselves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelity to be a debt, but is perswaded, that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vassals, will never please himself with the price given. The only restorative, indeed, that strengthens it, is the goodness and virtue of the Prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be observed. It may be, that *Antipater*, having commanded two or three Kingdoms ten or twelve years, knew not how to play any other part; no more than *Cæsar* did, after he had so long a time governed the *Gauls*, where he utterly forgat the art of obedience. A most cruel and ungrateful Traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* do not belye him: For though he feared some ill measure upon his remove (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Callisthenes*, having been so lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had resolved to have given him some other great Government in *Asia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance desired to be governed by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former War.

§. XXIII.

Of Alexanders *person and qualities.*

HOwsoever it were, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot be excused, no more than his vanity to be esteemed the Son of *Jupiter*, with his excessive delight in drink and drunkenness, which others make the cause of his feaver and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what he should do when he had conquered the World, *Augustus Cæsar* found just cause to deride him, as if the well-governing of so many Nations and Kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have offered him matter more than aboundant, to busie his brains withall. That he was both learned, and a lover of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his first Book of the Advancement of Learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His liberality, I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That when he gave a whole City to one of his servants, he, to whom it was given, did out of modesty refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replyed, That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give: of which *Seneca*; *Animosa vox videtur & regia, cùm sit stultissima. Nihil enim per se quenquam decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. sine quibus facti ratio non constabit; habeatur personarum & dignitatum proportio, & cum sit ubiq; virtutis modus, æquè peccat quod excedit, quàm quod deficit; It seems a brave and Royal speech, whereas indeed it is very fooliſh. For nothing simply considered by it self beseems a man. We must regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which considerations, no act can be approved. Let honours be proportioned unto the persons: for whereas virtue is ever limited* L. 2. de Ben. c. 1.

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by meaſure, the exceſs is as faulty as the defect.

For his Perſon, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man; a diſpoſition, taken by it ſelf, not much to be admired: For I am reſolved, that he had ten thouſand in his Army as daring as himſelf. Surely, if adventurous natures were to be commended ſimply, we ſhould confound that virtue with the hardineſs of Theeves, Ruffians, and Maſtiff-Dogs. For certainly it is no way praiſeworthy, but in daring good things, and in the performance of thoſe lawful enterpriſes, in which we are employed for the ſervice of our Kings, and Common-weals.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other troublers of the world, who have bought their glory with ſo great deſtruction and effuſion of blood, I think him far inferiour to *Cæſar*, and many other that lived after him, ſeeing he never undertook any warlike Nation, the naked *Scythians* excepted: nor was ever encountred with any Army of which he had not a moſt maſtering advantage, both of Weapons and Commanders, every one of his Fathers old Captains by far exceeding the beſt of his Enemies. But it ſeems Fortune and Deſtiny (if we may uſe thoſe terms) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his own, both heaps of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and Kingdoms that invited and called in their own Conquerours. For concluſion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who ſpeaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Son, gives this judgement of them: *Quod non minores fuere peſtes mortalium, quàm inundatio, qua planum omne perfuſum eſt, quàm conflagratio, qua magna pars animantium exaruit; They were no leſs plagues to mankind, than an overthrow of waters, drowning all the level; or ſome burning drought, whereby a great part of living creatures are ſcorched up.*

CHAP. III.

The Reign of Aridæus.

§. I.

Of the Queſtion about Succeſſion to Alexander.

THE death of *Alexander* left his Army (as *Demades* the *Athenian* then compared it) in ſuch caſe, as was that monſtrous Gyant *Polyphemus*, having loſt his only eye. For that which is reported in Fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the *Macedonians*: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance uneffectual, and harmfull chiefly to themſelves. The cauſes whereof (under the divine ordinance) were partly the uncertainty of Title to ſucceſſion in the Kingdom of *Macedon*, partly the ſtubborn pride of *Alexander* himſelf, who thinking none worthy to be his heir, did refuſe to eſtabliſh the right in any one, leaving every one to his own fortune: but eſpecially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Maſter to ſuffer no equals; a leſſon ſoon taught unto ſpirits reflecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly been ſhewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) governing in *Macedon* as Protector, aſſumed unto himſelf the Kingdom, not rendring it unto *Amyntas*, (the Son of his elder Brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to mans eſtate; but only beſtowing upon him in marriage a Daughter of his own: by which bond, and much more by his own proper ſtrength, he aſſured the Crown unto himſelf: *Amyntas* never attempting ought againſt *Philip*; though (with price of his life) he did againſt *Alexander* in the beginning of his reign. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the ſole iſſue of this marriage, ought in reaſon to have been acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; as having better Title thereunto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they lived, unleſs (peradventure) ſome Law of that Nation forbad the reign of Women. But the excellent virtue of theſe two Princes had utterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their own bodies: and ſo great were their Conqueſts, that *Macedon* it ſelf was (in regard of them) a very ſmall Appendix, and no way deſerving to be laid in ballance againſt the demand of their poſterity, had they left any able

able to make challenge of the Royal Seat.

Alexander having taken many Wives, had iſſue by none of the principal of them. *Barſine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Perſian*, had born unto him a young Son: and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more ſolemnly married) was left by him great with child. But the baſeneſs of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alledged in Barr of Plea made for them, by ſome that would (perhaps) have wrought out their own ends, under the name of *Alexanders* children.

Cleopatra a Siſter of *Alexander*, widow to the King of *Epirus*, and *Aridæus* his baſe Brother (Son to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had marryed the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in courſe. Of *Cleopatra* there was no ſpeech, which may give ſuſpition, that either Law or Cuſtom had made that Sex uncapable of the Soveraignty: *Aridæus* (beſides his baſtardy) was neither for perſon nor quality fit to rule as King; yet upon him the election fell, but ſlowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counſellors having over-laboured their diſagreeing wits in deviſing what was beſt, were content for very wearineſs to take what comes next to hand.

Ptolomy (ſoon after King of *Egypt*) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the half-*Perſian* brood, King *Alexanders* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all ſhould be given to the Captains; that going for Law, which by the greater part of them ſhould be decreed: ſo far was he from acknowledging any one as true Heir to the Crown.

This *Ptolomy* was called the Son of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who having uſed the company of *Arſinoë Ptolomy*'s Mother, delivered her in marriage to *Lagus*, being great with child. Therefore, whether it were ſo, that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of thoſe diſſentions, which are incident unto the conſultations of many ambitious men, equal in place, forcing them at length to redeem their quiet with ſubjection to one, deſerving regard by his blood, and truſt for his even carriage; or whether he deſired only to get a ſhare to himſelf, which could not have come to paſs, had all been given to one: plain enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridæus* before himſelf: and therefore gave ſuch counſel as fitted his own and other mens purpoſes. Yea, this device of his took place indeed, though not in form as he had propounded it; For, it was in effect all one, to have aſſembled at *Alexanders* empty Chair, as *Ptolomy* had conceived the form of their conſultations, or to ſet in the Chair ſuch a King as *Aridæus*, no wiſer than the Chair it ſelf. Alſo the Controverſies ariſing were determined by the greater part of the Captains; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puiſſance.

But as theſe counterfeit ſhews of diſſembling aſpirers do often take check by the plain-dealing of them who dare to go more directly to work: ſo was it like to have fared with *Ptolomy* and the reſt, when *Ariſtonus*, another of the Captains, interpreted the very words of *Alexander*, ſaying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthieſt, as deſigning *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his ring. It ſeemed good in reaſon, that *Alexander* ſhould be diſpoſer of his own purchaſes: and thoſe tokens of *Alexanders* purpoſe appeared plain enough, ſo long as no man would interpoſe anothers conſtruction: every one being uncertain how the ſecret affections of the reſt might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or becauſe they would not be of the lateſt, urged *Perdiccas* to take upon him the eſtate Royal. He was no ſtranger to the Royal blood; yet his birth gave him not ſuch reputation, as the great favour of his dead King, with whom he had been very inward, and that eſpecially ſince the death of *Epheſtion* (a powerfull Minion) into whoſe place he was choſen. For his own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of War, and one that had given much proof of his private valour. But very ſurly he was: which quality (joyned with good fortune) carried a ſhew of Majeſty: being checkt with miſadventure, it was called by a true name, Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the preſent buſineſs a fooliſh over-weening did him as great harm, as it had been great happineſs to have ſucceeded *Alexander*. For, not content to have the acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the ſentence of *Ariſtonus*, he would needs counterfeit modeſty; thinking that every one of the Princes would have intreated him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which would be the leſs envious, the more ſolemnity he uſed in the acceptance. It is truly ſaid, He that feigneth himſelf a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolf. *Meleager*, (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) took advantage of his irreſolute behaviour, and very bitterly inveighed againſt him. In concluſion, he pronounced, That whoſoever was Heir to the Crown, the ſouldiers ought to be heirs to the Treaſure; and therefore he invited them,

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who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation The Captains were left alone, far enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers. who greedy of spoil, thronged about *Meleager*.

§. II.

The Election of Aridæus, *with the troubles thereabout arising; the first Division of the Empire.*

During this up-roar, mention was made of *Aridæus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, untill at last it grew to the voice of the Army. *Meleager* having withdrawn himself tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad of so fair an occasion to make himself great: therefore he produced *Aridæus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, investing him in *Alexander*'s Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vain: for they could not resolve what course to follow, rejecting this. Only *Python*, a hot-headed man, took upon him to proclaim the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsel which *Perdiccas* at first had given, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Protectors. But the child was not yet born, which made that attempt of *Python* vain. Finally, *Perdiccas* with six hundred men, and *Ptolomy* with the Kings Pages, took upon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* body lay: but the Army conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he listed, easily brake in upon them, and inforced them to accept *Aridæus* for their Soveraign Lord. Then by the intercession of the ancient Captains, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leonatus, who was of Royal blood, a goodly Gentleman, and valiant, issued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but standing upon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion that should happen among the Infantry. The King (who was governed by *Meleager*) commanded, or gave leave to have *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their coming was not unexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such gravity, that they departed honester than they came; being sorry for their bad enterprise. Upon the news of this attempt, the Camp was in an up-roar, which the King seeking to pacifie, wanted authority, as having newly got the Crown by them, and holding it by their courtesie. The matter it self afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said that no harm was done, for *Perdiccas* was alive: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which he imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, untill the King by offering to resign his estate unto them, renewed out of their pity that favourable affection, which had moved them to set him up at the first.

Perdiccas having now joyned himself with *Leonatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all provision of victuals from the City. But after sundry Embassies passing between the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to have the Authors of sedition given up into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might be joyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in government of the Army) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. *Meleager* should have done well to consider, That such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to give him a principal place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treachery lurked under their great facility. General peace was renewed, and much love protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had been in *Alexanders* time: but no longer now did the same heart give it life; and windy spirits they were which moved in the arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his own disgrace, but in such terms as might seem to have proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himself; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas*, that such authors of discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a lover of peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Army. The plot was mischievously laid. Had *Meleager* given way to seditious rumours, he must needs have incurred the general hatred of all, as a

ſower of diſſention, and thereby with a publick approbation might have been cut off, as having often offended in that kind; his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now ſeeking redreſs of theſe diſorders, he haſtened his own ruine, by a leſs formal, but more ſpeedy way. This kind of Muſter was very ſolemn, and practiſed with many ceremonies, as for cleanſing the Army. The Horſe-men, the Elephants, the *Macedonian* foot, the Mercenaries were each according to their quality ſet in array, apart from others, as if they had been of ſundry ſorts, met at adventure: which done, the manner was to skirmiſh (as by way of exerciſe) according to the direction of their ſeveral Captains. But at that time the great battel of *Macedonian* Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpoſe beſtowed in a ground of diſadvantage; and the countenance of the Horſe and Elephants beginning to give charge upon them, was ſuch, as diſcovered no jeſting paſtime, nor good intent. Kings were always wont to fight among the horſemen: of which cuſtom *Perdiccas* made great uſe that day, to the utter confuſion of his enemies. For *Aridæus* was always governed by him, who for the preſent had him in poſſeſſion. Two or three days before, he ſought the death of *Perdiccas* at the inſtigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* up and down about the footmen, commanding them to deliver unto the death all ſuch as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were caſt unto the Elephants, and by them ſlain, in the preſence of the King (who ſhould have defended them) and of their affrighted companions. But theſe three hundred were not the men whoſe puniſhment *Meleager* had expected: they were ſuch as had followed him, when he diſturbed the firſt conſultation that was held about the election of a new King, and ſome of them his eſpecial friends. Having therefore kept himſelf quiet a while, as unwilling to give offence to them that had the advantage; when he ſaw their proceedings tend very manifeſtly to his deſtruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they ſent and ſlew him.

The Army being thus corrected, was led into the City, where a new Council of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themſelves; leaving to *Aridæus* the office of a Viſitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought upon; whoſe body having been ſeven days neglected, was opened and embalmed by the *Egyptians*: no ſign of poyſon appearing, how great ſoever the ſuſpicion might be. The charge of his burial was committed to *Aridæus*, one of the Captains, who was two years preparing of a great and coſtly ſhew, making a ſtately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many courſes of his friends being laid in the ground before that of *Alexander* was beſtowed in *Alexandria*, a City of his own building, in *Egypt*.

§. III.

The beginning of the Lamian *War.*

WHileſt theſe things were in doing, or preſently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principal Noblemen, and inferior to none of *Alexanders* followers, if not greater than any of the reſt, were buſied in *Greece* with a War, which the *Athenians* more bravely than wiſely had begun in *Alexanders* life, but now did proſecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the baniſhed *Greeks* (few excepted) ſhould be reſtored unto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the *Grecian* Eſtates, and therefore thought ſo to provide, that in every City he would have a ſure party, But it fell out otherwiſe: For he loſt the hearts of many more than he won by this proud injunction. His pleaſure indeed was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being againſt all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyranny. The *Athenians* greatly decayed in eſtate, but retaining more than was needful of their ancient ſpirits, forbad the execution of this Decree in their Dominions; ſo did alſo the *Ætolians* who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them took Arms, but ſeemed to bear themſelves, as men that had done no more than they might well Juſtifie by reaſon: nevertheleſs to prevent the worſt, the *Athenians* gave ſecret inſtructions to *Leoſthenes*, a Captain of theirs, willing him to levy an Army, but in his one name, and to keep it in a readineſs for their uſe. This was no hard thing for *Leoſthenes* to do: great numbers of *Greek* Souldiers being lately returned from the *Aſian* War in poor eſtate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captains. Of theſe he had gathered up eight thouſand, when the certain news was brought of *Alexanders* death: at which the City of *Athens* declared it ſelf, and more

honorably than wisely, proclaimed War against the *Macedonians* for the liberty of *Greece*. Hereupon *Leosthenes* drew in the *Ætolians* and some other Estates, gave battel to the *Bœotians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and overthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in adherents, that *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his own strength) was fain to send into *Asia* to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vain than the fears and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies a far off, which deceive all mortal wisdom, even when they seem near at hand. One month was scarcely past, since nothing so heavily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the return of *Craterus* into *Macedon*; which he then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured unto him, was sent into *Macedon* to convey home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to succeed *Antipater* in the government of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The suspitions were strong that he had a privy charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better; which was, That *Antipater* should be sent unto the King, as Captain of the young Souldiers, newly to be levied in *Europe*. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias:* and would sometimes give out speeches, testifying his own jealousie and hatred of him; but yet he strove to smother it, which in a cruel Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexanders* Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeed were mean persons in regard of those who followed him in his *Indian* expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was such, as could find rebellious purposes (for so he interpreted even lewd government) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who having sitten Vice-roy ten years in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the envy of a Court, wherein they had been his inferiours, which would now repine to see him their equal. Therefore whether his fear drew him to prevention, working first the Kings death by poyson, given by his Son *Iolaus*, *Alexanders* Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth untill opportunity had changed it into the passion of revenge, which was cruelly performed by his son *Cassander*; great cause of much fear he had; which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few years.

At the present, *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Captains of companies lying near, solicited to make haste. Not without cause: For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raised more than thirteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Countrey being emptied into *Asia*. The *Thessalians* indeed who had long stood firm for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who also were the best horsemen of *Greece*, furnished him with very brave troops, that might have done great service, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of *Greece*. With these forces did *Antipater* in *Thessaly* try the fortune of a battel with *Leosthenes*; rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his enemies power, and rebellion of the *Greeks*, (were they not checkt at the first) than presuming on his strength. For *Leosthenes* had of *Athenians*, *Ætolians*, and Mercenaries, two and twenty thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some *Illyrians* and *Thracians*: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also, when once the *Thessalians* had revolted unto him. So *Antipater* lost the day; and his loss was such, that he neither was able to keep the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his own Country; therefore he fled into the Town of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to bear out a siege. Thither did *Leosthenes* follow him, present him battel again, and upon refusal close up the Town with Earth-works, and a Wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the last honorable enterprize that ever was undertaken by that great City of *Athens*.

§. IV.

How Perdiccas *employed his Army.*

KIng *Aridæus* living under the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his own Province, kept a naked Court: all his greatness consisting in a bare Title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make use of him. *Perdiccas* had no Province of his own peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his Government. A stronger Army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that unsettled condition of things to make better worth to him than

than many Provinces could have been. The better to accompliſh his deſires, he cloſely ſought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the ſiſter of *Alexander*; yet about the ſame time he either married *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, or made ſuch love to her as blinded their eyes, who did not ſomewhat narrowly ſearch into his doings.

Ariarathes the *Cappadocian*, the ſecond of that name, and tenth King of that Country, had continued faithful to the *Perſian* Empire as long as it ſtood: following the example of his fo re-fathers, even from *Pharnaces* the firſt that reigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Atoſſa* ſiſter to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Anceſtors had (indeed) been oppreſſed by the *Perſian*: but what Fortune took from them at one time, Vertue reſtored at another, and their faithful Princes had much encreaſed all. But now in the fatal Period of ſo great an Empire, with much wiſdom, and (*Darius* being ſlain) with ſufficient honor, he might have acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Perſians* room. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater buſineſs wherein to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honor of the Empire, to take that in-land Kingdom, ſurrounded with Provinces of the *Macedonian* conqueſt, and for his own particular, to have one opportune place of ſure retreat, under the government of a ſtedfaſt friend. Therefore he entred *Cappadocia*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field 30000 foot, and 15000 horſe (a ſtrong Army, had it not encountred a ſtronger, and better trained) wan the victory, and thereby the whole Kingdom. But with much cruelty did he uſe the victory: for having taken *Ariarathes* priſoner, with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light upon, and ſo delivered that Province to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he truſted moſt. Another part of his forces he had committed to *Python*, rather as to the moſt honorable of ſuch as remained about him, than as to the moſt aſſured. *Python* was to ſubdue the *Greeks* rebelling in the high Countries of *Aſia*. About twenty thouſand foot, and 3000 horſe they were (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander* to bridle the barbarous nations, were ſoon weary of their unpleaſant habitations, and the rude people, among whom they lived: and therefore took advantage of the preſent troubles to ſeek unto themſelves a better fortune. Againſt theſe *Python* went, more deſirous to make them his own, than to deſtroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* diſcovering, did both give him in charge to put all thoſe Rebels to the ſword, giving the ſpoils of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoyned it upon *Pythons* Captains (his own creatures) that they ſhould ſee his commandment executed. Theſe directions for uſe of the victory, might have proved needleſs; ſo uncertain was the victory it ſelf. A Captain of the Rebels commanding over three thouſand, corrupted by *Python*, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtful) retire without neceſſity to a hill not far off. This diſmayed the reſt, and gave the day to *Python*: who being far enough from *Perdiccas*, offered compoſition to the vanquiſhed, granting unto them their lives and liberty, under condition of laying down their arms; and hereupon he gave them his faith. Being Maſter of theſe companies, he might well have a good opinion of his own power: all power being then valued by ſtrength in followers, when as none could vaunt himſelf as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirteen thouſand foot, and eight thouſand eight hundred horſe, beſides theſe new Companions, whom needleſs fear without great loſs had cauſed to leave the field: but in true eſtimation, all the greatneſs whereof *Python* might think himſelf aſſured, was (and ſoon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, of thoſe which followed *Python*, levied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enjoyned to give aſſiſtance to that buſineſs; and by virtue of the precept given unto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in pieces all thoſe poor men who had yielded themſelves; leaving *Python* as naked as he came forth to return unto his great Maſter.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty above the mighty, and had fair leiſure to purſue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himſelf Lord of all: but this muſt be ſecretly carried for fear of oppoſition. How it ſucceeded, will appear when the *Lamian* War taketh ending.

§. V.

The proceſs of the Lamian *War.*

WE left *Antipater* hardly beſieged, wanting means to free himſelf without ſuccours from his friends in *Aſia*. Thoſe helps not appearing ſo ſoon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leoſthenes*, and would have yielded unto any terms of

reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victory, do seldom limit their desires. *Leosthenes* willed him without further circumstance to submit himself to discretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremity, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Town, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingring War the *Ætolians* (whether weary of sitting still at a siege, or haveing business which they pretended at home) took their leave, and returned into their own Countrey. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found means to sally out upon his enemies to their great loss: for many were slain, and *Leosthenes* himself among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Town. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved, their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deal with the *Greeks* in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lysimachus*, who was neerest at hand in *Thrace*, had work too much of his own, leading no more than four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, against *Seuthas* the *Thracian* King, who brought into the field above four times that number; and though *Lysimachus*, not without loss, had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earnestly solicited by *Antipaters* friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the government of *Phrygia* the less, and was able to raise an Army of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; whether levied out of his Province, or appointed unto him out of the main Army, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the journey into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written unto him, desiring his presence at *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her self to be his Wife; which letters he kept not so close as had been requisite, and therefore brought himself into great suspicion, that soon ended with his life. *Antiphilus*, chosen General by the *Athenians* in place of *Leosthenes*, hearing of his approach, forsook the siege of *Lamia*, and took the ready way to these great Conquerors of *Asia*, with purpose to give them an evil welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should joyn in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Ætolians*) the advantage of *Leonatus* in horse, by the odds of two thousand *Thessalians*; in other things he was equal with him; n cause he thought himself Superior, in the fortune of that day he proved so: for he wan a great victory (chiefly by virtue of the *Thessalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himself; who fighting valiantly, was driven into a marish piece of ground, where he found his death, which he desperately had sought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his nativity. He was the first of *Alexanders* Captains which dyed in battel; but all, or most of the rest shall follow him the same way. After this day, the *Athenians* did never any thing suitable to their ancient glory.

The vanquished *Macedonians* were too weak to renew the fight, and too proud to flie. They betook themselves to high grounds unfit for service on horseback, and so abode in the sight of the enemy that day; the day following, *Antipater* with his men came into their Camp, and took the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemy should increase, did earnestly seek to determine the matter quickly by another battel. But still *Antipater* kept himself on ground of advantage; which gave more than reasonable confidence to the *Greeks*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquished. This wretchlesness (incorrigible in an Army of Voluntaries) was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by losses at Sea, where the *Athenians*, labouring to have made themselves once again Masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatal captivity of *Greece* came on, of which she never could be delivered unto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Army having made great marches from *Cilicia*, passed over into *Europe*, and coming into *Thessaly*, joyned himself with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus* being joyned in one, contained forty thousand weightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand horse; of which numbers the *Greeks* wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse; in foot, eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to avoid the necessity of a battel, until such time as the Towns confederate should return unto the Camp those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in coming,

and

and *Antipater* ſo urgent upon the *Greeks*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory: for the *Theſſalians* had the upper hand, and held it, until ſuch time as they perceived their battels (over-laid with multitude) retire unto the higher ground, which cauſed them alſo to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the field, having little elſe to boaſt of, conſidering that with the loſs of an hundred and thirty men, they had only purchaſed the death of ſome five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great uſe made: For the *Greeks*, as not ſubject unto the full command of one General, and being every one deſirous to preſerve his own eſtate and City: concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a ſubtle Artificer, and well underſtanding their aptneſs to diviſion, refuſed to hearken to any general compoſition, but willed every City to deal apart for it ſelf. The intent of his device was ſo apparent, that it was rejected: the *Greeks* chooſing rather to abide the coming of their aſſiſtants, whoſe unreaſonable careleſneſs betrayed the cauſe. *Antipater* and *Craterus* beſieging and winning ſome Towns in *Theſſaly*, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that Nation from attending any longer upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their own aſſured and preſent calamity.

§. VI.

Of the peace granted to Athens *by* Antipater, *Of* Demoſthenes *his death.*

THe *Theſſalians* falling off, all the reſt ſoon followed ſeverally, and ſued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the moſt forward, inviting ſuch as were ſlack. Only the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been Authors of this tumult, and their fear was not great; the ſeat of the war being far from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who ſate ſtill at *Athens*, deviſing upon courſes of proſecuting the War to come, which came to their doors before their conſultation could find iſſue. He was ready to enter upon their Frontiers; they had no ability to reſiſt, and were as heartleſs as friendleſs. All that remained was to ſend Embaſſadors, deſiring peace upon ſome good terms: neceſſity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worſt. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philoſopher, were chief of this Embaſſage; *Phocion*, as the moſt honorable; *Demades*, as a ſtrong perſwader (both of them well reſpected by *Antipater*;) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wiſdom, gravity of manners, and virtue; but all theſe ornaments conſiſting in ſpeculation, and therefore of leſs regard, when their admiration was to coſt them much in real effects.

Antipater calling to mind the pride of *Leoſthenes*, required of the *Athenians*, that they ſhould wholly ſubmit themſelves to his pleaſure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the War paſt, to pay a fine, and entertain a Garriſon. Further, he abrogated the popular eſtate, committing the government of the City to thoſe of moſt wealth, depriving of the right of ſuffrage all ſuch as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thouſand they were, all men of good ſubſtance, to whom the adminiſtration of the Commonwealth was given; a number great enough to retain the name and form of a Democracy. But the raſcal multitude of beggarly perſons, accuſtomed to get their livings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giving their voyces, cryed out, that this was a meer Oligarchy, the violent uſurpation of a few incroaching upon the publick right. Theſe turbulent fellows (of whom King *Philip* had been wont to ſay, That war to them was peace, and peace war) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gave them lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to moleſt the quiet of *Athens*.

To the ſame end (yet withal for ſatisfying his own ſuſpitions and hatred) he cauſed *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides* famous Orators, with ſome others, to be ſlain. Had the death of theſe two, eſpecially of *Demoſthenes*, been forborn, the reſt of his proceedings in this action might well have paſſed for very mild; whereas now, all ſuch as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demoſthenes*, or have ſurrendred their judgements to Authors juſtly admiring him, as the moſt eloquent of all that ever did ſpeak and write, condemn him utterly, calling him a bloody Tyrant. Such grace and reputation do the Learned Arts find in all Civil Nations, that the evil done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemiſh any action, how good ſoever otherwiſe it be, or honorably carried.

Demoſthenes had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Iſle of *Calauria*; there

there did *Archias* (ſent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpoſe) find him, and gently perſwaded him to leave the place; but no ſo prevailing, he threatned violence. Then *Demoſthenes* entreating a little reſpite, as it had been to write ſomewhat, ſecretly took poyſon, which he had kept for ſuch a neceſſity, and ſo died; rather chooſing to do the laſt execution upon himſelf, than to fall into the hands of ſuch as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable perhaps in a Heathen man) argued ſome valour in him; who was otherwiſe too much a coward in battel, howſoever valiant in perſwading to enterprizes, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through paſſages exceeding dangerous. He loved money well, and had great ſums given him by the *Perſian*, to encourage him, in finding work for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did he ill (me thinks) in taking from the *Perſians* which loved not his Country, great reward, for ſpeaking ſuch things as tended to his Countries good; which he did not ceaſe to procure, when the *Perſians* were no longer able to give him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honorable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) believe *Lucian*, who tells us, That it was *Antipaters* purpoſe to have done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a ſtedfaſt enemy to the *Macedonians*; therefore diſcretion required that he ſhould be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chief command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and lover of his Country, yet applying himſelf to the neceſſity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the City much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free-men, yet favourable to the vanquiſhed) he endeavoured carefully to preſerve.

§. VII.

How Craterus *and* Antipater *were drawn from their* Ætolian *wars into* Aſia. *The grounds of the firſt civil war between the* Macedonian *Lords.*

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they ſtrengthened their friendſhip with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater* to Wife.

Shortly after they went againſt the *Ætolians*, whoſe poverty was not ſo eaſily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerful State of *Athens* had been. Their Country was rough and mountainous, having many places of great faſtneſs, into which they conveyed ſuch of their goods as they moſt eſteemed, and of their people, as were leaſt fit for War: with the reſt they fortified the ſtrongeſt of their Cities, and ſo abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully reſiſted. With great obſtinacy did the *Macedonians* contend againſt the difficulties of the places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had ſhut up all paſſages, and utterly debarred them of relief, then were they put to a miſerable choice; either to deſcend from their ſtrong holds, and fight upon equal ground, with unequal numbers, or to endure the miſeries of hunger and cold, againſt which they could make no long reſiſtance; or to yield themſelves to the *Macedonians*, who, incenſed by the loſs of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave ſo ſtubborn enemies in places which might give confidence to rebellion. In caſes of extremity much fineneſs of wit apprehending all circumſtances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt conſideration of that only which at the preſent is in hand. Theſe *Ætolians* did not as yet want meat; but their enemies daily moleſted them: wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For ſuch news came out of *Aſia* into the *Macedonians* Camp as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* think every hour a month, till they had rid their hands of theſe *Ætolians*, giving them whatſoever conditions they would ask: yet with purpoſe to call them to ſevere account; yea, to root them out of *Greece* by death, or by captivity, when once they ſhould have ſettled the affairs of *Aſia*; as they hoped and deſired. But of mens purpoſes God is diſpoſer: in whoſe high Counſel it was ordained, that this poor Nation ſhould continue a troubleſome bar to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchy) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into thoſe and other Provinces. Likewiſe concerning the matters of *Aſia*, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was ſo far from taking effect, that it ſerved meerly as an introduction to all the civil Wars enſuing.

The grounds of the *Aſiatique* Expedition, which did ſet the world in an uproar, were theſe. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Captains the mightieſt in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedency, and the preſent rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*. The other, as of all

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men the beſt beloved, and moſt reſpected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Army. Next unto theſe had *Perdiccas* been; whom the advantage of his preſence at the Kings death did make equal, or ſuperior, to either of theſe, if not to both together. The firſt intents of *Perdiccas* were, to have conſorted with theſe two, and to have been with them a third partner in the Government of all; to which purpoſe he entertained the diſcourſe of marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughters. But feeling in ſhort ſpace the ſtrength of that gale of wind which bore him up, he began to take wing and ſoar quite another way. *Aridæus* was a very ſimple man, yet ſerved well enough to wear the title of that Majeſtie, whereof *Perdiccas* being Adminiſtrator, and hoping to become Proprietary, the practice was more ſevere than had been in the days of *Alexander:* the deſire to ſeem terrible, being very familiar with weak Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other means of preſerving themſelves from contempt, and of giving ſuch a fiery luſtre to their actions, as may dazle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor *Greeks* in the higher *Aſia* were all put to the ſword; and how tyrannouſly the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath already been ſhewed. The *Piſidians* were the next who felt the wrath of theſe counterfeit *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was utterly razed; the children ſold for ſlaves, and all the reſt maſſacred. The *Iſaurians*, by this example grown deſperate, when after two or three days trial they found themſelves unable to continue the defence, lockt themſelves into their houſes, and ſet the Town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themſelves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the walls.

Theſe exploits being performed, the Army had no other work than to ſift the aſhes of the burnt City for gold and ſilver; but *Perdiccas* had buſineſs of greater importance troubling his brains. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to ſit ſtill without employment, letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilſt others grew great, and took deep root in their ſeveral Provinces. He purpoſed therefore to tranſport his forces into *Europe*, under pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the ſeat of his Anceſtors, and head of the Empire. The Kings preſence would make the Offices of his Vice-Roys (during the time) actually void; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in caſe of private men, and only *Perdiccas* holding authority, the match with *Cleopatra* might eaſily be made. So ſhould greatneſs meet with a good title; and what more could be wiſhed? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomy* might give, who held *Egypt* well fortified with men, but much better with love of the people; yet if the buſineſs proſpered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomy* would follow of himſelf, or be driven to come to reaſon. *Antigonus* likewiſe then Governing in *Phrygia*, a buſie-headed man, and ill affected to the ſide, was to be looked into and made away, for fear of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceived in ſo thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of War, of as deep a judgement, as high a ſpirit, and as great undertaking, as any of *Alexanders* Captains. His imployments had been leſs than ſome of theirs, which made him alſo the leſs reſpected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for he valued himſelf by his own worth, not by the opinions of other men; with careful attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and ſounded the depth of his purpoſes, which it was now high time to diſcover. For *Perdiccas* having with a jealous eye pryed into the demeanor of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turn, cauſed him to be charged with ſuch accuſations, as might ſuffice to take away his life, eſpecially by a Judge that ſought his death. This device *Antigonus* would not ſeem to perceive, but prepared himſelf in ſhew to make anſwer, indeed, to make eſcape; which eaſily he did, putting himſelf and his Son *Demetrius* aboard of ſome *Athenian* Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with ſuch tidings as finiſhed the *Ætolian* War before mentioned.

As the coming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifeſtly perceive their own danger: ſo his flight gave *Perdiccas* to underſtand that his intentions were laid open, and muſt now be juſtified by the ſword. Therefore he prepared as faſt as he could, not only for defence, but (as having on his ſide the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing ſlack in providing to encounter him. *Ptolomy* being advertiſed of theſe proceedings, and conſidering how nearly they concerned him, ſided with *Antipater*. To his Government of *Egypt* he had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without conſent of the chief Citizens; and now in the midſt of theſe garboyls he celebrated the funeral of *Alexander* with great ſolemnity, purchaſing thereby to himſelf much good will and many partakers, notwithſtanding the terrible report of the Kings Army coming againſt him.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Perdiccas *his voyage into* Egypt, *and his death.*

Perdiccas, uncertain which way to bend his main power, at length reſolved to ſet upon *Ptolomy*; leaving *Eumenes* to keep to his uſe, againſt *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Aſia* bordering upon *Europe*.

It may ſeem ſtrange, that he did not rather make head againſt thoſe who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomy* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolomy*; or believed that *Craterus* would not be ready for him ſoon enough. Sure it is, that he took a bad courſe and made it worſe with ill handling.

Ptolomy by his ſweet behaviour allured many to his party, without help of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwiſe was full of inſolency, which never fails to be rewarded with hatred; which is truly defined, An affection founded upon opinion of an unjuſt contempt. The whole ſtory of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relation: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilful man) tired his followers, and waſted them in hard enterprizes without ſucceſs. His moſt forceable attempt was upon a little Town, called the *Camels Wall:* thither he marched by night, with more haſte than good ſpeed; for *Ptolomy* preventing him, did put himſelf into the place, where behaving himſelf not only as a good Commander, but as a ſtout Souldier, he gave the foil to *Perdiccas*, cauſing him to retire with loſs, after a vehement, but vain aſſault, continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another journey (which was his laſt) and came to the diviſions of *Nilus*, over againſt *Memphis*. There with much difficulty he began to paſs over his Army into an Iſland, where he meant to incamp. The current was ſtrong, the water deep, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants above the paſſage, to break the violence of the ſtream, and his horſemen beneath it, to take up ſuch as were carried away by ſwiftneſs of water. A great part of his Army being arrived on the further bank, the channel began to wax deep; ſo that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chin, they who ſhould have followed could find no footing. Whether this came by the riſing of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feet of ſo many Men, Horſe, and Elephants) no remedy there was, but ſuch as had paſſed muſt repaſs again, as well as they might: for they were too weak for the enemy, and could not be relieved by their fellows. With great confuſion therefore they committed themſelves to the River, wherein above two thouſand of them periſhed, a thouſand were devoured by Crocodiles, a miſerable ſpectacle even to ſuch as were out of danger; ſuch as were ſtrong and could ſwim, recovered the Camp; many were carried down the ſtream, and driven to the contrary bank, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exaſperated the Souldiers againſt their General, giving liberty to their tongues, which long time had concealed the evil thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, news came from *Ptolomy*, which did ſet them in an up-roar. *Ptolomy* had not only ſhewed much compaſſion on thoſe who fell into his hands alive, but performed all rights of Funeral to the dead carkaſſes, which the River had caſt upon his ſide: and finally, ſent their bones and aſhes to be interred by their Kinſmen or Friends. This did not only move the common Souldiers, but made the Captains fall to mutiny, thinking it unreaſonable to make war upon ſo vertuous and honorable a perſon, to fulfil the pleaſure of a Lordly ambitious man, uſing them like ſlaves. The ſedition growing ſtrong, wanted only a head, which it quickly found. *Python* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the diſgrace which he had ſuffered by his procurement, after the victory upon the rebellious *Greeks*. *Python* had lived in honorable place about *Alexander*; he was in the diviſion of the Provinces made Governor of *Media*; he had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorſhip excepted) equal to him, had nevertheleſs been ſcornfully uſed by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captains, and a good part of the Horſe, which conſiſted of the Gentry (the footmen having declared themſelves before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumſtance they all ran upon him, and ſlew him. Such end had the proud miſ-governing authority of *Perdiccas*. He might have lived as great as any, could he have ſuffered any as great as himſelf; yea, peradventure maſter of all, had he not been too maſterly over thoſe which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomy* came into the Camp, where he was joyfully received; he excuſed himſelf of things paſt, as not having been Author, or given cauſe of the War, and was eaſily believed: the favour of the Army being ſuch toward him, that needs they

they would have made him Protector in the room of *Perdiccas*. But this he refuſed. It was an Office fit for one that would ſeek to increaſe his greatneſs with his trouble. *Ptolomy* was well enough already; wherefore, for his own quiet he forbare to accept it, and for their well-deſerving of him, he procured that honourable charge to *Python*, and to *Aridæus* the Captain, who having had ſome companies of Souldiers, to furniſh with their attendance the ſolemnities of *Alexanders* Funerals, did with them adhere to him againſt *Perdiccas*.

In the midſt of theſe buſineſſes came news of two great Victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which news, had they arrived two or three dayes ſooner, had been entertained with joyfull acclamations; and would have given ſuch reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had cauſed both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable compoſition. But theſe good tidings coming in ill time, when death had ſtopped the ears which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

§. IX.

Victories of Eumenes *in the lower* Aſia.

BEfore we proceed in the relation of things happening about the perſon of the King, it is meet that we ſpeak of thoſe buſineſſes in the lower *Aſia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whileſt *Perdiccas* was occupyed in the *Egyptian* Wars. *Alcetas* the Brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had received command from *Perdiccas* to be aſſiſtant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat anſwer that he would not; alledging the backwardneſs of his men to bear Arms againſt ſo great a perſon as *Antipater*, and a man ſo much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make fair ſhew, but inwardly he repined at the precedency given to *Eumenes*, as thinking himſelf the better man. *Eumenes* diſcovering, through the counterfeited looks of *Neoptolemus*, the miſchief lurking in his heart, wiſely diſſembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour, and ſweet language, that commonly are loſt, when beſtowed upon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himſelf, that he might ſtand upon his own ſtrength, he raiſed out of the Countries under his juriſdiction, about ſix thouſand Horſe, giving many priviledges to ſuch as were ſerviceable, and training them well up. Not without great need. For when upon advertiſement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly paſſed the *Helleſpont*) for the invaſion of his Provinces, he willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power; *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) advance, but in hoſtile manner, though unprovoked, preſented him Battel. *Neoptolemus* had ſecretly covenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, which now intending to perform, he was ſhamefully diſappointed. For, though his foot-men, being all *Macedonians*, had much the better, and prevailed far upon *Eumenes* his Battels; yet were his horſe driven out of the field, and himſelf compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs of his *Macedonian* foot-men to be charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in ſuch wiſe, that caſting down their Pikes, they cryed for mercy, and gladly took their oath to do him faithful ſervice. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeavoured with many goodly promiſes to draw *Eumenes* into their ſociety, who contrariwiſe offered himſelf as a mean of reconciliation, between *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loved; profeſſing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and conſtant faith to the cauſe which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whileſt theſe negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crew to *Antipater*, and his Aſſociates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a Scribe (at which fooliſh railing they laught) but extolling the virtue of *Craterus* (as well he might) with high commendations; aſſuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appear, or that his voice were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes* his Camp, the Victory was won; for they would all forthwith revolt unto him. Earneſtly therefore he deſired them to give him aid againſt *Eumenes*, and eſpecially requeſted that *Craterus* might have the leading of the Army to be ſent. Their own affections did eaſily lead them to condeſcend to his motion: a good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevail as much as the force which he drew along. For he had in the midſt of *Alexanders* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betook themſelves to the *Perſian* faſhions of garments and cuſtoms, retained the ancient *Macedonian* form of behaviour, and apparrel; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld theſe new tricks of *Aſia* with diſcontented eyes, as reproachful and derogatory to the manners of their native Country. So *Antipater*

took the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to joyn with *Ptolomy*. *Craterus* used great celerity, to have taken *Eumenes* revelling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Captains, after a great Victory. But he had a wary and well-advised enemy to encounter, who kept good espial upon him, and with much wisdom fore-saw all that was to be feared, and the means of prevention, which his courage did not fail to execute. *Eumenes* was not ignorant that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without Battel, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Army following him was such, as much exceeded his own foot-men, but was inferiour in horse-men) and thought it more uneasie to keep the *Macedonians* from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a strange piece of work, which desperation of all courses else taught him, and wise managing prosperously accomplished. He gave out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such company as he could gather together, and had gotten *Pigres* (a Captain of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to joyn with him. Having animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be despised and hated among them, (as having been vanquished by some of them, and forsaken others in plain field, whilest they valiantly fought in his quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded that no messenger nor trumpeter should be admitted; and not herewith satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that much would have regarded him, had he been known: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Persians*, under the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* and himself. To these also he gave in charge, that without speaking or hearkning to any word, they should run upon the enemy; and gave him no leisure to say, or do any thing but fight. The directions which he gave to others, he did not fail to execute in his own person: but placing himself in the right wing of his Battel, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he understood) conducted the left wing on the contrary side, he held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, and ready to charge the enemy as soon as the distance would give leave. A rising piece of ground lay between them, which having ascended, the Armies discovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journeys, which over-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitful issue of frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in surprising them as enemies) to discover himself to his old friends, and fellow-souldiers, of whom he could see none. *Phœnix* a *Tenidian*, and *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had the leading of that side, who, mindful of their instructions began to give battel upon him, with such countenance as told him his error; which to redeem, he bade his men fight, and redeem the day, and take the spoil to themselves; but the Bear, whose skin he sells, is not yet caught. The ground whereon the Battel was fought, gave most advantage to the horse, who encountred very roughly on all parts: especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*; who, as soon as they had discovered one another, could not contain themselves, but with great rage met body to body, and letting loose their bridles, grappled, so violently together, that their horses ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first up, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, causing him to fall down and fight upon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giving slight ones, took such as were deadly, by which he died in the place, and was there (being half-dead, half-alive) stripped by his mortal enemy, whose revilings he requited, lying even at the last gasp, with one wound in the groin, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to run away upon the spurre, and seek shelter behind the Battels of their Foot. They were nothing hotly pursued. For *Eumenes* pained himself to carry succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly born himself a while, and sustained the impression of *Artabazus* and *Phœnix* with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Otherwise it is not unlikely that he might have either carried the day, or preserved himself to a better adventure by giving ground, as the rest (when he and *Neoptolemus* were slain) did. But whilst he sought to preserve his reputation, he lost his life by the fall of his Horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound received; upon which accident he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and so perished unknown, till

it

it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having alwayes loved and honoured *Craterus*, of whoſe death he was now become the inſtrument. The vanquiſhed Army entertained a treaty of peace with *Eumenes*, making ſhew of willingneſs to become his followers; but their intent was only to refreſh themſelves, which (by his permiſſion) having done, they ſtole away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This Battel fought within ten dayes of the former, wan to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his own Souldiers took the death of *Craterus* heavily; and the Armies lying further off were inraged with the news. But other matters there were which incenſed men againſt him, beſides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifeſtly appeared, that he was as ſorry as any that pretended greater heavineſs. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wiſely amended, by giving to them the ſpoil of ſuch Towns as were ill-affected to him. So he redeemed the love of his own men, who of their meer motion appointed unto him a Guard for defence of his perſon. Others were not ſo eaſie to be reconciled. They who had been Traitors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithfulneſs, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their falſhood; neither found they any fairer way of excuſing their late revolt, than by accuſing and condemning the ſide which they had forſaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to dye: but it was an eaſier matter to give that ſentence, than to put it in execution.

§. X.

Quarrels between Eurydice *the Queen, and* Python *the Protector.* Python *reſigns his Office, into which* Antipater *is choſen.*

Python and *Aridæus* being choſen Protectors of King *Aridæus*, and the children of *Alexander*; took the way to *Aſia* the leſs, conducting the Army thorow *Syria*. Of theſe two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to ſuſtain ſo important a Charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to King *Aridæus*, was come to her husband, a Lady of a maſculine ſpirit, well underſtanding what ſhe was or ſhould be, and thinking her ſelf able to ſupport the weight which fortune laid upon her fooliſh husband, being due to her own title. Her mother *Cyna*, Siſter to *Alexander*, by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath been ſhewed) to *Amyntas*, who was the right Heir to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, being the only Son of King *Perdiccas*, *Philips* elder Brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; ſhe had led Armies, and (as a true Siſter of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Caria* Queen of the *Phrygians*, a *Virago*, like unto her ſelf, had ſlain her. She brought up this *Eurydice* in the ſame unwomanly Art of War, who now among the Souldiers began to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the ſmall contentment of *Python*, that could not brook her too curious intermedling in his charge. Whether it were ſo, that *Python* had ſome purpoſe to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdom, (as once he had ſought to do;) or whether the Queen did ſuſpect him of ſome ſuch intent; or whether only deſire of rule cauſed her to quarrel with him; quarrel ſhe did, which diſturbed the proceeding againſt *Eumenes*. The Army having ſhaken off ſuch a rank-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reined with a twined thread. *Python* bearing himſelf upon his office, took upon him to give directions in the Kings name, which the Queen did oftentimes controll, uſing the ſame name with more authority, and better liking of the Souldiers. *Python* ſeeing this, would needs reſign his office, whether upon wearineſs of the contentions daily growing, or on purpoſe to bring the Queen into envy, it is uncertain. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worthieſt man in the Camp, he ſhould be intreated to retain the place, and have his authority confirmed, or (as might be) increaſed, were it but for want of a fit Succeſſor. *Eurydice* was nothing ſorry at this courſe; for now ſhe thought to manage the affairs of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troubleſome aſſiſtance of a Protector. But the Souldiers diſappointed both her and *Python* of their contrary expectations; chuſing *Antipater*, the only powerful man of *Alexanders* Captains, then living, into the room of *Python*. Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, and began to deal earneſtly with the *Macedonians*, that they ſhould acknowledge no Lord ſave only the King their Soveraign. Yet ſhe failed of her purpoſe, being hindred (as may ſeem) by three things: the apparent weakneſs of her husband; the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though born of outlandiſh women) were bred in the *Macedonian* Camp; and the mightineſs of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Army near at hand, arrived in few dayes at the Camp, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her ſelf content. *Antipater* was of ſuch power, that he needed not to work by any cloſe devices, as *Per-*

diccas had done: he had no concurrents, all the Governours of Provinces that remained alive, acknowledged him their better; yea many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their rooms. This done, he took the King, Queen, and Princes along with him into *Macedonia*, leaving *Antigonus* General of the Royal Army: to whom for his good services done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, he gave the rule of *Susiana*, besides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the Government of *Asia* during that War.

§. XI.

Antigonus *Lieutenant of* Asia, *wins a Battel of* Eumenes, *and besiegeth him in* Nora: *He vanquisheth other followers of* Perdiccas.

HEre begins the greatness of *Antigonus*, whose power in few years over-growing the rest, wanted little of spreading it self over the whole Monarchy. He was to make War upon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus*, the Brother, and *Attalus* the Brother-in-law to *Perdiccas*: work enough to keep his Army imployed in the publick service, till such time as he might find occasion to make use of it in his own business. The first of these which he undertook, was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refused to joyn, having unseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. *Eumenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needful provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tryed all wayes of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Army with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if he himself had scattered abroad those Letters to try the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captains as he thought most easie to be won. Of these Captains one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any help was near him, yet looking so carelesly to himself, that he and his were surprised, when he thought his enemies far off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treachery secret, reserving it for the time of execution. Upon confidence of the treason which this false man, *Apollonides*, had undertaken. *Antigonus* presented battel to *Eumenes*; in the heat whereof *Apollonides*, General of the Horse to *Eumenes*, fled over to the contrary side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. *Eumenes* perceiving the irrecoverable mischief which this traiterous practice had brought upon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himself into the troops of *Antigonus*, and boast of his treachery. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the loss of that Battel, which disabled him utterly to keep the field, and left it very hard for him to make a safe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himself to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the Victory, to get possession of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilest *Antigonus* held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compass, returned to the place where the Battel had been fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captains and common Souldiers apart, raising up heaps of earth as mountains over them, and so went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the *Macedonians* (returned to their Camp) great admiration of his brave spirit: so the news which *Menander* (who was set to look unto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable friend. He had found *Menander* in an open Plain, careless, as after an assured Victory, and loaden with the spoils of many Nations, the rewards of their long service; all which he might have taken: but fearing lest such a purchase should prove a heavy burden to him, whose chief hope consisted in swift expedition, he gave secret warning to *Menander* to fly to the mountains, whilest he detained his men (whom authority could not have restrained) by this sleight, setting them to bait their horses. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courtesie, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborn when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaves, and to ravish their wives: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborn to do this out of any good will to them; but out of meer subtilty had avoided those precious fetters, which would have hindred his speedy flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not only think all carriages to be over-burdensome, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than available in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselves; and retaining only five hundred horse, and two hundred foot. When he had wearied *Antigonus*

gonus a while in following him up and down, he came to *Nora*, where again keeping no more about him than neceſſity required to make good the place, he lovingly diſmiſſed all the reſt. *Nora* was a little fortreſs in the borders of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*, ſo ſtrongly ſituated, that it ſeemed impregnable, and ſo well victualled and ſtored with all neceſſaries, that it might hold out for many years. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more deſire to make him his friend, than to vanquiſh him in War. To this purpoſe he entertained parley with him, but in vain. For, whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon and his love; *Eumenes* required reſtitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* conſent. Then was *Nora* cloſed up; where *Antigonus* leaving ſufficient ſtrength for continuance of the ſiege, took his journey into *Piſidia* againſt *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made ſhort work. He came upon them unexpected, and ſeiſed on paſſages, which wanted not men, but ſuch a Captain as *Eumenes*, to have defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had been too ſecure before his coming, ſo were they too adventurous, in fighting at the firſt ſight, upon all diſadvantages: and their folly was attended with ſuitable event. *Attalus*, with many principal Captains was taken; *Alcetus* fled to the City of *Termeſus*, where the love of the younger ſort toward him was ſo vehement, that ſtopping their ears againſt all perſwaſions of the ancient men, they needs would hazard their lives, and their Country in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing: for the Governours of the Town having ſecretly compounded with *Antigonus*, cauſed the young men to ſally out; and uſing the time of advantage, they with their ſervants did ſet upon *Alcetus*, who unable to reſiſt, ſlew himſelf. His dead body was conveyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarouſly torn, was caſt forth without burial. When *Antigonus* was gone, the young men interred the carkaſs with ſolemn Funerals, having once been minded to ſet on fire their own Town in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchaſed with courteous liberality. But, to make an able General, one virtue, how great ſoever, is inſufficient.

§. XII.

Ptolomy *wins* Syria *and* Phœnicia. *The death of* Antipater.

WHileſt theſe things were in doing, the reſt of the Princes lay idle, rather ſeeking to enjoy their Governments for the preſent, than to confirm or enlarge them. Only *Ptolomy* looking abroad, wan all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*: an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumſtance in the managing. He ſent a Lieutenant with an Army, who quickly took *Laomedon* priſoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may ſeem) without any great ſtrength of Souldiers, far from Aſſiſtants, and vainly relying upon the Authority which had given him that Province, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with ſeeking to maintain him in his Office.

Antipater was old and ſickly, deſirous of reſt, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* purſue the diſpatch of thoſe buſineſſes in *Aſia*. He had with him *Polyſperchon*, one of the moſt ancient of *Alexanders* Captains, that had lately ſuppreſſed a dangerous inſurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had ſtirred in the quarrel of *Perdiccas*, prevailing far at the firſt, but ſoon loſing all that they had gained, whileſt *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* Expedition. In this *Polyſperchon*, *Antipater* did repoſe great confidence; ſo far forth, that (ſuſpecting the youth of his own Son *Caſſander* of inſufficiency in ſo great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his death-bed the Government of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with his office of Protectorſhip. So *Antipater* died, being fourſcore years old, having alwayes travelled in the great affairs of mighty Princes, with ſuch reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatneſs was jealous of him, and the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* did either quietly give place unto him; or were unfortunate in making oppoſitions. In his private qualities, he was a ſubtle man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philoſophical behaviour, not unlearned, as having been Scholar to *Ariſtotle*, and written ſome Hiſtories. He had been much moleſted by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* Mother; whom after the death of her Son, he compelled to abſtain from coming into *Macedonia*, or entermedling in matters of State: yea, at his own death he gave eſpecial direction, that no woman ſhould be permitted to deal in the adminiſtration of the Empire. But this precept was ſoon forgotten; and yet, ere long, by ſorrowfull experience approved to have been found and good.

§. XIII.

§. XIII.

Of Polysperchon, *who succeeded unto* Antipater *in the Protectorship. The insurrection of* Cassander *against him.*

Polysperchon was very skilfull in the Art of War, having long time been Apprentice in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an Office as he undertook, either Nature had not given to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his business more formally than wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist, than command in chief. At the first entrance upon the stage, he called to counsel all his friends, wherein for weighty considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the Queen *Olympias* was revoked out of *Epirus* into *Macedon*, that the presence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For, the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Provinces abroad should keep greater Armies, than were needful or easie to be retained about the person of the King in *Macedonia*; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all Majesty, that might give authority to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard contain within the limited bounds of duty such as could not by force have been kept in order, being strong, and lying too far off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and out of sight, whilest present mischiefs lay unregarded in their bosoms. *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, was not able to discover that great sufficiency in *Polysperchon*, for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could he discern such odds in the quality of himself and *Polysperchon*, as was in their fortune. He was left Captain of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the title now seems to imply. He should thereby have been as Camp-master, or Lieutenant general to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himself the better man. Therefore he began to examine his own power, and compare it with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relyed on his Father, were his own assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principal Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principal authority, in those Common-weals, whose forms had been corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their own particular to adhere unto the Captains, by whom their faction was up-held; and by whom the rascal multitude, covetous of re-gaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised over the principal Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides all these helps, *Cassander* had the secret love of Queen *Eurydice*, who had in private rendred him such courtesie, as was due only to her husband. But neither the Queens favour, nor all his other possibilities, gave him confidence to break out into open rebellion; because he saw *Polysperchon* much reverenced among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppress him, before he could have made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the Country, and calling many of his friends about him, under pretence of hunting, advised with them upon the safest course, and most free from all suspicion. The necessity was apparent of raising an Army, before the business was set on foot; and to do this, opportunity presented him with fair means. *Ptolomy* had by fine force, without any commission, annexed *Syria* to his Government of *Egypt* and *Cyrene*: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* upon the first news of *Antipaters* death, began to lay hold upon all that he could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discovered his intent of making himself Lord of all *Asia*. These two therefore stood in need of a Civil War; which *Cassander* well noted, and presumed withall, That the friendship which had passed between his Father and them, would avail him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conveyed himself on a sudden over the *Hellespont*, that he might in person advance the business with greater speed. Much perswasion is needless in winning a man to what he desireth. *Antigonus* coveting nothing more, than to find *Polysperchon* work, by raising some commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly press him, by the memory of his Father, and all requisite conjurations, to assist him in this enterprise; telling him, that *Ptolomy* was ready to declare for them, and urging him to a speedy dispatch. *Antigonus* on the other side repayed him with the same coin, saying, That for his own sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not fail to give him all

manner

manner of ſuccour. Having thus feaſted one another with words, they were nothing ſlack in preparing the common means, leading to their ſeveral ends.

§. XIV.

The unworthy courſes held by Polyſperchon, *for the keeping down of* Caſſander.

GReat neceſſity there was of timely proviſion. For, *Polyſperchon* needed no other inſtructions to inform him of *Caſſanders* drift, than the news of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready diſpoſition, which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptolomy*, to the ſtrengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principal hope of *Caſſander* was repoſed in the confidence of ſuch as ruled in the *Græcian* Eſtate. Therefore (loving to work circumſpectly) he called another Council, wherein it was concluded, That the popular form of Government ſhould be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*; the Garriſons withdrawn; and that all Magiſtrates and principal Men, into whoſe hands *Antipater* had committed the ſupreme Authority, ſhould forthwith be either ſlain or baniſhed. This was a ſure way to diminiſh the number of *Caſſanders* friends, and to raiſe up many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was diſcloſed both an unthankful nature in *Polyſperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could he be excuſed of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the Son went about to diſhonour the Fathers actions, whoſe only bounty had inabled him to do it? Or what could be ſaid in their defence, who ſought to deſtroy many worthy men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greeks* were held reſtrained from ſtirring againſt the *Macedonians?* and in oppoſition to their private enemy, gave the rule of things to baſe Companions, and ſuch as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans body, through ſinews newly iſſuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next neighbour, than by any diſtemper in the contrary hand: ſo in bodies politick, the humours of men ſubdivided in faction, are more inraged by the diſagreeable qualities of ſuch as curb them in their neareſt purpoſes, than they are exaſperated by the general oppoſition of ſuch as are divided from them in the main trunk. Hereby it comes to paſs, that contrary Religions are invited to help againſt Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawn in, to a part in civil Wars, and ancient hatred called to counſel againſt injurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guilty; ſhe hath taught the arm to offer it ſelf unto manifeſt loſs in defence of the head: They are depraved affections, which render men ſenſible of their own particular, and forgetfull of the more general good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greeks* were preſented with a vain ſhew of liberty, ran under the Kings name; but ſo, as one might eaſily diſcern, that *Polyſperchon* had guided his pen. For the main point was, That they ſhould follow ſuch directions, as *Polyſperchon* gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the reſt it contained ſuch a deal of kindneſs as proceeding on a ſudden from thoſe who had kept them in hard ſubjection, might well appear to have ſome other root than the pretended good will; and was of it ſelf too baſe and unfit for a King to uſe toward his conquered Subjects, and often-ſubdued Rebels.

§. XV.

Of the great Commotions raiſed in Athens *by* Polyſperchons *decree. The death of* Phocion.

NEvertheleſs the *Athenians* with immoderate joy entertained this happy-ſeeming Proclamation, and ſought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captain of the Garriſon, which kept one of their Havens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleaſing to their haſty deſires.

Nicanor, as a truſty follower of *Caſſander*, was by him ſhifted into the place, and *Menillus* (that was Captain there before) diſcharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His coming to *Athens* was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who ſoon after hearing the news of *Antipater's* death, cried out upon *Phocion*, ſaying, That he had ſufficient intelligence of that accident, and might, by advertiſing them in due time, have put into their hands a fair opportunity of thruſting out the *Macedonians*. But theſe exclamations argued no more than a deſire to ſhake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Far more grievouſly would they have been offended, had they known the inſtructions which *Caſſander* had given to *Nicanor*, and his reſolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he ſhould not only retain *Munychia*, any injunction to the contrary notwithſtanding; but that he ſhould find means to thruſt ſome companies

companies into *Piræus*, and fortifie that alſo, which was the principal Haven, againſt the high Town. How to accompliſh this, he rather wanted ſome reaſonable pretence, than good ability. But the *Athenians* were not long in giving him ſufficient cauſe to do that, which he would have done without any cauſe given. They deſired him to come unto their Council, aſſembled in the *Piræus*, there to conſider of the Kings Proclamation: whither upon *Phocions* word and ſafe conduct he came, and earneſtly preſſed them to hold with *Caſſander* in the War which was ready to break forth. Contrariwiſe, they urged him firſt of all, to make them maſters of their own, which how to uſe, they might conſult afterwards. Each of them refuſing to condeſcend unto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did alwayes meaſure juſtice by profit, yet ſeldom thrived by that courſe) practiſed with *Dercillus*, a Captain following *Polyſperchon*, and then lying near at hand, that he ſhould enter into the Town, and take *Nicanor* priſoner. But *Phocion*, who then governed in *Athens*, a man very unlike to the reſt of the Citizens, being nothing pleaſed with ſuch a trick of politick diſhoneſty, did quietly ſuffer him to depart and ſave himſelf.

Nicanor hereupon began to deviſe upon taking *Piræus*; not as following now the project of *Caſſander*, but proſecuting his own juſt revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them cloſely into *Munychia*; which done, he iſſued into *Piræus*, took it, and intrenched himſelf therein, to the exceeding diſcomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haven, ſaw him now maſter of both. *Alexander*, the ſon of *Polyſperchon*, came thither ſhortly after with an Army. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recovering all, and addreſſed themſelves unto him; who made fair ſhews, intending meer miſchief, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vain Epiſtles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queen. *Olympias*, taking upon her to command, before ſhe durſt well adventure to return into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to reſtore to the *Athenians* the places which he held: but he would firſt conſider more of the matter. *Polyſperchon* had further ordained, that the Iſle of *Samos* ſhould be rendred unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeed) ſo far from purpoſing to let them have *Samos*, that as yet he did not throughly intend to let them have themſelves. The commodity of their Havens was ſuch, as he would rather get in to his own hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather wiſhed in theirs, than in *Caſſanders*. His Son *Alexander*, not ignorant of this, made fair ſhew to the *Athenians*, and ſpent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but ſuffered not them, for whom he ſeemed to labour, to intermeddle with the buſineſs. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the diſpleaſure they conceived againſt him, they poured out upon *Phocion*, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult: baniſhed men and ſtrangers thruſting themſelves into the aſſembly of the Citizens, who diſtracted with ſundry paſſions, growing out of their preſent miſfortunes, thought every one that beſt could inveigh againſt things paſt, a moſt likely man to finde ſome remedy for the evil threatning them. In this hurly-burly was *Alexander* deviſing how he might come to ſome good point of compoſition with *Nicanor*, and held much privy conference with him; which he could not ſo ſecretly carry, but that his negotiation was diſcovered, whereby the uproar in the Town was ſo far increaſed, that *Phocion* with many of his friends were accuſed, and driven to ſeek ſafeguard of their lives by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gave them his letters of commendation to his Father, deſiring him to take them into his protection.

Polyſperchon was in the Country of *Phocis*, ready to enter with an Army into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their own deſerts (having alwayes been friends to the *Macedonians*, as far as the good of their Country gave leave) ſhould be enough to get patronage to their innocency. Beſides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polyſperchons* familiar friend, went along with them (in an evil hour) who promiſed to himſelf and them great favour, by means of his acquaintance. But *Polyſperchon* was an unſtable man, very earneſt in what he took in hand, yet either for want of judgement in following them, or of honeſty in holding the beſt of them, eaſily changing his intended courſes, and doing things by the halves, which made him commonly fail of good ſucceſs. For fear of *Caſſander* he had offered wonderful kindneſs to the *Athenians*; this had cauſed them to love him: out of their love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his mind, and ſeek how to get into his own hands thoſe keys, with which *Caſſander* held them faſt lockt up: finding himſelf diſappointed of this purpoſe, and ſuſpected as a falſe diſhonourable man, he ſtood wavering between

tween the contrary allurements of profit and reputation. To keep the *Athenians* perforce at his devotion, would indeed have done well: but the effecting of this began to grow deſperate; and many Towns of importance in *Greece*, began to caſt their eyes upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore he thought it the wiſeſt way to redeem their good opinion, by giving all contentment unto the popular faction, which was then grown to be Maſter of that City. And in good time for this purpoſe were the *Athenian* Embaſſadors come, treading (as one may ſay) upon *Phocions* heels, whom they were ſent to accuſe. Theſe had ſolemn audience given to them in the Kings preſence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for oſtentations ſake was glorified with all exterior ſhews of Majeſtie; yet all too little to change *Aridæus* into *Alexander*: for he did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he ſaw others do. For beginning of the buſineſs; *Polyſperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* ſhould be tortured and ſlain. This was enough to teſtifie his hearty affection to the Commonalty of *Athens*, in that he ſpared not his old acquaintance for their ſake; whoſe Embaſſadors he then bade to ſpeak. When their errand was done, and anſwer to it made by the accuſed, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the reſt were pronounced guilty of Treaſon; but to give ſentnece, and do the execution upon them, was (for honors ſake) referred unto the City of *Athens*, becauſe they were Burgeſſes. Then were they ſent away to *Athens*, where the raſcal multitude, not ſuffering them to ſpeak for themſelves, condemned them to dye. So they periſhed being innocent. But the death of *Phocion* being very conſpicuous, made the fortune of the reſt to be of the leſs regard. Five and forty times had he been choſen Governor of the City, never ſuing for the place, but ſent for when he was abſent, ſo well was his integrity known, and ſo highly valued, even of ſuch as were no pretenders to the ſame virtue. He was a good Commander in War, wherein, though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and never unfortunate. Never did the City repent of having followed his counſel: nor any private man of having truſted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly eſteemed him; ſo, and much more did *Alexander*, who (beſides other ſigns of his love) ſent him two hundred talents of ſilver, and offered to beſtow upon him of four Cities in *Aſia*, any one which he would chuſe. But *Phocion* refuſed theſe and other gifts, howſoever importunately thruſt upon him; reſting well contented with his honeſt poverty: wherein he lived about fourſcore years, and then was compelled by the unjuſt judgement of wicked men, to drink that poyſon, which by juſt judgement of the righteous God, ſo infected the City of *Athens*, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthy man reſembling the virtue of their Anceſtors.

§. XVI.

Of Polyſperchon *his vain Expedition againſt* Caſſander.

NOt long after theſe things were done, *Caſſander*, with ſuch forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into *Piræus*; which news drew *Polyſperchon* headlong into *Attica*, with a great Army, but ſo ill victualled, that he was fain to depart without any thing done. Only he had given ſome impediment to the enemy; who, not contented with defending what he held, began to look out, and made new purchaſes abroad. Finding therefore himſelf funable to drive *Caſſander* out of *Athens*, he left his Son *Alexander*, with ſuch number of men as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withſtand his further incroaching. The greateſt part of his Army he carried into *Peloponneſus*, to make the Country ſure to himſelf, wherein *Caſſander* had many friends.

His doings in *Peloponneſus* were ſuch, as they had been in other parts of *Greece*. Firſt, he began to fight with Edicts, reſtoring the Democraty, or popular form of Government. He commanded that the principal Citizens, that had by *Antipater* been made Rulers, ſhould be either ſlain, or driven into exile. This Decree took immediate effect in moſt places: the vulgar ſort being very ready to ſeal the Charter of their freedom and authority, with the blood of thoſe who had kept them in ſubjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chief Citizens; and many which wiſhed well to *Caſſander*, eſpecially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polyſperchon* meant to inflict an exemplary puniſhment of diſobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fifteen thouſand ſerviceable men, wel furniſhed of neceſſaries, and reſolved to endure the worſt. And need there was of ſuch reſolution. For *Polyſperchon* coming thither with all his power, did ſo much, that he overthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the ſpace of wall between them. But the Defendants manfully

repelled the *Macedonians* which came up to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised up an inner wall, to bear out the next assault. The Assailants having failed to carry the Town at the first attempt, took much pains to clear the ground, and make fair way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to overthrow all that came in their way. But the Townsmen perceiving their drift, prepared boards driven thorow with long nails, which they used as gall-throps, bestowing them sleightly covered, with the points upward, in the way by which the beasts were to pass. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certain light-armed men to beat upon their sides with Arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* Wars. Of these provisions they made happy use in the next assault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemy chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driven back upon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled under feet. *Polysperchon* came as ill furnisht for long abode to *Megalopolis* as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the business quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, he forsook the siege, with some loss, and much dishonour, leaving some part of his Army to lie before the Town for his credit.

After this he sent *Clitus*, his Admiral, to Sea, to joyn with *Aridæus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole fleet under *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where he fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the overthrow, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* again, assuring him of the Victory, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be watted over the Streights in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting upon *Clitus*, drave his men, that lay securely on the Land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriving, did assail them so lustily, that few or none escaped them.

This loss at Sea, together with his bad success by Land, brought *Polysperchon* into great contempt. He had a good faculty in penning bloody Decrees, but when the execution was referred to his own sword, he could find the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiving that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to give them protection against the enemy which lay in their bosomes, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a Governor of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the party of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly revolted unto him, as to an industrious man, and likely to prevail in the end. Thus was the whole Country set in a combustion, uneasie to be quenched; which presented unto *Antigonus* an opportunity, that he neglected not, of making himself Lord of *Asia*.

§. XVII.

Antigonus *seeks to make himself an absolute Lord: and thereupon treats with* Eumenes, *who disappointeth him.* Phrygia *and* Lydia *won by* Antigonus.

ANtigonus had in *Antipaters* life-time a firm resolution, to make unto himself the utmost benefit that he might of the Army committed to his charge. And in fair season for advancement of his purposes came the news of *Antipaters* death; even then, when all the business in *Pisidia* was dispatched, and no more employment for the Army remaining, save only the continuance of the siege of *Nora*, a small thing of it self, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutability, to which the present Estate was manifestly subject, would in continuance of some years (which he might abide) work more for him, than his enemies in that space could work against him. His most fear was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men and horses might grow sickly and unserviceable: which made him to practise many devices of keeping them in health and lusty. But when he had continued shut up in this manner about a year, his hopes came to good pass, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himself, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus knowing the great sufficiency of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelity shewed unto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to employ in managing those high designs wherein he doubted not that he should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the

the Empire. He ſent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with ſome part of his intent, and promiſing to make him a better Lord than ever he had been, and the next man to himſelf, if things fell out as he deſired: in regard whereof he required only his friendſhip, and thereupon ſent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleaſure iſſue ſafely out of *Nora*, and enjoy his perfect liberty. *Eumenes* peruſing the form of the oath, did perceive the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, rather to keep the *Decorum*, than upon any loyal intent, the binding words and ſum of all were ſuch, as tied him faſt only to *Antigonus*, omitting all reſervation of duty, to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it unſeemly to become a ſworn man to him, with whom he had fought for the maſtery; and being aſſured that his voluntary aſſiſtance, which way ſoever he gave it, would be more acceptable, and far more honourable, than the courſe propounded. Yet would he not therefore break off the negotiation, and wait for ſome better occaſion of inlargement, which might perhaps be long in coming: but ſeeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the oath it ſelf, when he came to take it, he made ſhew of diſlike, in that it was not ſolemn enough for ſuch perſonages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in teſtifying in their allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nora*, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in *Olympias*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himſelf to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and ſo he departed.

Antigonus had taken upon him, as ſoon as he came down to the Sea-ſide, to remove ſome of the Governors of the Provinces, behaving himſelf according to the authority which he had received of *Antipater*, to exerciſe in the time of War. Neither did he want ſufficient pretence whereby to juſtifie his proceeding. For, if *Polyſperchon* might lawfully hold the Protectorſhip, which the old man doting on his death-bed bequeathed unto him, as a Legacy, without conſent of the Princes and Souldiers; why might not he himſelf as well retain the Lieutenantſhip of *Aſia*, that was granted unto him for the general good of the State, in preſence of the whole Army, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordain what ſhould ſeem convenient whilſt he lived, not to diſpoſe of things that ſhould happen after his death? To give a fair colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith ſatisfied, he had threeſcore thouſand footmen, ten thouſand horſe, and thirty Elephants in a readineſs to anſwer them.

The firſt that perceived his drift, and provided to reſiſt him, was *Aridæus* Governor of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Towns of his own Province, and ſought to have won *Cizicus*, a fair Haven Town, and ſeated very conveniently for him, but was fain to go away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* took occaſion to command him out of the Country. *Aridæus* was ſo far from obeying him, that he ſent forces to relieve *Eumenes*. Nevertheleſs finding that he was unable of himſelf to make long reſiſtance, he took ſuch companies as he could draw along with him, and ſo paſſed over into *Europe*, to complain at the Court. The like fortune had *Clytus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and ſought the like remedy of his fortune, with ſome hope at the firſt (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vaniſhed; and grew deſperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

§. XVIII.

Antigonus *purſues* Eumenes. Eumenes *having authority from the Court, raiſeth great war againſt* Antigonus *in defence of the Royal houſe.*

ANtigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or moſt of all *Aſia* the leſs, was able to have entred *Macedon* and ſeized upon the Court; which that he forbare to do, it proceeded (as may ſeem) from ſome of theſe reaſons. It would have bred as much jealouſie in *Caſſander*, as fear in *Polyſperchon*, which might have brought them to terms of reconciliation: It would ask more time than he could ſpare; and the envy which followed the Protectorſhip was ſuch, as he that had power enough without the office, ought rather to ſhun, than to purſue. Beſides all this, it was manifeſt that *Eumenes* would not only refuſe to take his part, but would make war upon him in defence of the Royal houſe, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not ſtand well-affected. Againſt him therefore he bent his courſe, and with an Army of twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, made great haſte towards *Cilicia*, hoping to ſuppreſs him before he ſhould be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithful to their dead Master, which being well known in the Court, he had commission sent unto him from thence to raise an Army, and make war upon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treasure as much as he should need. Other letters also there were directed to all the Governors of Provinces, requiring them to give assistance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: especially to the Captains of the old Souldiers, called the *Argyraspides*, or Silver-shielded bands, commandment was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, before this Authority was given him: but now he purposed with all the strength which he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royal blood. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring help to her, and her Nephew the Son of *Alexander*; and in the mean time to give her his advice in that which *Polysperchon* required of her: for she was desirous to return into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawful bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counselled her to remain in *Epirus*, till such time as he could bring the war to a good issue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seed of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire, scarce any one could be found among the Noblemen, in whom *Alexanders* Mother, Wives and Children, might repose firm confidence, saving only this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* blood, born at *Cardia*, a City of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his own virtue had made it; his followers obeyed at their own discretion; and compelled he was to travel as far as *Persia*, to gather together an Army sufficient to resist the enemies that pursued his heels.

§. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon *stood affected mutually.* Olympias *takes* Aridæus *and* Eurydice, *whom she cruelly puts to death.*

NOw, forasmuch as in this present War all the Rulers of the Provinces did intermeddle; and great alterations happened, not only in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it self, which brought a new face unto the State, by the extirpation of the Royal house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the War it self, to shew briefly how the great Ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawn into those courses, which overthrew most of them, and out of their ruines built the greatness of a few: as likewise to what extremity the faction brake out in *Macedon* it self, about the main Controversie of the Title to the Crown, whereupon all other quarrels were or should have been depending.

Aridæus the King, being simple and fearful, did only what he was bidden.

Polysperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the Kingdom, and become Governor to a King of his own making.

Eurydice the Queen discovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing less than to let her husband serve as a Stale, keeping the Throne warm till another were grown old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turn.

Cassander held fresh in mind the danger wherein his family had been through *Alexanders* malice, together with the indignity offered to himself by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he took in the amorous Queen, made him to resolve, both to suppress the linage which he hated, and to maintain his beloved Mistress, either by supporting her weak Husband, or by taking her to be his own Wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent, who reigned over all, so as they might reign in their several Countries, and establish their authority in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

Pitho and *Seleuchus* lying far off, and being strong, had some good hope to incroach upon their neighbours. Against these, *Peucestes*, and some others, with much ado hardly made resistance, until such time as *Eumenes* came to them; who propounded to himself great matters, which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queen (as it is common with step-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wives. It was thought that she had given poyson to *Aridæus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired

paired both his body and wits. Now ſhe conſidering, that *Eumenes* was too full of buſineſs to come home ſo ſoon as ſhe wiſhed that he ſhould; and that *Caſſander* daily prevailed in *Greece:* thought it the beſt way to joyn with *Polyſperchon*, and ſet up, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the Son of *Roxane*, removing *Aridæus* before *Caſſander* were able to defend him. To this intent ſhe procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and ſo took her way towards *Polyſperchon*, who joyning with her, entred into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing theſe news, wrote very earneſtly to *Caſſander*, praying him to ſet aſide all other buſineſs, and come to ſuccour her. She her ſelf by entreaty, gifts, and promiſes, drew to her party as many of the *Macedonians* as ſhe could, until ſhe thought her own ſide ſtrong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth againſt *Olympias*, and the Traytor *Polyſperchon*.

Theſe two Queens met armed, as if the matter ſhould have been determined by their own hands, which ended without any ſtroke ſtricken, by the revolt of thoſe who followed *Eurydice*. For as ſoon as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to mind her former Eſtate, and the victorious reigns of her Husband and Son, they refuſed to lift any weapon againſt her. *Eurydice* finding her ſelf thus forſaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted, and made priſoner with her Husband.

Olympias having obtained this Victory without blood, thought that all things would ſucceed as eaſily, and upon the ſame conſiderations for which they had refuſed to bear Arms againſt her, the *Macedonians* would not ſtick to maintain her, whatſoever her proceedings were. Having therefore ſhut up *Aridæus* and his wife in a cloſe room, where they could ſcarce turn round, ſhe fed them thorow a little hole, till after a while it came in her head (for fear leſt the people ſhould have commiſeration of him, that had reigned almoſt ſix years and a half) to put them to death. So ſhe delivered *Aridæus* to ſome barbarous *Thracians*; who took away his life by cruel torments: to *Eurydice* ſhe ſent a ſword, a halter, and a cup of poyſon, willing her to chuſe the inſtrument of her own death, who praying that the like preſents might one day be ſent to *Olympias*, yielded her neck to the halter, having ſpent her laſt curſes not in vain. *Nicanor* the Brother of *Caſſander*, and a hundred the chief of his friends, did *Olympias* then chuſe out, all whom ſhe commanded to be ſlain. His Brother *Iolaus* that was already dead and buried, ſhe accuſed of poyſon given to *Alexander*, and thereupon cauſed his Tomb to be thrown down, and his bones to be ſcattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondring at this fury, began to condemn themſelves, and the folly of *Polyſperchon*, who had, quite contrary to *Antipaters* charge given on his death-bed, called this outragious woman to the Government of the Empire.

§. XX.

How Caſſander *was revenged upon* Olympias

†. I.

The great Expedition of Caſſander. Olympias *ſhuts her ſelf into* Pydna, *where* Caſſander *beſieged her.* Æacides *King of* Epirus, *coming to ſuccour* Olympias, *is forſaken and baniſhed by his own Subjects.*

CAſſander at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponneſus*; whither when all theſe ill tidings were brought to him, he never ſtayed to take the City, nor to give order for the ſtate of things in that Country, (though *Alexander* the Son of *Polyſperchon*, were there with an Army) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his aſſociates to look to themſelves as well as they could, till his return; and ſo in all haſte he took his journey towards *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedy deſire of juſt revenge. The *Ætolians* had taken the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, in favour of the Queen and *Polyſperchon*, to hinder his paſſage; but he, not willing to miſpend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ſhips as he could, great and ſmall, with which he tranſported his Army into *Theſſaly*. There he divided his companies, appointing ſome under *Callas*, a ſubtil Captain, to hold *Polyſperchon* buſied, who then lay incamped neer to *Perhæbia*, with the reſt he marched directly againſt *Olympias*. She, having once prevailed by the reſpect given to her dignity took more care how to appear Majeſtical, than to make her ſelf ſtrong. To this end ſhe made a ſolemn progreſs to *Pydna*, a Sea-Town, and well fenced, having in her company all the flower of the Court, eſpecially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, and her young Son *Alexander*, heir to the great *Alexander*, by his Grand-mothers deſignment: who during his minority, kept his Soveraign power in her own hands. But all this pomp ſerved to little uſe againſt the violence of the enemy, that ſoon preſented himſelf before the walls; only it fed the beſieged

ſieged with a vain hope of ſuccour, that would from all parts arrive, to reſcue perſons of their quality. And hereof there ſoon appeared fair likelihood, which as ſoon vaniſhed, and went away in ſmoak.

For *Æacides* King of *Epirus* made great haſte to bring ſuccour to *Olympias* his Couſin, with whom *Deodamia* his daughter was alſo ſhut up. Nevertheleſs, his Subjects were nothing forward in this Expedition; but finding certain paſſages taken in the way by *Caſſanders* men, they called upon him to retire, and quit the enterprize. The Kings importunity urging them to proceed, and the obſtinate refuſal of the Army, brake out at length into ſuch terms, that when he had raged in vain againſt the multitude, his authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forſake his Kingdom, and to wander up and down in foreign Countries a baniſhed man, his people joyning with the enemy, againſt whom he had led them forth to war.

Pydna in the mean time was cloſed up ſtreightly, both by Sea and Land, ſo that neither any could iſſue out of the City, nor any relief be conveyed into it, but it held out as long as any food was left; no memorable ſervice being done there, whilſt great actions were managed abroad.

§. II.

A continuation of Olympias *her ſtory.* Polyſperchon *defeated.* *Extreme Famine in* Pydna. Olympias *yields to* Caſſander.

NOw, though order of time require it, that we ſhould rehearſe the doings of *Eumenes* and *Antigonus* in this place, leaving *Olympias* yet a while to the hour of her deſtiny; which grows the faſter upon her, becauſe ſhe may diſcern it coming: yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the courſe of our narration, by inſerting her Tragedy in the midſt of things not manifeſtly coherent with it; we will here (as elſewhere we have done, and elſewhere muſt) continue to an end one Hiſtory, that we may not be therewith diſtracted, when we ſhall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the beſieged, remaining in *Polyſperchon*, was in like manner diſappointed as their former truſt had been, which was repoſed in the ſuccours of the *Epirots*. For *Callas*, who was ſent againſt him, found the means to corrupt the greateſt part of his Army with mony, leaving him within a little while ſo tenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other buſineſs of war, than a ſwift retrait. When famine had ſo far prevailed in the City, that the horſes were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carkaſſes of their fellows, and ſawduſt being given to the Elephants for provender; ſome of the Souldiers obtaining the Queens leave (who could not deny it) others, without asking leave, yielded themſelves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and ſent abroad into the Country. The news of the Queens affairs, diſperſed by theſe men, did ſo affright her well-willers, that ſuch as had reſerved themſelves to the event, came in apace, and ſubmitted to *Caſſander*. At length, when the mortality was ſo great in the Town, that the living were even poyſoned with the noiſome ſent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her ſelf of ſtealing away by Sea in a Galley that ſhe had: wherewith her ſucceſs was as bad as in the reſt. For God had appointed this Town, by her choſen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a houſe of torment, and a Gaol, out of which ſhe ſhould not be delivered, but unto an evil death. Being therefore utterly broken with miſeries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, unaccuſtomed to ſo wretched a kind of life, ſhe offered compoſition, and with much labour hardly obtained of *Caſſander* (who having fetcht her Gally out of the Haven, accounted himſelf as good as maſter of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately upon her apprehenſion, *Pella*, the chief City of the Kingdom, was yielded to *Caſſander*. *Amphipolis* did ſtand out: for *Ariſtonus* (to whom *Olympias* had given charge of ſuch Forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the ſucceſs of ſome petty ſervices wherein he had prevailed) began to promiſe himſelf great unlikelihods. But *Olympias*, to win *Caſſanders* favour, very earneſtly required him upon his faith to her, that he ſhould give it up. He did ſo, and preſently after was killed by his private enemies, that were ſet on by *Caſſander*, who partly hated him upon old reſpects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to ſeek Innovation.

§. III.

The death of Olympias, *and her conditions.*

WHen *Olympias* had now heard ſorrowful tidings of all her friends, ſhe her ſelf was called into queſtion, and accuſed in an Aſſembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murthers (they were ſo ſtiled in her affliction, which

which in time of proſperity ſhe called juſtice) by her committed. There was ſhe (being not heard, nor called to ſpeak) condemned to die. The ſute was commenced and proſecuted againſt her, by the kindred of thoſe whom ſhe had ſlain. But it was at *Caſſanders* inſtigation, who (to haſten the execution) ſent her word, that he would furniſh her with a ſhip, and other neceſſaries, to ſave her ſelf by flight: which when ſhe refuſed, ſaying, that ſhe would plead for her ſelf, and tell her own tale; he diſſembled no longer, but ſent unto her ſuch men, as hated her moſt, who took away her miſerable life. She was Daughter, and Siſter, unto two Kings of *Epirus*; Wife and Mother unto two the mightieſt Kings, of that, or many other ages; a ſtout Lady, and of unreproveable chaſtity; but her ambition was boundleſs, her hatred unappeaſable, and her fury in revenge moſt unwomanly. Her perverſe conditions made her Husband ſeek other Wives and Concubines, which cauſed her to hate both him, and them. She was thought privy to her Husbands death; after which, very cruelly ſhe ſlew his late Wife *Cleopatra*, having firſt murthered one of her two children in her arms, and with a beaſtly fury broiled the other alive in fire, in a Copper-baſon. For theſe things, her Son *Alexander* (otherwiſe loving her well) forbade her to meddle in the Government of *Macedon*. But God, more ſevere unto cruel Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wills, permitted her to live and fulfil the reſt of her wickedneſs (which was his juſtice upon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppreſſion done by him and others;) after all which, he tewarded her malice, by returning it upon her own head.

§. IV.

Caſſander *celebrates the Funeral of* Aridæus *and* Eurydice; *and ſeeks to make himſelf King of* Macedon.

AFter her death, *Caſſander* gave honorable burial to *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own poſſibilities of greatneſs, he married the Lady *Theſſalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the Daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his Wives; that by her he might have ſome title to the Crown. For the ſame end he committed *Roxane*, and her young Son to cloſe Priſon, removing thereby ſome part of his impediment. And, the better to encreaſe his fame, and purchaſe love, built a City, called by his own name *Caſſandria*, that ſoon grew to be very great and powerful. He re-edified likewiſe *Thebes* in *Greece*, and reſtored it unto the old Inhabitants, after it had lain twenty years waſte, being utterly razed by *Alexander*. By theſe means, eſpecially by the reſtauration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew ſo ſtrong, that few remained enemies unto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could reſiſt him. Leaving him therefore daily prevailing in *Greece*, we will return to them, who contended in *Aſia*, for leſs titles, but larger Provinces, with greater forces.

CHAP. IV.

Of the great Lordſhip which Antigonus *got in* Aſia.

§. I.

The Journey of Eumenes *into* Perſia. *His wiſe dealing with thoſe that joyned with him.*

EUmenes, having joyned unto his company the *Argyraſpides*, made haſte into the Eaſtern parts, to take poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries, according to his Commiſſion, and ſtrengthen himſelf againſt *Antigonus*. He took his journey through *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, hoping to reclaim thoſe Provinces, uſurped the reſt of *Syria* (as hath been ſhewed) by *Ptolomy*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haſte of his paſſing forward was too great, his Army too little, and the readineſs of the people, to return their due obedience, none at all. Beſides all which Impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the leſs effectual. The Captains of the *Agyraſpides* were ſo froward,

froward, that they ſcorned to repair to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was ſo unſteady, that they might more eaſily have dealt with open Traytors. It was not expedient, that he, being General, ſhould weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keep them in order by compulſion. Therefore he feigned, that *Alexander* had appointed unto him, in a dream, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich pavilion, wherein an empty throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himſelf had been preſent at their conſultations. Thus he freed himſelf from their vain pride; but of their faith he could have no aſſurance. Yet when *Ptolomy* requeſted them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forſake him, they continued (though not without conſidering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, finding before him the Kings Warrant; which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refuſed to obey; not as rejecting the Kings Authority, but excepting the perſon of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Army, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that he was not to rely upon their aſſiſtance, who ſtood otherwiſe affected than his affairs required, and were not to be dealt with by perſwaſion, ſought paſſage by ſtrong hand through the Country of *Babylon*; in ſuch wiſe that *Seleucus*, having in vain aſſayed to hinder him, by opening the ſluces of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as deſirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Peuceſtes* and the reſt of the Eaſtern Lords, who were glad of his company, becauſe of the differences between *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themſelves. Yet the contention about ſuperiority grew very hot among them, every one finding matter enough to feed his own humour of ſelf-worthineſs. But the former device of aſſembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the concluſion ever being ſure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wiſeſt in giving advice, and beſt able to reward, by means of the authority given him, to take what he pleaſed of the Kings treaſures. By theſe means he won to himſelf many of thoſe, who had moſt power to do good or hurt.

§. II.

How Antigonus, *coming to ſet upon* Eumenes, *was driven off with loſs.*

ANtigonus, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Province of *Suſa*, had an earneſt deſire to follow him, and drive him further from the Kings treaſures, which were kept there. To which end, as ſoon as he had made himſelf ſtrong enough, he removed out of *Meſopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly againſt the enemies, with intent to give them battel. *Eumenes* had fortified the Caſtle of *Suſa*, and was retired back toward *Perſia*, keeping the River of *Tigris* between him and his purſuers. The paſſages of the River were well guarded, and good eſpial kept upon *Antigonus*, to obſerve which way he took. Before he came to *Tigris* it ſelf, he was to paſs over *Coprates*, a great River, and not foordable, which he ſought to do by ſmall Veſſels, whereof he had no great ſtore. A great part of his Army had gotten over, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge upon *Tigris*, came with a thouſand horſe, and four thouſand foot, to ſee their demeanor: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and drave them headlong back into *Coprates*, wherein moſt of them were drowned; very few eſcaping with life, except four thouſand that yielded themſelves priſoners in ſight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieve them. This loſs made *Antigonus* glad to fall off; and the heat of that Country in the Dog-days, breeding diſeaſes in his Army, by which many periſhed, cauſed him to remove as far as into *Media*. So he took *Python* with him; (leaving *Seleucus* to beſiege the Caſtle of *Suſa*) and ſeeking to go the neareſt way, paſſed through ſavage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmiſhes, ſlew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media*, with his Troops that were quite heart-broken.

§. III.

Of Eumenes *his cunning. A Battel betweꝛ him and* Antigonus.

AFter his departure, *Eumenes* with his aſſociates fell into conſultation, about the remainder of their buſineſs. Fain he would have had them to enter upon thoſe Provinces, which *Antigonus* had left behind him; to which alſo the Captains of the *Argyraſpides* or *Silver-ſhields*, were very inclinable, as deſiring to draw near to *Greece*. But *Peuceſtes*, and the reſt, whoſe dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their own particular Eſtates, and would needs march Eaſtward. Theſe carried it; for the Army was not ſtrong enough to divide it ſelf into parts.

When

When they came into *Perſia*, *Peuceſtes* ruling there, feaſted them royally, and ſought by all means to win the Souldiers love to himſelf. *Eumenes* perceiving whereunto thoſe doings tended, ſuffered him a while to keep good chear, till the time of War drew near. Then did he feign an Epiſtle, directed, as from *Orontes* Governor of *Armenia*, to *Peuceſtes* himſelf: The purport whereof was; that *Olympias* had vanquiſhed *Caſſander*, and ſent over a great Army under *Polyſperchon*, to joyn with *Eumenes*. Theſe news, as they filled the Camp with vain joy, ſo they wrought in all mens minds a great willingneſs to obey *Eumenes*, by whom was the likelieſt appearance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wiſely, he being far the moſt ſufficient Commander, as they found ſoon after. For when *Antigonus*, coming out of *Media*, drew near unto them, *Eumenes*, by ſome miſchance was fallen ſick, and fain to be carried in a Litter; the Army marched in very bad array, and was likely to have been forced to take battel in that diſorder. But *Eumenes*, when the reſt of the Captains were amazed, was carried about the Army in his Litter, and upon the ſudden did caſt his men into ſo good form, that *Antigonus*, perceiving him afar off, could not refrain from giving him deſerved commendations. Yet he did not ceaſe to promiſe great rewards to the Captains, and all ſorts of men, if they would forſake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the trial of a battel. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwiſe, he was inferiour in number both of horſe and foot by a third part. The battel was fought with variable ſucceſs, and great loſs on both ſides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victory was uncertain. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye far from their carriages: by which means *Antigonus* (who had a more abſolute command over his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies, which was accounted the ſign of victory; for he buried his own, and gave leave to his enemies craving it, to do the like. But a greater ſign of victory had *Eumenes*. For he abode ſtill in the ſame place, and not only buried his men very honourably, at great leiſure, but held the Country round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (having tarried but one day) to ſteal away by night, and return into *Media*, from whence he came.

§. IV.

Of divers ſtratagems practiſed by Antigonus, *and* Eumenes, *one againſt the other.*

THus did the War continue doubtful, and was protracted to a greater length, each part having ſtout Souldiers, and skilful Generals: but the ſide which had hitherto prevailed, being hindred by the equal authority of many, from purſuing all advantanges to the beſt, *Antigonus* grew daily weaker, in men and reputation, ſo that to repair himſelf he could find no way ſafer, than to put all to adventure. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far aſunder, ſo that if he could ſuddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great diſtreſs. Between him and them, the way was not long, being only nine days journey, but very bad, through a rough dry wilderneſs, hardly paſſable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Country well peopled, but requiring twenty five days journey, he forſook; partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, becauſe he would come undiſcovered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of Winter, he forbade unto his men the uſe of fire by night, becauſe he would not have them diſcryed afar off. This commandment had been well obſerved four or five days, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cheriſh themſelves, being near to their ways end. The light of theſe fires gave notice of their coming; which being reported to *Peuceſtes*, and other Captains, they were ſo aſtoniſhed with the ſudden danger, that in all haſte they betook themſelves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the news, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promiſing to make *Antigonus* march leiſurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their men together. They could ſcarce believe him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He took with him ſome companies of the readieſt men, wherewith he occupied certain tops of mountains, looking toward the Camp of *Antigonus*: there he choſe a convenient ground to encamp upon, and made great ſtore of fires in ſundry places, as if the whole Army had been preſent. This was a ſorrowful ſpectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himſelf prevented of his purpoſe; and began to fear leſt he ſhould be compelled to fight, whileſt his men were tired with a long and painful journey. There-

fore he reſolved to turn aſide, and take the way to ſuch places, as might better ſerve to refreſh his Army. This he did with great care and circumſpection, at the firſt, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be upon all advantages. But after a while, conſidering that no enemy ſtirred about him, he began to pauſe, and think in himſelf, that ſomewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he cauſed ſome Inhabitants of that deſart to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had ſeen no other Army than his thereabout, but only a few men that kept fires on the hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to find that he had been ſo deluded. Therefore he went againſt theſe Troops with great fury, meaning to take ſharp vengeance on them, for having ſo deceived him. But by this time, ſufficient ſtrength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much buſineſs, and long ſtay. All the Army was come, ſave only *Eudamus*, Captain of the Elephants, who, beſides thoſe beaſts, had no more than four hundred horſemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this ſupply coming to his enemies, ſent above two thouſand horſe, and all his light-armed foot-men, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was fain to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and ſo to defend himſelf as well as he could; for his horſe-men, overlaid with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the ſpur. Neither knew they, who ſate upon the Elephants, which way to turn them, for on all ſides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave Troops of horſe and foot, that came unexpected to the reſcue; and charging the Aſſailants upon the back, drave them to ſeek their own ſafety by ſpeedy flight. Theſe were ſent by *Eumenes*; who though he knew not what his Adverſary meant to do, yet he knew very well what was fitteſt for him to do: and therefore, playing both games himſelf, provided the remedy.

§. V.

The conſpiracy of Peuceſtes *and others, againſt* Eumenes *his life.*

BY theſe means *Eumenes* won great honor, and was by the whole Army acknowledged a moſt expert General, and well worthy of the chief command. But *Peuceſtes*, and the other Captains, guilty of their own much inſufficiency, were ſo tranſported with Envy, that they could no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a neceſſary point, how they might find means to murther him.

Surely, it is great injuſtice to impute the miſchief contrived againſt worthy men, to their own proud carriage, or ſome other ill deſerving: For, though it often happen, that ſmall vices do ſerve to counterpoize great vertues; (the ſenſe of evil being more quick and laſting than of good) yet he ſhall bewray a very fooliſh malice, that, wanting other teſtimony, will think it a part of wiſdom, to find good reaſon of the evils done to vertuous men, which oftentimes have no other cauſe than vertue it ſelf. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of ſingular courteſie, of a very ſweet converſation among his friends, and careful by all gentle means to win their love, that ſeemed to bear him any ſecret ill affection. It was his meer vertue that overthrew him, which even they that ſought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he ſhould not be ſlain, before the battel were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confeſſed that it ſtood beſt with their ſafety, to be governed by his direction. Of this treaſon he was quickly advertiſed by *Eudamus*, to whom he had done many pleaſures, and by ſome others of whom he uſed to borrow money when he needed not, to the end that they ſhould be careful of his good, for fear of loſing their own. Conſidering therefore, and diſcourſing with himſelf of the villany intended againſt him, he made his laſt Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of ſecret: which done, he revolved many things in his mind; being doubtful what courſe he were beſt to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire ſtood ill affected to the Royal blood, excepting thoſe which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time ſtood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to ſeek their help, that needed his. To make his own peace with *Antigonus*, had been againſt his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cauſe alſo it may be thought, that he forbare either to loſe the battel willingly, or to fly into *Cappadocia*, and make ſhift for himſelf among his old friends. At length he reſolved to do his beſt againſt the common enemy, and afterwards to look to himſelf as well as he might.

§. VI.

§. VI.

The laſt battel between Antigonus *and* Eumenes.

THe Souldiers, eſpecially thoſe old bands of the *Silver-ſhields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cauſe, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but only to bring them in the field, and ſet them in array; for the reſt, they alone would take ſufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chief Commanders were ſo miſchievouſly bent againſt him, that they could not endure to think of being beholding to him for the victory. Yet he ordered the battel ſo well, that, without their own great fault, they could hardly fail of getting the upper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horſeman from the ſide of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voyce unto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickedneſs in fighting againſt their own Fathers, would now be puniſhed, as it well deſerved. This was not ſpoken in vain, For the *Silver-ſhields* were men of threeſcore or ſeventy years old, and ſtrengthened more by continual exerciſe, than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having paſſed through greater dangers, than any like to be preſented in that fight.

Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to try their laſt hope with theſe reſolute warriors, the moſt Ancient and beſt regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very penſive, and advanced heavily, ſuſpecting their own cauſe, and fearing that the threatnings uttered would prove true.

Antigonus was now again far the ſtronger in horſe, which gave him cauſe of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plain levelled field. Placing therefore himſelf and his ſon *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Python*, he did ſet forward couragiouſly againſt the Enemies, that were ready to give him a ſharp entertainment.

Eumenes took unto him *Peuceſtes*, with the reſt of the Lords, and ſtood in the left wing of his battel, in the face of *Antigonus*; meaning both to prevent the Traytors, his Companions, of all means to make head againſt him on the ſudden; and (withal) to give proof of his own valour, which perhaps he ſhould no more do, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, oppoſite unto *Python*, he beſtowed the weakeſt of his Horſe and Elephants, under one *Philip*, an honeſt man, and (which was enough at ſuch a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reaſonable retrait, expecting the event of the other ſide.

So they joyned very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himſelf maſter of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honorable death, or to win ſuch a victory upon his open enemies, as might give him leiſure and opportunity to deal with his falſe friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being, even in their own opinions, far inferior to thoſe whom they muſt encounter, were at the firſt brunt preſently defeated by the *Silver-ſhields*, who ſlew above five thouſand of them, loſing of their own not one man. But in Horſe, *Eumenes* was ſo over-matched, that he could not repel *Antigonus*, who preſſed him very hard, but was fain to ſtand wholly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought ſo well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, until ſuch time as *Peuceſtes*, with one thouſand five hundred Horſe, withdrew himſelf out of the battel, leaving his companions fighting to defend his back.

Then did *Eumenes* deſperately ruſh amongſt his Enemies, labouring to break open the way unto *Antigonus* himſelf. And though he failed of his purpoſe; yet with great ſlaughter he did ſo beat upon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in ſuſpence, uncertain which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a ſlight ſandy mould, through the trampling of horſes, men and Elephants, did caſt up ſuch a cloud of duſt, as hindred the proſpect, ſo that no man could ſee what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this advantage, diſpatched away ſome companies of Horſe, that paſſed undiſcovered beyond *Eumenes* his battels, and came to his carriages, which lay about half a mile from the place of fight, ſlenderly guarded (for that the whole body of the Army lay between them and danger) and therefore eaſily taken. Had *Peuceſtes* retired himſelf no further than unto the carriages, he might not only have defended them, but peradventure have ſurprized thoſe which came to ſurprize them, and ſo have done as good a piece of ſervice as a better man. But he was gotten ſomewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the event; and *Eumenes* was ſo over-laboured both in body and mind, that he could not poſſibly give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It hapned ſo, that the Elephants meeting together, thoſe of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himſelf every way overcharged, began to give back, and withdrew himſelf and his companies in good order, to the other ſide of the battel, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loſs. The *Antigonians* had felt ſo much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wiſhed not to ſee him come again; as fain he would have done.

The loſs of the carriages was reported unto him, as ſoon as he had any leiſure to hear how things went: whereupon he preſently ordered his men for a freſh charge, and ſent for *Peuceſtes* that was not far off, requeſting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby he truſted, not only to recover their own goods, but to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the enemies. *Peuceſtes* not only refuſed to joyn with him, but immediately withdrew himſelf into a ſafer place, where he might be further from ſuch dangerous temptations.

By this the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were deſirous to return into their Camps. Yet *Antigonus* conceived hope of doing ſomewhat more, and therefore taking halt his horſemen, he waited upon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other half he committed to *Python*, willing him to ſet upon the *Silver-ſhields* in their retrait; which yet he forbare to do, becauſe it appeared too full of danger. So the battel ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not ſo much the better in horſe, as the worſe in foot: but the ſpoil which he got, by ſurprizing his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other loſſes.

§. VII.

How Eumenes *was betrayed to* Antigonus, *and ſlain.*

EUmenes, coming into his Camp, and finding the *Silver-ſhields* extremely diſcontented with their misfortune, began to cheer them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage. For their brave demeanor that day had ſo cruſhed the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much leſs able to draw their Carts after him, through that great wilderneſs, over the high mountains.

But theſe perſwaſions availed nothing. *Peuceſtes* was gone; the other Captains would needs return into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no deſire either to fly or to fight, but only to recover their goods. Wherefore *Teutamus*, one of the two Captains of the *Silver-ſhields* (who had in former times readily conſented unto trayterous motions, in hope of gain, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as he thought a fit occaſion of making himſelf great, and winning the love of thoſe bands, dealt ſecretly with *Antigonus*, requeſting him to reſtore unto thoſe old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the only reward of their ſervices, in the Wars of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a ſubtile man, knew very well, that they which requeſted more than they had reaſon to expect, would alſo with little entreaty, perform a great deal more than they promiſed; and therefore he lovingly entertained the meſſengers, filling them with hopes of far greater matters than they deſired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were ſeduced to make War againſt him. This anſwer pleaſed them ſo well, that they forthwith deviſed how to deliver him alive. Wherefore coming about him, as at other times, to do their duty, and pretending more joy of their victory, than ſorrow of their loſs, which they ſaid they would redeem by another fight; in the midſt of this goodly talk, they leapt upon him, caught hold of his ſword, and bound him faſt. So they haled him away; and, ſtopping their ears againſt all perſwaſions, would not yield ſo far as to looſen one of his hands, and let him kill himſelf, but brought him alive (that was their own General, under whom they had obtained many victories) as it had been in triumph, into the Camp of their enemies.

The preſs of men, running out of the Camp to ſee him, was ſo great, that *Antigonus* was fain to ſend a guard of Horſemen and Elephants, to keep him from being ſmothered; whom he could not ſuddenly reſolve either to kill or ſave. Very few they were that ſued for his life, but of theſe, *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus* was one, the reſt were deſirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were ſaved, he would ſoon be the chief in reputation, for his great ability. So, after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded that it was the ſafeſt way to put him to death; which intending to have done by famine (perhaps becauſe he would keep it a while in his own power, to reverſe the ſentence, as deſiring, if it might be, to have him live his friend) haſte

of

of other buſineſs made him do it by the ſword.

To this end came all the travels of that worthy General *Eumenes*; who had with great wiſdom, fidelity and patience, labour-ed in vain to uphold the family which God had purpoſed to caſt down. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutability, but more notable was his Government of himſelf, in all her changes. Adverſity never leſſened his courage, nor proſperity his circumſpection. But all his virtue, induſtry and wit, were caſt away, in leading an Army, without full power, to keep it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill anſwered by *Gaſper de Coligny*, Admiral of *France* in our days, to one that foretold his death, which enſued ſoon after in the maſſacre of *Paris*: That rather than to lead again an Army of Voluntaries, he would dye a thouſand times.

Antigonus himſelf gave to the body of *Eumenes* Honourable Funerals; and rewarded the Treaſon, wrought againſt him, with deſerved vengeance. One chief Captain of the *Silver-ſhields* he burnt alive; many of the other Captains he ſlew; and to the whole multitude of the *Silver-ſhields*, that had betrayed ſo worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that ſhould carry them into far Countries, under pretence of Wars; but with a privy charge, to conſume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them return alive unto his friends and kindred, or ſo much as once behold the Seas that beat upon the ſhores of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

§. VIII.

How Antigonus *ſlew* Python, *and occupied* Media. *How he removed Governors of Provinces, and made himſelf Lord of* Perſia, *carrying away* Peuceſtes.

THe two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they ſpent the reſt of the Winter: the common Souldier idly; the principal men intentively bent unto the buſineſs enſuing. *Python* began to conſider his own deſervings; for the whole War had been chiefly maintained by the ſtrength, and riches of this Province. Beſides, he thought himſelf as good a man as *Antigonus*, unleſs it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he judged eaſie to be purchaſed with gifts, and therefore ſpared not to aſſay them with great liberality. But in following this courſe he was driven by neceſſity to truſt many, of whom he ſtumbled upon ſome, that were unſecret, and others, bearing him no ſincere affection. Thus was his purpoſe diſcovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) diſſembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of diſſention between him, and his honorable friend, unto whom he meant to commit the Government of all thoſe Countries: his own buſineſs calling him into the lower *Aſia*. Theſe reports coming daily to his ears, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatneſs with *Alexander*; his authority in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Governor; and the love of the Souldiers which he had bought with money; he was ſtrong enough to maintain, even an offenſive War. But what need had he to uſe the ſword, when he was likely without contention, to obtain more than his own asking? Therefore he came as ſoon as he was ſent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing leſs than to yield to any ſuch diviſion. As ſoon as he came, he was taken, and accuſed, condemned to dye, and ſlain out of hand. For *Antigonus*, having begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward reſtrained by any conſideration of old acquaintance, from cutting down indifferently all that ſtood in his way: but ſwam careleſly thorow the blood, wherein at the firſt he doubtfully waded.

When this buſineſs was ended, he appointed a new Governor in *Media*, to order the Province, and a Captain, to ſuppreſs all commotions: thinking belike that the power and authority, ſo divided, would hardly agree in one againſt him, from whom both were derived.

After this he marched into *Perſia*, where he was entertained as abſolute Lord of *Aſia*. There began he to ſhew how well he underſtood his own mightineſs. For he placed and diſplaced at his own pleaſure, Governors in all Provinces, leaving none in Office, that were not his own creatures, except ſuch as lay too far off to be diſlodged eaſily.

Peuceſtes, who ruled in *Perſia*, thought with good cheer to redeem old offences; but was deceived, having to do with one that could not be taken with ſuch baits: he was carried away, and feaſted with goodly words of promiſe, that never after took effect. Thus he, that envied the virtue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vain) the fortune of his enemy, after which he led a moſt contemptible life, till he died obſcurely a man forgotten.

§. IX.

§. IX.

How Seleucus *was chased out of* Babylon *by* Antigonus. *The great riches of* Antigonus.

Seleucus was the next in this Visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good will to *Antigonus*, and now gave proof of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captain of the Caste of *Susa* to meet him on the way, rendring unto him that strong Piece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (though having in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly believe it; but used him with excessive kindness, for fear so good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Persian* Kings, which, added to his former store of money, made up five and twenty thousand talents. Having all this, he might well account himself a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happiness. But large dominion was the mark at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave no Country behind his back, that should not acknowledge him for Soveraign Lord. Coming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus*, with all possible demonstration of love, and honored with presents beseeming the Majestie of a King. All this he accepted with great gravity, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the revenues of that Province. This demand *Seleucus* held unreasonable; saying, That it was not needful for him to render unto any man an account of that Province, which was given unto him, in respect of his many good services to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficeth, that *Antigonus* was powerful; who urged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessity, moved *Antigonus* to press him thus, but only the desire to pick matter of quarrel against him, whereof it was likely that he should find such issue, as *Python* and *Peucestes* had done. Therefore taking with him only fifty horse, he conveyed himself away, and fled into *Ptolomies* Dominions; desiring him to protect him from such a man as went about to oppress all, that in former times had been his betters, or at least his equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yielded unto him without battel, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, having received many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldæans* brought a strange Prophecy to *Antigonus*, bidding him look well to himself; and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, he should recover *Babylon*, yea, win all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battel. Easie believers may give credit to this tale. Had it been true, methinks *Antigonus* rather should have hanged those *Chaldæans*, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whom the Destinies preserved for so great purposes. When he had settled things at *Babylon*, he took his journey into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There he took up ten thousand Talents more of the Kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found his yearly in-come to amount unto eleven thousand Talents.

CHAP. V.

Of the great War between Alexanders *Captains: and how they assumed the Name and State of Kings.*

§. I.

The Combination of Ptolomy, Cassander, *and others against* Antigonus. *Their demands, and his Answer.*

THis great riches, and the rest of his Power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, envied and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new War. *Ptolomy*, *Cassander* and *Lysimachus*, had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason than of his own accord he seemed like to yield unto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good entertainment given unto *Seleucus*, giving him sufficient

ſufficient cauſe of miſtruſt. Therefore he ſent Embaſſadors to them ſeverally, entreating them to continue firm in their love toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold anſwers which they made, occaſioned his haſty preparation againſt the moſt forward of them, which was *Ptolomy*, it being likely that a good Army ſhould prevail more than a fair meſſage. Therefore, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, he took the way toward *Syria*, and was encountred by Embaſſage from them all. Theſe told him, that their Lords did much rejoyce at his victory obtained againſt *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honor that he had thereby gotten. In which War, foraſmuch as they being his Confederates, muſt have indured great loſs, with hazard of their whole Eſtates, if the contrary faction had prevailed; they held it very juſt, that all ſhould be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had been all adventurers. Wherefore they deſired him, that making between them all an equal diviſion of the treaſures that were in his hands (a thing eaſie to be done) he would alſo take ſome convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchaſes. This might beſt be to every ones liking, if he would make over *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Caſſander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering upon the *Helleſpont*, to *Lyſimachus*: for whereas his own Dominions were ſo much extended Eaſtward by his late victory, he might well ſpare ſome of thoſe Weſtern Provinces, to thoſe that were ſeated in the Weſt. As for *Ptolomy*, he would not crave any new addition, but reſt contented within his own Territories. Provided always, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late War, might be reſtored to his own, out of which he had been driven ſo injuriouſly, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly conſent unto their demands, which otherwiſe they muſt labour to obtain with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many loſſes received, he ſhould yet be able to redeem Peace whenſoever he liſted, with theſe, or perhaps with eaſier conditions. Neither was he ſo weak, to give away quietly any part of his ſtrength into the hands of ſuch bad friends, for fear only, leſt it ſhould be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he ſhould be able to find them work, more than enough to defend their own. Therefore he roundly anſwered the Embaſſadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without other mens help had obtained. Though indeed they had already ſufficiently gained by him, if they could ſee it, having by his means kept their Government, whereof they were like to be diſpoſſeſſed by *Polyſperchon*, and the counſel of eſtate in *Macedon*. But what marvel was it, if they conſidered not how he had ſaved them, ſeeing one of them had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a fugitive, and begging ſuccour, he was by his meer bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Caſſander* did not (ſaid he) in thoſe days command me to ſurrender Provinces, and give him his equal ſhare of my treaſures; but (for his Fathers ſake) deſired me to pity him, and help him againſt his enemies: which I did; by lending him an Army, and Fleet, on confidence whereof he now preſumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, How can he complain of wrong, that durſt not ſtay to plead his right? I did uſe him well, but his conſcience told him that he had deſerved ill; elſe he would not have fled. Let them that ſo curiouſly ſearch into my doings, conſider well their own, which ſome of them can hardly juſtifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings, and after him to deal with others, if they continue to provoke me.

§. II.

The preparation and beginnings of the Wars.

WHen the Embaſſadors were diſmiſſed with this anſwer, nothing was thought upon but War. *Antigonus* perceiving that he ſhould be invaded from *Europe*, as ſoon as he was entred into *Syria*, left his Nephew *Ptolomy* to guard the Sea-coaſt, and hinder *Caſſander* from landing in *Aſia*: giveing him alſo charge, to drive out of *Cappadocia*, ſome that were already ſent over to moleſt him. Likewiſe he diſpatched Meſſengers into *Creece* and *Cyprus*, not unfurniſhed of mony; to draw friends to his ſide, and raiſe up troubles to his enemies. Eſpecially, he laboured to make himſelf the ſtrongeſt by Sea; to which purpoſe he rather haſtened, than foreſlowed his journey into *Syria*, that he might get poſſeſſion of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Navy. Therefore, having erected Beacons, and laid poſt-horſes throughout all *Aſia*, to give ſwift advertiſement of all occurrences, he invaded *Syria*, that was not held againſt him

him by any power sufficient to maintain the field.

Ptolomy lay in *Egypt*, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honored of the people as their natural Lord: his other Provinces be kept with a few Garrisons, better serving to contain the people within obedience, than to confront a foreign enemy. So *Antigonus* took many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to set great numbers of Artificers on work in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a year and three months; not idly. For he took *Joppe* and *Gaza*, which were yielded unto his discretion, and well used. The strong City of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine, to render it self upon composition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Arms; which was permitted.

Ptolomy was not asleep, whilst these things were in doing, though he kept himself within the bounds of *Egypt*, as indeed it behoved him to do. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plain field, but likely they were to encrease, which made him willing to protract the time. Nevertheless by Sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chief command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred sail along the coast of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus* and his Army, to their no little discomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then governed by many petty Lords: of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolomy*, the rest were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Egyptian* with sharp steel.

The same commodity of aid by Sea, encouraged the President of *Caria* (called also *Cassander*, but not the Son of *Antipater*, howsoever by the painful and Learned Writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is, by some oversight, counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolomy* and his Confederates, and busily imploy in their quarrel all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed rest; but now he threw himself into dangerous War, chusing rather to undergo trouble at hand, than to fall under certain ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would have overwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

§. III.

How each party sought to win the assistance of Greece. Antigonus *his declaration against* Cassander. Alexander *the Son of* Polysperchon *revolteth from* Antigonus, *who had set him up.*

IN the mean season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure unto them the people of *Greece*, whose aid, which way soever inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the first, *Antigonus* sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the *Lacedæmonians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, of whom he waged eight thousand; and caused *Polysperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowse himself again, and taking upon him the title of Captain of *Peloponnesus*, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kind. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, he called together both his own Souldiers, and all the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that *Cassander* had very cruelly slain *Olympias*, Mother to the great *Alexander*; and not herewith contented, had shut up in close prison the poor Lady *Roxane*, *Alexanders* Wife, and his Son begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himself King over the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady *Thessalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match unfit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to joyn with him in marriage. That in meer despite of those dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new City by him built, and called by his own name *Cassandria*; and had re-edified the City of *Thebes*, which for the great treason of the Inhabitants, was leveled with the ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons he required them to make a Decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute liberty the Lady *Roxane*, and her Son; and should yield obedience to the Lord Lieutenant General of the Empire (by which name *Antigonus* himself was understood) or else should be reputed a Traytor, and open Enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of *Greece* should be restored into freedom: this he did, not because he was careful of their good, but for the need which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was

was perſwaded, that not only the *Greeks* would adhere unto him, as to their loving Patron, and fall off from *Caſſander*, but that the rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto ſuſpected him as a man regardful of nothing but his own benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the moſt faithful of all others to the Royal blood. But concerning his loyalty to the young Prince, the world was too wiſe to be deceived with vain ſhews. His undertaking for the liberty of the *Greeks* was more effectual, and got eaſie belief, in regard of his preſent hatred to *Caſſander*. Yet herein alſo *Ptolomy* ſtrove to be as earneſt as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himſelf that valiant Nation, which afforded men far more ſerviceable in War, than were to be found in any Province of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point at which both ſides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all ſure, deceived himſelf, not without great coſt. For he gave to *Alexander* the Son of *Polyſperchon* five hundred talents, willing him to ſet the War on foot in *Peloponneſus*, whereby it might appear, that on his ſide was meant nothing elſe, than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponneſus*, *Caſſanders* men had with much blood-ſhed, grievouſly afflicted the contrary faction, and he himſelf perceiving, that they were more eaſily ſpoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the beſt way to make what uſe he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that *Alexander* came furniſhed with plenty of gold, wherewith he was able not only to win the doubtful, but to corrupt ſuch as might ſeem beſt aſſured; he thought it a part of wiſdom, to ſurrender upon fair conditions, that which he could not aſſure himſelf to hold any long time by force. Therefore he ſent one to deal with *Alexander* about the matters in controverſie; telling him, that *Antigonus* was very skilful in ſetting men together by the ears, not caring who prevailed, but only deſiring to have them weary themſelves, whilſt he was buſied elſewhere; that ſo at length he might find opportunity to ſet upon the ſtronger. If therefore *Alexander* were ſo wiſe, as to keep in his purſe the five hundred talents which he had, and, without ſtroke ſtricken, to receive the whole Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*, it ſhould be freely put into his hands by *Caſſander*; provided, that he ſhould from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a ſure and faithful league with *Ptolomy*, *Caſſander*, and the reſt of the Confederates. Otherwiſe he might well perſwade himſelf, that the Country which his Father could not keep, when he was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire, ſhould not in haſte be won by him, that was only the Factor of a proud injurious man, ſo ſtiling himſelf, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had lived a while with *Antigonus* ſince the beginning of theſe wars; among whoſe followers it was not hard to diſcover the intent (which he did not carry very ſecret) of making himſelf abſolute Lord of all. Therefore he was ſoon entreated to accept ſo good an offer; and did not ſtick to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and ſubject unto no mans control.

Howbeit, this his honor continued not long, ere he loſt both it and his life together, by treaſon of the *Sicyonians*; who thinking thereby to have made themſelves free, were ſoon after vanquiſhed in battel by *Crateſipolis*, *Alexanders* Wife, a diſcreet and valiant Lady. She in revenge of her Husbands death, crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in fight; and having by ſeverity taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and governed thoſe places that ſhe held, with the commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

§. IV.

The Ætolians *riſe againſt* Caſſander *in favour of* Antigonus, *and are beaten. A Fleet and Land Army of* Antigonus *utterly defeated by* Ptolomies *Lieutenant. In what terms the War ſtood at this time.* Antigonus *draws nearer to* Greece.

ANtigonus, when he found, that with ſo much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raiſe troubles to *Caſſander*, and his other Adverſaries in *Greece*, by ſtirring up the *Ætolians* againſt them: Likewiſe he laboured to win to his party the Iſlands in the *Greek* Seas, by whoſe aſſiſtance he might be the better able to deal with *Ptolomy*, that greatly prevailed by reaſon of his ſtrong Fleet. But neither of theſe attempts had the ſucceſs which he expected. The *Ætolians*, a factious Nation, and alwayes envying the greatneſs of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but ſo, that commonly their gains equalled not their loſſes. *Caſſander* wan ſome of their own Country, fortified the *Acarnanians* againſt them, and compelled *Glaucias*, King of the *Illyrians*, whom he vanquiſhed in battel, to forſake their ſide, and bind him-

ſelf to bear no Arms againſt *Caſſanders* friends.

On the other ſide, as many petty Iſlands were drawn to joyn with *Antigonus*; ſo the Fleet of the Rhodians under *Theodatus*, who was Admiral to *Antigonus*, paſſing along the coaſt of *Aſia* towards *Cyprus*, with an Army under conduct of *Perilaus* marching on the ſhore for mutual aſſiſtance, was quite overthrown by *Ptolomies* Navy. *Polyclytus*, who in *Ptolomies* behalf had been ſent into *Peloponneſus* againſt *Alexander*, finding no need of his ſervice in that Country, becauſe *Alexander* was come over to their ſide, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the courſe which theſe *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly ſurprized. He rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambuſh, whereinto *Perilaus* falling was taken priſoner, with many of his men, and many were ſlain, making little reſiſtance. *Theodatus* the Admiral perceiving this, made all haſte to help his fellows that were on Land; but whilſt he with all his Fleet were intentive only to that buſineſs, *Polyclytus* appeared at their backs; who as ſoon as he perceived their diſorder, haſtened about the Cape, and charging them behind, ſuffered not one of them to eſcape him. Theſe ill tidings cauſed *Antigonus* to deal with *Ptolomy* about ſome compoſition. Firſt, he ſent Embaſſadors; afterwards they met in perſon. But *Antigonus* would not yield unto the demands of *Ptolomy*: ſo the parley was vain.

Hitherto each part ſeemed to have indifferently ſped in the War, and thereby to have equal cauſe of hope and fear. This late Victory, with the good ſucceſs of his affairs in *Cyprus*, did ſeem to make amends to *Ptolomy* for his loſſes in *Syria*. Likewiſe the revolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equal the confederacy made between the *Ætolians* and him; as alſo thoſe petty skirmiſhes, that had been in *Aſia* the leſs, to *Antigonus* his advantage, were ſufficiently recompenced by others of like regard, but adverſe to him, and by the troubles brought upon his eſtates in thoſe parts by the two *Caſſanders*.

Contrariwiſe, *Antigonus* valued the loſs of his men, money and ſhips, no otherwiſe than as the pairing of his nails, that were left long enough, and would eaſily grow again, but the enlargement of his Territory by addition of *Syria*, he prized at a higher rate; as if thereby he had fed upon a limb of *Ptolomy* his enemy, and ſtrengthened the body of his own Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto ſufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceed as occaſion ſhould direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no money.

That which moſt moleſted him, was the attempts of his enemies upon *Aſia* the leſs; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cauſe to fear, leſt the people being tied unto him by no bond of allegiance, might upon ſmall occaſion revolt from him, to men of as honorable reputation as he himſelf. To prevent this, and to be neerer to *Greece*, he held it expedient for him to be there in perſon, where his affairs did ſeem to proſper the worſe, by reaſon of his abſence. Therefore he left part of his Army in *Syria*, under his Son *Demetrius*, to whom being then but two and twenty years old, he appointed many ancient Captains, as Aſſiſtants, or rather as Directors: the reſt he carried with him into *Phrygia*, where he meant to winter.

§. V.

How Lyſimachus *and* Caſſander *vanquiſhed ſome enemies, raiſed againſt them by* Antigonus. *The good ſucceſs of* Antigonus *in* Aſia *and* Greece: *with the rebellion of many Cities againſt* Caſſander.

THe coming of *Antigonus* into thoſe parts, wrought a great alteration in the proceſs of his buſineſs thereabouts. For his enemies had ſhort leiſure to think upon moleſting him in *Aſia*: they themſelves were held over-hardly to their own work on *Europe* ſide. *Seuthes* a King of the *Thracians*, joyning with ſome Towns that rebelled againſt *Lyſimachus*, brought alſo the bordering *Scythians* into the quarrel. All theſe relied upon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with money and other aid. The *Ætolians* likewiſe took courage, and roſe againſt *Caſſander*, having *Æacides*, lately reſtored to the Kingdom of *Epirus*, their Aſſiſtant. But *Lyſimachus* gave unto his Rebels no time to confirm themſelves. He ſuddenly preſented himſelf before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by fear to return unto their former duty. He fought a battel with the *Scythians*, and wilde *Thracians*, and drave them out of the Country. Finally, he overcame *Seuthes*; and following the heat of his Victory, ſlew *Pauſanias* in Battel, whom *Antigonus* had ſent over with an Army; and all his men he did either put to ranſome, or fill up with them his own Bands. The like ſucceſs had

Philip,

Philip, *Cassanders* Lieutenant, against the *Ætolians*. For he wasted their Country; fought with the *Epirotes*, that came to help them: and after the victory, fought again with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, and, killing *Æacides* that unfortunate King. Finally, he drave the *Ætolians* out of most of their Countrey, and forced them to seek their safety among the wild Mountains. Of the *Epirotes* he sent as prisoners to *Cassander*, the principal Authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present War.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus* his Adversaries with painful travel; after which they remained only savers. *Antigonus* himself at fair leisure wan all *Caria* the whilst, and sent Armies into *Peloponnesus*, and other parts of *Greece*, bestowing liberty upon all the Cities he took out of *Cassanders* hands. The whole Country of *Peloponnesus* (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the Isle of *Eubœa*, and many places of the firm Land, were by those means won to be his in true and vehement affection, ready to do or suffer any thing for him that had made so evident a demonstration of his readiness, to give them the liberty in deed, which others had promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would fain have shewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Cassanders* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if he would pass over into *Macedon*: by which terror he forced *Cassander* to repair thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leaving many good Towns of *Greece* so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselves, if any foreign succour appeared. The aid which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, taking the advantage of *Cassanders* departure, entred the Country; drave his Garrisons out of divers Cities; forced the Governor of *Athens* to enter into league with their Lord; wan the Citadel of *Thebes*, and set the people at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For *Thebes* had not long before been raised out of her old ruines by the meer power of *Cassander*; of which act he was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had been some hainous crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the love of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thank the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to look forward upon those hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure, than backward upon their miserable nullity, that held them uncapable of being any thing.

§. VI.

Victories of Ptolomy *by Sea. A great Battel at* Gaza, *which* Ptolomy *and* Seleucus *wan, against* Demetrius *the Son of* Antigonus.

AS the presence or neerness of *Antigonus* gave life to his affairs in the lower *Asia* and *Greece*; so the designs of his enemies, taking advantage at his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great works in the Eastern parts, wherewith in the year preceeding he had over-topped them. The Isle of *Cyprus*, whose Princes wavered between contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their covenant with *Ptolomy*, was visited by an *Egyptian* Fleet, wherewith *Ptolomy*, in his own person easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leaving a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Governour of the whole Country. With the same Fleet he ran along the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the spoils of which he enriched his followers, and returned loaden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherewith his Fathers subjects were oppressed, made all haste out of *Syria* to the rescue, taking only his horses, and light-armed foot with him, because the business required expedition. But in vain did he tire himself and his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that by lanching out into the deep, could in a few minutes delude the labour of so many days, if need had so required. Answerable to the vanity of this expedition was the success. For *Ptolomy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certain, whether having lightned his ships of their burthen in *Cyprus*, he would return upon those maritime Countries, or make towards *Syria*, where his coming was expected. He was indeed gone into *Egypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was describing a Royal Army, which he levied with all convenient speed, for the recovery of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore he was fain to chuse out of uncertainties the most likelihood, and return the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for service in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the *Cilicians*. He had

ſcarce refreſhed his men and horſes in *Syria*, when the news arrived of *Ptolomies* coming with a puiſſant Army, to give him battel. Hereupon he called to counſel his principal friends, who adviſed him to give way to the time, and expect ſome better opportunity in the future, being a young man, and weakly furniſhed with means to reſiſt ſuch ancient and famous Generals, as *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus*. This counſel ſeemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of thoſe aged men that gave it, than from any neceſſity growing out of the preſent buſineſs. For *Demetrius* conſidering himſelf to be the Son of *Antigonus*, and now General of his Fathers Army, thought his own title weighty enough to be laid in ballance againſt the bare names of thoſe two great Commanders. Neither found he much reaſon that ſhould move him to diſtruſt his forces, as inſufficient. His men were better exerciſed than the enemies, and promiſed as much as could be required. Therefore perſwading himſelf, that ſuch odds of number, and of great fame, would rather ſerve to adorn his victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he reſolved to put the matter to tryal, without expecting the advantage of more help. So animating his Souldiers with hope of ſpoil and rewards, he abode the coming of the Enemies at *Gaza*, with purpoſe to encounter them, as ſoon as they had finiſhed their wearieſome journey over the Deſarts of *Arabia*.

Ptolomy and *Seleucus* iſſuing out of ſo rich a Province as *Egypt*, came ſo well provided of all neceſſaries, that their Army felt not any great grievance of the evil way, when battel was preſented them, which confidently they undertook. In all things elſe they had the odds of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were utterly unprovided. But how to deal with thoſe Beaſts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kind of Paliſado, faſtened ſtrongly together with chains, and ſharpened in ſuch a manner, that the Elephants could not ſeek to break upon it, without receiving much hurt. The reſt of their forces (which (beſides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate ſervices, by them performed that year, whilſt the enemies had wearied themſelves, either with vain journeys, or long and dulling expectation) they diſpoſed in ſuch order, as beſt anſwered to the form, wherein *Demetrius* was embattelled. The fight began, and was maintained with equal courage, for a long time, each part ſtriving more to win honor, than to ſatisfie any other paſſion, as having little cauſe of hatred, or revenge. But after ſome continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who upon no neceſſity would needs fight a battel with diſadvantage, began to appear by his loſſes. He had committed himſelf to Fortune, having more to loſe by her than he could get: but in this fight ſhe was idle, and left all to be decided by ſtrong hands; unleſs it may be ſaid, that the terror brought upon his men, by the loſs of his Elephants, was bad luck. Thoſe beaſts were in that kind of War hardly to be reſiſted on plain ground; and therefore at the firſt they made great ſpoil amongſt *Ptolomy*'s men. Afterward ſeeking to break thorow the Paliſado, they were ſorely hurt, and every one of them taken. This diſaſter cauſed the horſemen of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little, till now perceiving that all muſt lye upon their hands, who were ill able to make their own places good, they began to ſhrink, and many of them to provide for their ſafety by timely flight, which example the reſt quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had ſtroven ſo long in vain to make his men abide, that he himſelf was likely to be loſt; he was fain to give place to the ſtronger, making a violent retrait as far as to *Azotus*, which was about thirty miles from the place of Battel. A great part of his carriages was in *Gaza*, whither ſome of his company turned aſide, hoping to ſave ſuch goods, as in haſte they could pack up. This fooliſh covetouſneſs was their deſtruction, and the loſs of the Town. For, whilſt they, forgetful of the danger, had filled the ſtreets with ſumpter-horſes, and cloyed up the gates, thronging, ſome to get in and fetch; others, to carry out what they had already loaden, *Ptolomy*'s Army brake in without reſiſtance, taking them with their goods and the City altogether.

This Victory reſtored unto *Ptolomy* the beſt part of *Syria*, a Province more eaſie in thoſe times to get, than to keep; and opened the way unto all the greatneſs of *Seleucus*. For between *Gaza* and *Phœnicia* no place offered reſiſtance. In *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, ſome Towns held out a while, but were ſoon taken in by *Ptolomy*. Among theſe were the great Cities of *Tyrus* and *Sydon*; of which *Sidon* was given up by the Inhabitants; *Tyrus* by the Garriſon, falling to mutiny againſt their Captain, who truſting to the ſtrength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomy*, and honorably entertained in reſpect of his fidelity.

§. VII.

§. VII.

How Seleucus *recovered* Babylon, *and made himſelf Lord of many Countries in the higheſt* Aſia. *The* Æra *of the Kingdom of the* Greeks, *which began with the Dominion of* Seleucus.

WHile *Ptolomy* followed his buſineſs with ſuch proſperity, *Seleucus* took leave of him, and went up to *Babylon*, to try his own fortune; which he found ſo favourable, that recovering firſt his own Province, he became at length maſter of the better part of *Alexanders* purchaſes.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very ſtrange, and full of unlikelihoods. His train conſiſted of no more than eighteen hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, a number too ſmall to have been placed as Garriſon, in ſome one of thoſe main great Cities, againſt which he carried it into the higher *Aſia*. But little force is needful, to make way into ſtrong places, for him that already ſtands poſſeſſed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found ſo good a Governor, that none of them would find courage to reſiſt him; but left that work to *Antigonus* his own men, wiſhing them ill to ſpeed. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in thoſe Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of War, which by eaſie compulſion they left off, and followed new Enſigns. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and ſubmitted themſelves joyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection ſo general, it was not a ſafe courſe for the *Antigonians*, to thruſt themſelves into the Towns of moſt importance: for every man of them ſhould have been troubled with daily enemies in his own lodging. It remained that they ſhould iſſue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treaſon of one principal man, who revolted to the enemy, with more than a thouſand Souldiers following him, ſo diſmayed the reſt, that they did no more than ſeek to make good one ſtrong place, wherein were kept the Hoſtages and Priſoners, that *Antigonus* held for his ſecurity in thoſe quarters. This Caſtle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leiſure, againſt dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly took it; and ſo got the entire poſſeſſion of *Meſopotamia* and *Babylon*.

Antigonus had beſtowed in *Media* and *Perſia*, forces convenient for defence of thoſe Provinces, that were the utmoſt of his Dominion. In the Countries about *Euphrates* he had not done the like: for his own great Army lay between them and all enemies. Therefore when the victory at *Gaza* had opened unto *Seleucus* the way into thoſe parts; he found little impediment in the reſt of his buſineſs. Having now gotten what he ſought, it behoved him to ſeek how he might keep his gettings: for his own forces were too ſmall, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not do for him, his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Army in *Media*, joyning unto himſelf, out of *Perſia* and other Countries, all needful help, came, with ten thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſe, either to ſave all from being loſt, or to drive *Seleucus* out of that which he had won.

Againſt this power, *Seleucus* had only four hundred Horſe, and ſomewhat above three thouſand Foot, wherewith to oppoſe himſelf: his large Conqueſt of unwarlike Nations having yielded him many loving Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were near to the River of *Tigris*, he withdrew himſelf from the place where his reſiſtance was expected, into certain mariſhes not far off; where he lay ſecretly waiting for ſome advantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had been fled, and was the leſs careful in fortifying his Camp. In recompence of this vain ſecurity, his Camp was taken by ſurprize, the firſt night of his arrival; the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Perſia*, together with ſundry of the Captains, were ſlain; he himſelf was driven to flee for his life into the deſarts, and the whole Army yielded unto *Seleucus*: whoſe gentle demeanor, after the victory, drew all *Media*, *Suſiana*, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further ſtroke ſtricken.

This victory of *Seleucus* gave beginning unto the new ſtile of, *The Kingdom of the Greeks*, an accompt much uſed by the *Greeks*, *Chaldæans*, *Syrians*, and other Nations in thoſe parts. I will not make any long diſputation about the firſt year of this *Æra*. The authority of that great Aſtrologer *Ptolomy*, from which there is no appeal, makes it plain, that *the five hundred and nineteenth year of* Nabonaſſar, *was the fourſcore and ſecond year of this accompt*. Other inference hereupon is needleſs, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, *That the firſt of theſe years was reckoned compleat, at* Babylon, *together with the end of four hundred thirty and eight years after* Nabonaſſar. With the obſervation of the *Saturn*, recorded by *Ptolomy*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding

Ptol. Almag. lib. 11. c. 8.

L. Gauric. Tract. de Ingen. lib. 2. cap. 10.

finding the same Planet to have been so placed in the sign of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldæans* had observed it, in the same year; which was from *Nabonassar* the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourscore and second year; and the last of the hundred thirty and seventh *Olympiad*. These observations of the celestial bodies, are the surest marks of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrances in History, and the years of succeeding Princes (that are not seldom ambiguous, by reason of unremembred fractions) if they seem to be here-against, it is not greatly material. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these years of the *Greeks* were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between actions, related by the several Authors of the two Books of the *Maccabees*, who follow divers accompts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomy*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a years distance.

§. VIII.

How Ptolomy *lost all he won in* Syria. *What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed unto the* Macedonians, *by those that had been subject unto the Persian Empire. Of divers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by* Antigonus *and* Demetrius, *with ill success.*

IN a happy hour did *Seleucus* adventure to go up to *Babylon*, with so few men as his friend could then well spare: for had he stayed longer upon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomy* could have spared him none at all. *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, having lost the battel at *Gaza*, received from *Ptolomy* all his own goods, his Pages, and Servants, in free gift, and therewithal a courteous message, to this effect: That no personal hatred was the ground of this War, which he and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only terms of honor, wherein they would seek to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrel, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomy*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earnest desire of requiting him, with some as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken Troops; drew as many as could bespared, out of the Garrisons in *Cilicia*, or other Provinces thereabouts, and advertising his Father of his misfortune, besought him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeem his honor lost. *Antigonus* upon the first news of this overthrow, had said, That the victory which *Ptolomy* wan upon a beardless Boy, should be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon desire that his son, whom he tenderly loved, should amend his own reputation, he was content to make a stand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolomy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did nevertheless follow his own business in *Cœlosyria*; thinking it enough to spend part of his Army under *Cilles* his Lieutenant, against the remnant of those, that had been already vanquished, when *Cilles* too much undervalued the power of such an Enemy. He thought that this young Gallant, having lately saved his life by flight, would now be more careful of having a a fair way at his back, than adventurous in setting further forward, than urgent reason should provoke him. In this confidence he passed on without all fear; as one that were already Master of the field, and should meet with none, that would issue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careless march; he took the lightest of his Army, and made his journey with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon *Cilles* unexpected, and was on the sudden, without any battel, Master of his Camp: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit served not only to repair the credit of *Demetrius*, which his loss at *Gaza* had almost ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of *Ptolomy*, with equal favour, in restoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was *Ptolomy* so weakned by this loss, nor *Demetrius* so emboldned by his victory, that any matter of consequence thereupon ensued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolomy*; and therefore he fortified himself in places of advantage: *Ptolomy* on the other side was loth to engage himself in an enterprize, wherein he might perceive, that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he should either be driven to make a shameful retrait, or a dangerous adventure of his whole estate, in hope of not much more than already he possessed.

Antigonus, indeed, was nothing slow in his way towards *Syria*; whither he made all haste, not so much to relieve his son, as to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceeding, that the young man had so well acquitted

quitted himſelf, and being left to his own advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to encreaſe the reputation of this late victory, he brought ſuch forces, as might ſerve to re-conquer all *Syria:* meaning, that the honor of all ſhould be referred unto the good foundation laid by his ſon; whom from this time forwards, he imployed in matters of greateſt importance.

Ptolomy had now leſs reaſon to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to have aſſailed the Camp of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of conſultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captains adviſed him to retire into *Egypt*, alledging many good arguments to that purpoſe: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that courſe; not without remembrance of the good ſucceſs againſt *Perdiccas*, in the like defenſive War. So he departed out of *Syria*, preſerving his honor; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any ſudden paſſion of fear: and he departed at fair leiſure, not only carrying his treaſures along with him, but ſtaying to diſmantle ſome principal Cities, that he thought moſt likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his back, fell preſently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: ſo eaſie was it in thoſe times, for the Captain of a ſtrong Army, to make himſelf Lord of a great Province.

We may juſtly wonder, that theſe Kingdoms of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations (which the victory of *Alexander* had over-run with ſo haſty a courſe, as gave him not leiſure to take any good view of them) were ſo eaſily held not only by himſelf, but by the Captains of his Army after him. The hot contentions for ſuperiority between the King of *Iſrael*, and thoſe of *Damaſcus*; between *Egypt* and *Babylon*; *Babylon* and *Nineve*; the *Perſians* and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to have once been in thoſe people; which are now ſo patient of a foreign yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they ſuffer themſelves to be diſtributed, fought for, won, loſt, and again recovered by contentious Maſters; as if they had no title to their own heads, but were born to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appear the more ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider, how the ſeveral States of *Greece* (many of which had never poſſeſſed ſo large Dominion, as might cauſe their ſpirits to ſwell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occaſions of liberty: and how theſe proud Conquerors were glad to offer it, deſiring to have them rather friends than ſervants, for fear of further inconvenience.

It muſt therefore be noted, that moſt of theſe Countries had always been ſubject unto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the *Babylonians* and *Perſians* long ſince had rooted out, and held them in ſuch bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of foreign Maſters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-born Princes, and incorporated them into the great body of the *Perſian* Empire: ſo that wanting within themſelves all ſoveraign power, or high authority, the life and ſpirit of every Eſtate; they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion, when that Kingdom fell, whereof they lately had been members.

Why the *Perſian Satrapæ*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captains after the death of *Alexander*, ſtrive to lay hold upon thoſe Provinces, which had many ages been ſubject unto them, and ſcarce four years in quiet poſſeſſion of their enemies; or why at leaſt they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conqueror did ceaſe to affright them) to get their ſhares among his followers, if not wholly to diſpoſſeſs them of their new purchaſes: it is a queſtion, wherein who is not ſatisfied, may find no leſs reaſon to ſuſpect the Hiſtory, than authority to confirm it. For we ſeldom read, that any ſmall Kingdom, prevailing againſt a far greater, hath made ſo entire a conqueſt, in the compaſs of ten years, as left unto the vanquiſhed no hope of recovery, nor means to rebel; eſpecially when ſuch diſorders, or rather utter confuſion hath enſued, by the fury of civil War among the Victors.

The cauſe why the *Macedonians* held ſo quietly the *Perſian* Empire, is well ſet down by *Machiavel*; and concerns all other Kingdoms, that are ſubject unto the like form of Government: the ſum whereof is this; Whereſoever the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of ſlaves, there is the conqueſt eaſie, and ſoon aſſured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to win all, and harder to keep that which is won. Examples of this are the Turkiſh Empire, and the Kingdom of *France*. If any Invader ſhould prevail ſo far upon Turky, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for Brethren he uſeth not to ſuffer alive) were taken or ſlain: the whole Empire would quickly be won,

and

and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Bassaes, how great soever they may seem, are meer slaves; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personal regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, wherein hope of private gain should not countervail, all apparent matter of fear. Contrariwise, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Country, and were by far the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royal blood, there are in that Kingdom store of great men; who are mighty in their several Countries, and having certain Royalties and Principalities of their own, are able to raise War in all quarters of the Realm; whereunto the remembrance of their own ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will always stir up and inflame them: so that until every ones piece were won, and every one (an endless work) of the chief Nobility brought under or destroyed, the victory were not compleat, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobility, doth often times make way for an Invader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a fair entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten; for they look to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they soon return to their old allegiance, upon condition to keep what they have, unless they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himself. The *Turk*, on the other side, needs not to fear any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principal men. The greatest mischief that any of them could work against him, were the betraying of some frontier Town, or the wilful loss of a battel: which done, the Traytor hath spent his sting, and must either fly to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold; or else, in hope of doing some further harm, he must adventure to excuse himself unto his Master, who seldom forgives the Captain, that hath not strived by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great *Sultan*, and so joyning themselves unto any Invader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than such as are subject unto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principal men, doth leave unto them no means, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giving him assistance, if adversity should make him stand in need of them. For there is scarce any one among the *Turks* Bassaes, or Provincial Governors, that knows either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the loss and utter ruin of the *Turkish* Empire, can lose any foot of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the subject, which is also a Kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conqueror, who hath no other device painted on his Ensign, than the picture of slavery.

As is the *Turkish* Empire, so was the *Persian*, void of liberty in the Subjects, and utterly destitute of other Nobility, than such as depended upon meer favour of the Prince. Some indeed there were of the Royal blood, and others, descended from the Princes that joyned with *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: these were men of reputation in *Persia*, but their reputation consisted only in their Pedigree, and their safety in not medling with affairs of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these *Persian* Princes were held, it may appear by this, that the Kings Uncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaves*, and so did stile themselves, in speaking unto these great Monarchs. That upon every light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaves, it is easie to be discerned, in that example of cruelty, practised by *Xerxes* upon his own brother *Masistes*; which hath been formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the *Satrapæ*, or Governors of the Provinces, it is needless to cite examples, proving them to have been meer slaves: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was governed.

To this want of Nobility in *Persia*, may be added the general want of liberty convenient among the people: a matter no less available, in making easie and sure the conquest of a Nation, than is the cause assigned by *Machiavel*. For as *Æsop* his Ass did not care to run from the enemies, because it was not possible, that they should load him with heavier burthens, than his Master caused him daily to bear: so the Nations, that endure the worst under their own Princes, are

are not greatly fearfull of a forein yoke; Nor will be haſty to ſhake it off, if by experience they find it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accuſtomed. This was it that made the *Gaſcoignes* bear ſuch faithful affection to the Kings of *England*; for that they governed more mildly than the *French*. This enlarged the *Venetian* juriſdiction in *Lombardy*; for the Towns that they wan, they wan out of the hands of Tyrannous oppreſſors: and this did cauſe the *Macedonians*, with other Nations that had been ſubject unto the poſterity of *Alexanders* followers, to ſerve the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eaſed of many burthens, which had been impoſed upon them by their own Kings.

So that of this tameneſs, which we find in thoſe that had been ſubjects of the *Perſian* Kings, the reaſons are apparent. Yet ſome of theſe there were, that could not ſo eaſily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeed been abſolutely conquered by the *Perſian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Caſpian* Sea. Such alſo were the *Arabians* bordering upon *Syria*: againſt whom *Antigonus* ſent part of his Army; thinking therewith to bring them under, or rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that he ſent, fell upon the *Nabathæans*, at ſuch time as they were buſied in a great Mart; wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians* for Mirrh, Frankincenſe, and other ſuch commodities. All or moſt of theſe rich wares, together with five hundered talents of ſilver, and many priſoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold upon: for their coming was ſudden and unexpected. But ere they could recover *Syria*, the *Nabathæans* overtook them, and finding them weary with long marches, made ſuch a ſlaughter, that of four thouſand foot, and ſix hundered horſe, only fifty horſe eſcaped. To revenge this loſs, *Demetrius* was ſet out with a great power: yet all in vain; for he was not reſiſted by any Army, but by the natural defence of a vaſt Wilderneſs, lack of water, and of all things neceſſary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he loſt not much honour: for they craved it, and gave him preſents. Returning from the *Nabathæans*, he viewed the Lake *Aſphaltites*, whence he conceived hope of great profit that might be raiſed, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandry of his Son, *Antigonus* was well pleaſed, and appointed men to the work: but they were ſlain by the *Arabians*, and ſo that hope vaniſhed.

Theſe petty enterprizes, with the ill ſucceſs accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage againſt *Ptolomy*: when the news of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the loſs of thoſe great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it ſafe to tranſport the War into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria*, and the lower *Aſia* ſhould have been expoſed to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle courſe was thought the beſt; and *Demetrius*, with fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, was ſent againſt *Seleucus*. Theſe forces being ſent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his Son did leſs. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themſelves from neceſſity of fight; ſome places they fortified and kept: *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without ſetting in Garriſon more men than he could ſpare, neither did he get much: and therefore was fain to ſet out the bravery of his Expedition, by burning and ſpoiling the Country: which he did thereby the more alienate, and, as it were, acknowledge to belong unto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his own aſſured.

Antigonus had laid upon his Son a peremptory commandment, to return unto him at a time prefixed: reaſonably thinking (as may ſeem) that in ſuch an unſettled ſtate of things, either the War might be ended, by the fury of the firſt brunt; or elſe it would be vain to ſtrive againſt all difficulties likely to ariſe, where want of neceſſaries ſhould fruſtrate the valour, that by ſtrength of time was like to become leſs terrible to the enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leaving behind him five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, rather to make ſhew of continuing the War, than to effect much, where himſelf with greater forces could do little more than nothing, forſook the enterprize, and went back to his Father.

§. IX.

A general Peace made and broken. How all the houſe of Alexander *was deſtroyed.*

THeſe ambitious heads, having thus wearied themſelves with uneffectual travel, in ſeeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them ſhould hold quietly, that which at the preſent he had in poſſeſſion. As no private hatred, but meer deſire of Empire, had moved them to

enter into the War; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulness growing upon the slow advancement of their several hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occasion might better serve to fight again.

Besides that main point, *Of retaining the Provinces which every man held*, there were two Articles of the peace, that gave a fair, but a false colour, to the business; *That the Son of* Alexander *by* Roxane, *should be made King when he came to full age*; and, *That all the Estates of* Greece *should be set at liberty*. The advancement of young *Alexander* to his Fathers Kingdom, seems to have been a matter forceably extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was discovered a purpose, to have made himself Lord of all. But this, indeed more neerly touched *Cassander*. For in his custody was the young Prince and his Mother: neither did he keep them in a sort answerable to their degree; but as close prisoners, taken in that War, wherein they had seen the old Queen *Olympias* taken and murdered, that sought to put them in possession of the Empire. The mutual hatred and fear between them, rooted in those grounds, of injuries done, and revenge expected; upon this conclusion of peace, grew up faster than any time before, in the heart of *Cassander*: who saw the *Macedonians* turn their favourable expectation, towards the Son of their late renowned King.

All this either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince must first have possession of *Macedon*: whereby *Cassander* should be reduced to his poor office, *of Captain over a thousand men*, if not left in worse case. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either do as they had done under *Aridæus*; or better, as being better acquainted with their own strength. He, in the meane time, by his readiness to acknowledge the true Heir, had freed himself from that ill-favoured imputation, of seeking to make himself Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, *Of restoring the Greeks to their liberty*. This liberty had hitherto been the subject of much idle discourse: but it never took effect. *Antigonus* held scarce any Town of theirs, *Cassander* occupied most of the Country: which if he should set free, he must be a poor Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrel against him, as against a Disturber of the common Peace.

In the mean season, the Countries lying between *Euphrates* and the *Greek* Seas, together with a great Army, and mony enough to entertaine a greater, might serve to hold up the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raise his hopes as high as ever they had been.

With much disadvantage do many men contend against one that is equal to them all in puissance. *Cassanders* friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not do withall: for, where every one mans help is necessary to the War, there may any one make his own peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are weary. The best was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becoming Subjects unto any man, much less to the Son of an *Asiatique* woman, of whom they had long since refused to hear mention. Therefore he took a short course, and caused both the Child and his Mother to be slain: freeing thereby himself in a trice, from the dangerous necessity of yielding up his Government, which he must have done when the Child had come to age. *Roxane* was a Lady of singular beauty, which was perhaps the cause, why *Perdiccas* desired to have her Son, being as yet unborn, proclaimed Heir to the great *Alexander*. Immediately upon the death of *Alexander*, she had used the favour (if it were not love) of *Perdiccas*, to the satisfying of her own bloody malice, upon *Statira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*, whom *Alexander* had likewise married, according to the custom of those Countries, wherein plurality of Wives is held no crime. For, having by a counterfeit Letter, in *Alexanders* name, gotten this poor Lady into her hands, she did, by assistance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Sister, and threw their bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled up with earth. But now, by Gods just vengeance, were she and her Son made a way, in the like secret fashion; even at such time as the neer approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer unto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander* was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly it was pleasing unto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords of all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of War; wherein every one perswaded himself of success, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had work enough at home) began to rowze themselves: as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his own stock. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were busie in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellespont*: while their Master was carefull

careful in following other, and ſome greater matters that were more ſecretly to be handled. He pretended the liberty of *Greece*: yet did the ſame argument miniſter unto *Ptolomy* matter of quarrel, againſt both him and *Caſſander*; *Ptolomy* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garriſons into ſome Towns, which ought, in fair dealing, to be ſet at liberty. Under colour of redreſſing this enormity, he ſent an Army into *Cilicia*, where he won four Towns, and ſoon after loſt them, without much labour of his own or his enemies.

After this, putting to Sea with a ſtrong Fleet, he ran along the coaſt of *Aſia*, winning many places: and in that voyage allured unto him a Nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but diſcontented with the ill requital of his ſervices) whom finding ſhortly, as falſe to himſelf as he had been to his own Uncle, he was fain to put to death. But in doing theſe things, his deſire to ſet the *Greeks* at liberty, appeared not ſo plain, as he wiſhed that it ſhould: for their caſe was no way bettered by his moleſting *Antigonus* in *Aſia*. Therefore to get the love of that valiant Nation, he made at the laſt an Expedition into *Greece* it ſelf: where having ſet free ſome little Iſlands, and landed in *Peloponneſus*, he raiſed ſo great an expectation of finiſhing the long-deſired work, that *Crateſipolis*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polyſperchons* Son, gave up into his hands the Towns of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

Ptolomy had conceived a vain belief, that the *Greeks*, emboldened by his countenance and aſſiſtance, would all of them take heart and riſe up in arms; whereby with little labour their liberty might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Author of this immortal benefit. But long ſervitude had well-neer extinguiſhed the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recover freedom, had ſo tired their ſpirits, that they would no more ſtir in purſuit thereof; but ſate idly ſtill, as wiſhing it to fall into their mouthes.

The *Lacedæmonians*, about theſe times, began to fortifie their Town with walls; truſting no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the diſcipline that upheld it, were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Town and Territory.

The *Athenians* were become as humble ſervants, as they had been in times paſt inſolent Maſters: erecting as many ſtatues in honor of *Demetrius Phalereus*, as there were days in the year. This *Demetrius* was now their Governor; and he governed them with much moderation: but, in ſpight of their hearts, as being ſet over them by *Caſſander*. By this baſe temper of the principal Cities, it is eaſie to gather, how the reſt of the Country ſtood affected. *Ptolomy* could not get them to ſet their helping-hands to their own good, and to furniſh him with the promiſed ſupplies of mony and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thraldom; as judging the commodity that would ariſe by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight than the loſs that *Caſſander* ſhould receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, if once *Antigonus* took the work in hand. But when he found ſuch difficulty in the buſineſs, he changed his purpoſe: And renewing his former friendſhip with *Caſſander*, he retained *Sycion* and *Corinth* in his own poſſeſſion.

Before the coming of *Ptolomy* into *Greece*, *Caſſander* had been held occupied with very much work. For (beſides his pains taken in Wars among barbarous Princes) he found means to allure unto himſelf the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponneſus*, and about *Helleſpont*: making his own advantage of their diſcontentments. By the like skilful practice he freed himſelf from a greater danger, and made thoſe murthers which he had committed ſeem the leſs odious, by teaching his enemies to do the like. Old *Polyſperchon*, that had made ſo great a ſtir in the reign of *Aridæus*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her child, enter again upon the Stage: leading in his hand another Son of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Barſine* the daughter of *Artabazus Perſian*; but had been leſs eſteemed than the ſon of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or elſe perhaps, in regard of the favour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did bear unto *Roxane*. At this time the death of his Brother had moved ſuch compaſſion, and regard of his being *Alexanders* only living child, had procured unto him ſuch good will, that the demand which *Polyſperchon* made in his behalf, was deemed very juſt and honorable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that joyned with this young Prince: yet wanted he not ſufficient ſtrength of hands, if the heart of him that leaſt ought, had not been moſt falſe. *Caſſander* had raiſed an Army to withſtand his entry into *Macedon*: but little truſt could he repoſe in that Army, whoſe wiſhes he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he

aſſailed *Polyſperchon* himſelf with gifts and promiſes; wherewith at length he prevailed ſo far, that the old Villain was contented to murther his Pupil; chuſing rather with many curſes and foul diſhonor, to take the offered Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*, and Commander of an Army; than to purchaſe a noble fame with dangerous travel, in maintaining his faith, unto both his dead and living Soveraigns.

Antigonus had not all this while been aſleep; though his loſſes were hitherto the chief witneſſes of his having been a ſtirrer in theſe commotions. He thought it enough for him at the preſent to retain his own: and therefore took order for the recovery of thoſe places which *Ptolomy* had taken pains to win. As for the reſt, it no way grieved him to ſee *Caſſander* incur the general hatred of men, by committing thoſe murthers of which the profit was like to redound unto him that was the moſt powerful, or to ſee *Polyſperchon* and *Ptolomy* ſweat in a buſie War againſt *Caſſander*. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have afforded them leiſure, and have thought the time well ſpent in beholding their contentions. For he was throughly perſwaded, that when the reſt had wearied themſelves in vain with long ſtrife, his Armies and Treaſures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to theſe haughty conceits, he demeaned himſelf among his followers; looking big upon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that cauſed ſo many of them to revolt from him: but it was no great loſs to be forſaken by thoſe that looked with envious eyes upon that fortune whereon their own ſhould have depended. Againſt this envy of his men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* buſily ſought a remedy, ſuch as was like to give him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra Siſter unto the great *Alexander*, lay for the moſt part in *Sardes*: whom he had a great deſire to take to Wife. This his deſire was not without good hope: for howſoever ſhe diſcovered much unwillingneſs thereunto, yet was ſhe in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for fear of being enforced. But it was not his purpoſe to get her by compulſive means: either becauſe his fancy, being an old man, was not over-violent; or rather becauſe his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made ſmall uſe of her, by doing ſuch apparent wrong. She had been married unto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whoſe death ſhe came to her Brother in *Aſia*; hoping belike to find a new Husband in his Camp. But neither any of thoſe brave Captains, that were, in times following ſo hot in love with her, durſt then aſpire unto her marriage: nor did her Brother, full of other cares, trouble himſelf with providing her of an Husband. She therefore, being a luſty Widow, ſuffered her blood ſo far to prevail againſt her honor, that ſhe ſupplied the want of an Husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a jeſt: ſaying, That ſhe was his Siſter, and muſt be allowed this liberty, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death the Empire lay in a manner void, and the portion due to her therein grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had been: then did many ſeek to obtain her, while ſhe her ſelf deſired only a proper man, with whom ſhe might lead a merry life. To this purpoſe did ſhe invite *Leonatus* unto her; who made great haſte, but was cut off by death ere he came to her preſence. Now at the laſt, after long tarrying, ſhe had her choice of all the great Commanders, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander*, being all her earneſt Wooers. All theſe (*Antigonus* excepted) had Wives already; *Ptolomy* had many Wives, and many Concubines whom he reſpected as much as his Wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindred not his ſuit: peradventure it advanced it, by giving to *Cleopatra* ſome hope of mutual toleration. To him therefore ſhe bequeathed her ſelf, and was taking her journey from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputy in that City, made her to ſtay, until his Maſters further pleaſure ſhould be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolf by the ears: he neither could well hold her, nor durſt let her go. She would not be his Wife; he had no honeſt pretence to force her; and to keep her priſoner, had been the way, by which he might have incurred a general hatred, laſting perhaps beyond her life; as the courſe taken by *Caſſander* againſt *Roxane* (a Lady leſs reſpected than *Alexanders* own Siſter) did well teſtifie. Therefore he thought it the wiſeſt way to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commodity of ſo fair a title to the Kingdom, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpoſe he ſent inſtructions to the Governor of *Sardes*, willing him in any caſe to do it ſecretly. So the fact was committed, and certain women about her put in truſt with the murther: which women afterwards were put to death, as miſchievous conſpirers againſt the life of that good Lady. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the leaſt in his own opinion:

opinion: but the world was leſs fooliſh, than to be ſo deluded. How the murther was detected, we need not ask: for ſeldom is that bloody crime unrevealed, and never ſo ill ſmothered, as when great perſons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the great extinguiſhed, and it was extinguiſhed by the hands of ſuch as thought upon nothing leſs than the execution of Gods juſtice, due unto the cruelty of theſe powerful, but mercileſs Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by theſe Tyrants, upon ſo wicked foundations of innocent blood, were ſoon after caſt down, overwhelming themſelves or their children, with the ruines, as the ſequel will declare.

§. X.

How Demetrius, *the ſon of* Antigonus, *gave liberty to* Athens, *expelling the Garriſons of* Caſſander *out of thoſe parts. The immoderate honor decreed by the* Athenians *to* Antigonus *and* Demetrius.

NOne being left alive that had any title to the Kingdom; it ſtood with good reaſon, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superiour, ſhould freely profeſs themſelves Kings in name, as they were already in ſubſtance. Yet had this name ill-beſeemed the weaker, while the ſtrongeſt of all did forbear it: neither ſeemed it convenient in the judgement of *Antigonus*, to crown his laſt action with ſuch a title, as if he had attained unto greatneſs by that foul murther, the infamy whereof he was careful how to diſcharge from his own head. He purpoſed therefore to undertake a plauſible enterprize, even the liberty of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get ſuch honor as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equal to any name of Royalty, whereof in ſeeming modeſty, he was not covetous. To this purpoſe he delivered a ſtrong Army, with a Navy of two hundred and fifty ſail, and fifty thouſand talents of ſilver, unto *Demetrius* his ſon: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceed, in ſetting all the Country free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected: ſo that without reſiſtance he entred the Haven; it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolemy*, *Caſſanders* good friend, had been arrived. But when it was known, both who he was, and what was the cauſe of his coming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations: *Demetrius Phalereus* forſook the Town, and withdrew himſelf to *Thebes* under ſafe conduct; only the Garriſon in *Munichya* ſtrove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by force. During the ſiege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garriſon of *Caſſander*, and ſo reſtored the City to liberty.

I think it not impertinent, ſometimes to relate ſuch accidents, as may ſeem no better than meer triſles: for even by triſles are the qualities of great perſons as well diſcloſed, as by their great actions; becauſe in matters of importance, they commonly ſtrain themſelves, to the obſervance of general commended rules; in leſſer things they follow the current of their own Natures. The Lady *Crateſipolis* lay in *Patras*, and had a great deſire to ſee *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that ſhe might by his means better her eſtate, and recover her Towns of *Sycion* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomy*; to whoſe Lieutenant in thoſe places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered money for the ſurrender of them. Yet the only buſineſs pretended was love. He being advertiſed hereof, left his forces in the Country of *Megara*, and taking a company of his lighteſt armed, for guard of his perſon, made a long journey to meet with her. This troop alſo he cauſed to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might ſee her when ſhe came. As cloſely as the buſineſs was carried, ſome of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any terms of reaſon, by taking his dear ſon priſoner. Their project fell but a little ſhort of the effect. For they came ſo ſuddenly upon him, that he had no better ſhift, than to muffle himſelf in an old cloak, and creep away diſguiſed; leaving them to ranſack his Tent. There was in this Prince a ſtrange medly of conditions; eſpecially an extreme diſſoluteneſs in wanton pleaſures, and a painful induſtry in matters of War. He was of a moſt amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in deviſing Engines of War, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how to reform his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For adverſity made his valour more active: proſperity puffed him with over-weening, wherein he thought that he might do what he liſted. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her Wheel, till ſhe had wound up the thred of his life,

in

in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his Camp, and finishing his business at *Megara*; he resolved no longer to attend the issue of a siege, to assail *Munychia* by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of *Athens*: which, until it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the City. *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that scoured the walls, prevailed upon the resolution of those that lay within it, and wan the place in two days. The walls, and all the defences of that piece against the City, were levelled with the ground, and so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withal was given their liberty, with promise to aid them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and industry. For the *Athenians*, having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their tongues: converting to base flattery, that eloquence of theirs which the vertues of their Ancestors had suited unto more manly arguments.

They decreed unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* the name of Kings; they consecrated the place in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entred their City, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius, The alighter*; they called them by the names of the *gods their Saviours*, ordaining that every year, there should be chosen a Priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadors, but *Theori*, or *Consulters with the gods*; like as were they, whom they sent unto the Oracle of *Jupiter*, or *Apollo*.

It were a frivilous diligence to rehearse all their flatteries, these being so gross. Hereby they not only corrupted the young Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would have pleased the old man, to be of no use. For he could not handsomely take upon him the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*, unless he would seem to approve their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was he so tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori* or *Consulters* came shortly after, desiring him to relieve them with Corn and Timber to build ships; he gave them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: or rather so weak is great power in resisting the assauls of flattery.

§. XI.

The great victory of Demetrius *against* Ptolomy *in* Cyprus. *How* Antigonus *and* Demetrius *took upon them the stile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.*

FRom this glorious work, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, unto a business of greater difficulty; meaning to employ his service against *Ptolomy*, in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to establish a general Council, that should treat of matters concerning the common good of the Country. About the same time *Antigonus* withdrew his own Garrison out of *Imbros*, committing their liberty entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appear, that as he would not permit any other to oppress the *Greeks*, so would he be far from doing it himself. This was enough to hold his reputation high, among these new purchased Friends: it followed, that he should convert his forces, to the winning of ground upon his Enemies.

A pitiful Tragedy had lately hapned in *Cyprus*, through the indiscretion of *Menelaus*, *Ptolomies* brother, and his Lieutenant in that Isle. *Nicocles*, King of *Paphos*, was entred into some practice with *Antigonus*: yet not so far that he thought himself past excuse; by which confidence, he was perhaps the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the false-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was sent thither: who surrounding *Nicocles* his house with Souldiers, required, in *Ptolomies* name, to have him yielded to the death. *Nicocles* offered to clear himself; but *Menelaus* told him, that dye he must, and bad him come forth quietly. This desperate necessity caused the unhappy King to rid himself of life: and his death struck such an impression into his wife, that she not only slew her self, but perswaded the wives of her husbands brethren to do the like. Also those brethren of *Nicocles*, unto whom *Ptolomy* had intended no ill, being amazed with the suddenness of this calamity, did shut up the Palace, and setting it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

Whatsoever the crime objected was; *Nicocles* perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though *Menelaus* deserved the blame,

blame, for his rigorous proceeding; yet it is to be thought, that much diſlike fell alſo upon *Ptolomy:* as men that are grieved, caſt an ill affection even upon thoſe that gave the furtheſt removed occaſion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power ſufficient, againſt any oppoſition that *Ptolomy* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing againſt him, either becauſe they had ſmall ſtrength or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being ſure that they ſhould not themſelves have the rule of their own Country. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garriſons, drew forth an Army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driven to ſave himſelf within the walls of *Salamis*, where he was ſo hardly beſieged, that without ſtrong ſuccour, he had no likehood to make good the place, much leſs to retain poſſeſſion of the whole Iſland. His greateſt help at the preſent was the fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good uſage (when any of them were taken priſoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keep from returning to him, with the firſt opportunity. Moſt of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in *Egypt*, which was enough to keep them faithful. Yet could not this their reſolution have ſtood long againſt the odds of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as reſolute, and againſt his terrible Engines of battery, if *Ptolomy* had not haſted to the reſcue.

Ptolomy brought with him a hundered and forty Gallies, beſides two hundered Ships of burden, for tranſporting his Army and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible ſhew, when it was deſcribed afar; though more than half of it was unfit for ſervice in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, *Ptolomy* ſent unto *Demetrius* a threatning meſſage: willing him to be gone, unleſs he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young gallant repayd him with words of as much bravery, promiſing to let him eſcape upon condition, that he ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more than one hundered and eighteen Gallies; but they were, for the moſt part, greater than thoſe of *Ptolomy*; better ſtored with weapons fit for that ſervice; and very well furniſhed with Engines in the prows, to beat upon the enemy. Nevertheleſs he ſtood in great doubt of threeſcore Gallies that lay in the Haven of *Salamis*, leſt *Menelaus* with them ſhould ſet upon his back: in which caſe, it was very likely that all would go very ill with him. Againſt this miſchief, he beſtowed ten of his own Gallies in the mouth of that Haven, to keep *Menelaus* from iſſuing forth, and ſetting his horſemen on the ſhore, to give what aſſiſtance they could, he with the reſt of the Fleet, puts to Sea againſt *Ptolomy*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtful ſucceſs. The generals were not ranged oppoſite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his own Fleet. Each of them prevailed againſt the ſquadron wherewith he encountered; but the ſucceſs of *Demetrius* was to better purpoſe. For his victory in one part was ſuch, as cauſed others to fall out of order, and finally drave all to betake themſelves unto ſpeedy flight. As for *Ptolomy*, he was fain to leave his advantage upon the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might relieve and animate thoſe of his own which needed him in another: wherein he found his loſs over-great to be repaired, by contending any longer againſt the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to ſave himſelf, in hope of better event, that might follow ſome other time.

There fell out in this battel no unuſual accident; yet was the victory greater than could have been expected. The occaſions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-ſervices, which the *Greeks* and *Phœnicians* that were with *Demetrius*, had above thoſe which followed *Ptolomy*: partly, the good furniture of the Ships, wherein conſiſted no leſs, than in the quality of thoſe with whom they were manned. Further, we may reaſonably judge, that the two hundered ſhips of burthen, carrying the ſtrength of *Ptolomies* Army, did not more encourage his own men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and ſtood aloof. For though it were fitting that they ſhould ſo do; yet a multitude, prepoſſeſſed with vain conceits, will commonly apprehend very ſlight occaſions to think themſelves abandoned, Beſides all this, the expectation that *Menelaus*, iſſuing with his fleet out of *Salamis* ſhould charge the enemy in the ſtern, was utterly fruſtrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ſhips appointed to bar up the mouth of the Haven: which they manfully performed, as great neceſſity required.

Such diſappointment of expectation doth much abate the courage of men in fight: eſpecially of the aſſailants: whereas on the contrary, they find that ſome part of their fears

fears vain, do easily gather hopeful spirits, and conceive an opinion of their own ability, to do more than they thought upon, out of their not suffering the harm that they had imagined.

Whatsoever the causes of this victory were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomy* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his fleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer strive against the violence of fortune; but yielded up all that he held in *Cyprus*, together with his Army, consisting of twelve thousand foot, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the Haven of *Salamis*. The same dejection of spirit was found in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had served the *Egyptian* by Land; none of them reposing any more confidence in *Ptolomy*, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whose Army they now increased.

It was generally believed, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the Isle of *Cyprus*, for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a year, till he were advertised of the issue. In this mood *Aristodemus* found him, a noble flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honored with the Message of these good news. *Aristodemus* had bethought himself of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his joyful errand: He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; he himself landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the ship; and so all alone he went forward, looking very sadly, that no part of his tidings might appear in his countenance. Report of his arrival (for it was not known where he had been) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after messenger to meet him on the way, and bring speedy word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a look, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be won from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched he fair and softly forward with a great throng at his heels (that served well to set out his Pageant) until he came in sight of *Antigonus*, who could not contain himself, but went down to meet him at the Gate, and hear the news. Then did *Aristodemus*, upon the sudden, with a high voyce salute *Antigonus* by the name of King; uttering the greatness of the victory (with as much pomp, as before he had covered it, with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gave that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requital of the long suspence, wherein *Aristodemus* had held him, said, That it should also be long ere he received his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his head, he could not wish a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his son.

When it was once noised abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings; it was not long ere their fellows were ready to follow the good example. *Ptolomy* his friends would by no means endure, that their Lord should be thought a man dejected for the loss of a fleet; therefore they saluted him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace* had boldness enough to put the Diadem about his own head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken upon him as King: but now he used the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himself contented with his own name: whereby, howsoever he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his cruelty against his Masters house. But the name which he forbore, his sons after him were bold to usurp, though with ill success, as will appear when they shall enter upon the Stage, whereon these old Tragedians, under new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger looks, and more boistrous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes already past.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Wars between the Kings of Egypt, Aſia, Macedon, Thrace, *and others; untill all* Alexanders *Princes were conſumed.*

§. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus *againſt* Egypt, *with ill ſucceſs.*

ALl the reſt of theſe Kings had taken that name upon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himſelf, as beſeeming his greatneſs: which was ſuch as gave him hope to ſwallow them up, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his own ſtrength, he reſolved to ſingle out *Ptolomy*, and make him an example to others: who ſhould hardly be able to ſtand, when the greateſt of them was fallen. To this purpoſe he prepared an Army of eighteen thouſand foot, and eight thouſand Horſe, with fourſcore and three Elephants: as likewiſe a fleet of an hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hundred ſhips of burthen. The Land forces he commanded in perſon: of the Navy *Demetrius* was Admiral.

When all was ready for the journey, the Sea-men adviſed him to ſtay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the ſetting of the *Pleiades*. But his haſty deſire to prevent all preparations for reſiſtance that *Ptolomy* ſhould make, rejected this counſel; imputing it rather to their fear than skill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Town which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his own name, that was ſoon changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortal enemy) and came to *Gaza*, where he met with his Fleet. The neerer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haſte he made: thinking by celerity to prevail more than by his great power. He cauſed his Souldiers to carry ten dayes proviſion of Victuals; and had many Camels loaden with all neceſſaries for paſſing the Deſarts, over which he marched with no ſmall toil, though he met with no reſiſtance. At Mount *Caſſius*, which is near adjoyning to *Nilus*, he ſaw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not far from the ſhore, in ill caſe, and many Ships wanting. It had been ſorely beaten with foul weather, wherein ſome were loſt, others driven back to *Gaza*, or ſcattered elſewhere into ſuch creeks as they could recover: *Demetrius* himſelf, with the beſt and ſtrongeſt Veſſels, did ſo long bear it up againſt the winde, that all his freſh water was ſpent; in which extremity, he and all his muſt have periſhed, had not the tempeſt ceaſed when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in ſight, from whom theſe over-wearied, thirſty and Sea-beaten Souldiers received relief. After theſe painful travels, there followed a War no leſs painful than to little purpoſe; for *Ptolomy* had ſo fortified all the paſſages upon the River of *Nilus*, as he aſſured himſelf either to end the war there, or if his guards ſhould happen to be forced, yet could it not be done but ſo much to the weakning of the Aſſailants, as he ſhould afterward, with a ſecond Army (which he held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that *Antigonus* ſought, was to come to blows ſpeedily: *Ptolomy* on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gave him water enough, but wood he had none to warm it: and while *Antigonus* aſſaulted the Rampiers, raiſed upon the River, in vain, *Ptolomy* aſſayed the faith of his Souldiers, with good ſucceſs; for, with great gifts, and greater promiſes, he ferried them over ſo faſt, as had not *Antigonus* thruſt ſome aſſured Regiments upon the paſſages next the enemy, and in the mean while taken a reſolution to return, *Ptolomy* had turned him out of *Egypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeed he laid hands on, in the way of their eſcape, and thoſe he put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the ſame ill ſucceſs that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he invaded *Egypt*, had he not readily removed his Army further off, from the noyſe of their entertainment, that had already been won from him. To prevent therefore as well the preſent danger of his ſtay, as the ſhame following a forc'd retrait, he ſecretly practiſed the advice of his Councel, upon whom the burthen muſt be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Egypt*.

It is indeed less prejudicial in such like cases, that errors, dishonours, and losses, be laid on Counsellors and Captains, than on Kings; on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is far more precious than that of a Vassal. *Charles* the fifth, as many other Princes have done, laid the loss and dishonour he received in the invasion of *France*, by the way of *Provence*, to *Antony de Leva*, whether justly or no, I know not; but howsoever, all the Historians of that time agree, that the sorrow thereof cost that brave Captain his life. Certainly to give any violent advice in doubtfull enterprises, is rather a testimony of love, than of wisdom, in the giver; for the ill success is always cast upon the Counsel, the good never wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have sometime known it, that great Commanders, who are for the present in place of Kings, have not only been disswaded, but held, in a kind, by strong hand, from hazarding their own persons, and yet have those kind of Mutiners never been called to a Marshals Court.

§. II.

How the City of Rhodes *was besieged by* Demetrius.

THis departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead Carcasses, and a great deal of joy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomy* held a solemn Feast, and sent Messengers abroad, loaden with glad news, to *Seleucus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, his Confederates: strongly encouraging all that side, with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defensive War. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himself with another interpretation, calling the joyes of his enemies for witnesses of his own greatness, seeing they arose but from so little things: his enemies being but bare savers by the last bargain, and himself, as he supposed, having lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retrait. Howsoever it were, yet he meant to follow his affairs henceforth in another fashion; for that which he could not cleave asunder by great blows, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the Tree it self with the more facility. To effect which, he resolved (leaving the great ones to grow a while) to root up the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the fore-named Confederates should be forc't either to relieve, or to lose; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike provision promised him victory.

At this time the City of *Rhodes* was very mighty, being well governed, and having long held it self in good Neutrality; it drew the better part of all the trade of those parts, and therein a great deal of riches to it self; to maintain which, and to encrease it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed Ships, by which it not only beat off all Pyrates and petty Theeves, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the Neighbour Princes sought their alliance and confederacy.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must either refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendless and apart; or joyn themselves to some one, and thereby forego the peace, by which their greatness had grown) their affections carried them to the *Egyptian*: both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus* his disposition, greatness, and neighbourhood was fearfull unto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages more apparent, gave argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himself against them by petty injuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation, to pursue the War against them openly and strongly. All things soon after ordered according to the greatness of the enterprise, he employed his Son *Demetrius* against them in their own Island, who brought such terror upon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance and service against whomsoever. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perswaded by fear, and not by love; raised his demands to an intollerable height, requiring a hundred Hostages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many ships of War as himself pleased. These conditions, more properly to be imposed upon a State already conquered, than on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored unto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, and made them resolve to defend their liberty to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bond-men, and wisely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themselves fellow-slaves with them.

Demetrius having refused the fair conditions

tions offered (as the *Rhodians* the fearfull ones propounded unto them) makes preparation for a long ſiege, and finding no appearance to carry the place in fury, he ſet in hand with his Engines of battery; in the invention and uſe of which, he did never ſhew himſelf a greater Artiſan, than in this War. But in concluſion, after the Citizens had ſuſtained all the aſſaults given them for a whole year, after many brave ſallies out of the Town, and the famine which they endured within the Town, which had proved far more extream, if *Ptolomy* had not with many hazzards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embaſſadors, gave over the ſiege; a hundred hoſtages they gave him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magiſtrates and Officers of the City.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the uſual policy of War, and State: for while with the flower of all his Fathers forces he lay before *Rhodes*, *Caſſander* recovered many of thoſe places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Caſſander* make the War as in former times, by practice and ſurpriſe, but by a ſtrong and well compounded Army, which he himſelf lead as far as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly diſtreſſed and endangered *Athens* it ſelf. On the other ſide (though with leſs ſucceſs) did *Polyſperchon* invade *Peloponneſus*. Theſe dangerous undertakings upon *Greece*, adviſed the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* to diſpatch their Embaſſadours towards *Demetrius*, and adviſed *Demetrius* rather to abandon the enterpriſe of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten by ſetting all *Greece* at liberty.

Demetrius was no ſooner out of the Iſland, than that the *Rhodians* erected Statues in honour of *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander*; but for *Ptolomy*, whom they moſt affected, and from whom they received their moſt relief, they conſulted with the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whether it were not lawfull to call him a *god*. The Prieſts which attended in the Temple of *Hammon*, gave the ſame fair anſwer for *Ptolomy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his Maſter; for as *Alexander* conſulted the Oracle with an Army at his heels, ſo was *Ptolomy* at this time Lord of the ſoil: and yet was this a far more cleanly creation than that done by the *Athenians*, who deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when ſo many of *Alexanders* Captains could not content themſelves with the ſtyle of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

§. III.

How Demetrius *prevailed in* Greece. Caſſander *deſires peace of* Antigonus, *and cannot obtain it. Great preparations of War againſt* Antigonus.

Demetrius coming with a ſtrong Fleet and Army into *Greece*, quickly drave *Caſſander* out of *Attica*; and purſuing his fortune, chaſed him beyond the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*. Herein his reputation did much avail him; which was ſo great, that ſix thouſand of his enemies Souldiers revolted unto him. So, partly by the greatneſs of his name, partly by force, he recovered in ſhort ſpace all that *Caſſander* held in thoſe ſtraits, and giving liberty unto the people, he beſtowed upon the *Athenians* thoſe pieces, which had been fortified againſt them, to block them up. Then went he into *Peloponneſus*, where he found the like or more eaſie ſucceſs: for he ſuddenly took *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the moſt of the Country, beſtowing liberty upon ſuch as needed it. The Town of *Sicyon* he tranſlated by conſent of the Citizens, from the old ſeat into another place, and called it after his own name, *Demetrius*. This done, he betook himſelf to his pleaſure. At the *Iſthman* games he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Captain General of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he deſpiſed all others, making it a matter of jeſt, that any, ſave himſelf or his father, ſhould uſurp the Name of King. But in his behaviour he was ſo farr unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leaſure, he deſerved none other name than of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as ready as ever to deviſe new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, That whatſoever King *Demetrius* ſhould command, ought to be held ſacred with the gods, and juſt with men.

All *Greece* being now at the diſpoſition of *Antigonus*, *Caſſander* ſtood in great fear, leſt the war ſhould fall heavily upon him in *Macedon*: which to avoid, he knew no better way than to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors; but had no better anſwer from *Antigonus*, than that he ſhould ſubmit his whole eſtate to his diſcretion. This proud demand made him look about him, and labour hard in ſolliciting his friends, both to aſſiſt him, and take heed to themſelves; neither found he them ſlow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lyſimachus* knew

that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soon be Master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himself in quiet possession of those Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joint forces they should all together set upon the common Enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That he would as easily scatter them, as a flock of birds are driven away with a stone. With these conceits he pleased himself, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemy. He lay at that time in his Town of *Antigonia* (a name that it must shortly lose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous news of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellespont*. For *Cassander* had committed unto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to pass over into *Asia*, while he himself with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellespont*, began to make hot war upon the subjects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to joyn with him by fair means: winning others by force, and wasting the Countrey round about.

To repress this unexpected boldness, *Antigonus* made hasty journeys, and came soon enough to recover his losses, but not strong enough to drive *Lysimachus* home, or compell him to come to battel. *Lysimachus* waited for the coming of *Seleucus*; keeping himself the whilest from necessity of fighting. But *Babylon* was far off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to be soon in a readiness. The Winter also did hinder his journey: which inforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrel in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspence, and bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* been so forward, that he refused to yield upon any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neer with a mighty Army of his own (for he had gathered strength in that long time of leasure, which *Antigonus* had given him) and with great aid from *Ptolomy*, that was joyned with his forces.

To help in this needful case, *Demetrius* was called over into *Asia* by his Fathers letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander*, upon reasonable terms: to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Army for defence of the Countrey; and that his journey might be without any such blemish of reputation, as if he had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the Peace was, that all the Cities of *Greece* should be at liberty. *Cassander* was glad to be so rid of an Enemy that was too strong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise than they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred unto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, every one found means to clear himself of all incumbrances else-where, to the end that each of them might freely apply himself to the tryal of the main controversie in *Asia*.

§. IV.

How Antigonus *was slain in a great battel at* Ipsus, *neer unto* Ephesus; *wherein his whole estate was lost.*

Seleucus, with his Son *Antiochus*, joyning with *Lysimachus*, compounded a great Army, which was (all considered) not inferiour to that of the *Enemy*. In greatness of name (that helpeth much in all Wars, but especially in the Civil) they were rather unanswerable than unequal to their adversaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them under with a mastering spirit, and had been reputed a King indeed, when the rest were held but Usurpers of the Title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a brave Commander, having given proof of his worth in many great services of all kinds, and enriched the art of War with many inventions, which even his enemies, and particularly *Lysimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had some times flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully stoln away from him to save his life, with young *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this journey; and *Lysimachus*, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his own from the wilde *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation of that which was yielded to their opposites: yet so, that as ancient Captains under *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough to receive any benefit that Fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardy and well exercised: many of them having served under *Alexander*; though of those old Companies, the long space

ſpace of two and twenty years had conſumed the greateſt number. But concerning their affections, the followers of *Seleucus* were eaſily perſwaded, that in this battel they muſt either get the upper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged unto the Confederate Princes; whereas *Antigonus* his men could diſcern no other neceſſity of fighting, than the obſtinate quality of their Lord, that needs would be Maſter of all. *Antigonus* had about threeſcore and ten thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and threeſcore and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were ſix thouſand ſhort of him in number of their foot; in horſe they had the odds of five hundred; of Elephants they had four hundred, and an hundred and twenty armed Chariots of War: which helps, though they little had availed the *Perſians*, yet were they not to be deſpiſed, in the hands of a good Captain.

Antigonus himſelf, either troubled with the unexpected greatneſs of his enemies forces, or preſaging little good like to enſue, grew very penſive, communing much in private with his Son whom he commended to the Army as his Succeſſor: whereas in former times he had never been ſo jocund, as towards the hour of battel, nor had been accuſtomed to make his Son, or any other private to his counſel, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards deviſed, I hold it needleſs to recount. *Diana* of *Epheſus* dwelt neer to the place of battel, a buſie goddeſs in many great fights; and therefore likely to have been thruſt into the fable, if any matter neerly reſembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is eaſie to believe, that theſe two ſo gallant Armies, containing well neer all the ſtrength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by ſuch worthy Commanders, and whom the iſſue thereof did highly concern. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an eaſie loſs in regard of the much variety, wherewith every ſtory aboundeth in this kind. The moſt memorable things in the battel, were theſe: *Demetrius* with his beſt force of Horſe, charged valiantly upon young *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was ſo tranſported with the heat of his good ſucceſs, that he never gave over his purſuit, but left his Father naked, and loſt thereby both him, and the victory. For when *Seleucus* perceived this advantage, he interpoſed his Elephants, between *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many troops of horſe offering to break upon the enemies battel, whereſoever it lay moſt open, he did ſo terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather choſe to revolt from their Lord, whileſt they were fairly invited, than to ſuſtain the fury of ſo dangerous an impreſſion. This cowardize, or rather Treaſon of ſome, diſcouraged others; and finally, caſt them all into flight; expoſing their General to the laſt end of his deſtinies. *Antigonus* was then fourſcore years old, very fat and unweildy, ſo that he was unapt for flight, if his high ſpirit could have entertained any thought thereof. He had about him ſome of his moſt truſty followers, and as many others as he could hold together. When one that perceived a great troop making towards his perſon, told him, *Sir King, yonder company means to charge you*; He anſwered, *Well may they; for who defends me? but anon* Demetrius *will relieve us.* Thus expecting to the very laſt, that his Son ſhould come to the reſcue, he received ſo many Darts into his body, as took away his lately ambitious, but then fearfull hopes, together with his troubleſome life.

His great ability in matter of Arms, together with his unſatiable deſire of Empire, have ſufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loved by his friends; as one that could not moderate his Fortune, but uſed inſolence toward all alike, as if it had been ſome vertue neereſt repreſenting a Kingly Majeſty. This was the cauſe that ſo many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Army forſook him in his laſt neceſſity. For thoſe Kings and Princes that call all the carefull endeavours of their Vaſſals, only duty and debt; and are more apt to puniſh the leaſt offences, than to reward the greateſt ſervices: ſhall finde themſelves upon the firſt change of fortune, (ſeeing it is love only that ſtayes by adverſity) not only the moſt friendleſs, but even the moſt contemptible, and deſpiſed of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his Son.

§. V.

§. V.

How Demetrius, *forsaken by the* Athenians *after his overthrow, was reconciled to* Seleucus *and* Ptolomy, *beginning a new fortune, and shortly entring into quarrels.*

FOR *Demetrius*, at his return from the idle pursuit of young *Antiochus*, finding all quite lost, was glad to save himself, with four thousand horse, and five thousand foot, by a speedy retreat unto *Ephesus*, whence he made great haste unto *Athens*, as to the place, that for his sake would suffer any extremity. But whilest he was in the midst of his course thither, the *Athenian* Embassadours met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their City. These were Embassadours, not *Theori*, or Consulters with the Oracle. It was a shameless ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his misery, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamity more afflict the unfortunate Prince, than to see his adversity despised by those whom he had thought his surest Friends. Yet was he fain to give good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Haven, of which he now stood in great need; and therefore was fain to speak them fair, that sometimes had grosly flattered him. But he shall live to teach them their old language, and speak unto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he sailed to the *Isthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were every where broken up; the Souldiers having betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Army and Fleet, without money or means wherewith to sustain him and his followers any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerours, and those few places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve: for to put himself into the field on that side of the Sea, he had no power; and to include himself in any of them, how strong soever, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeed to bury himself and his estate: He therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest bryers, fell upon a corner of *Lysimachus* his Kingdom, whereof he gave all the spoil that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his own losses having been too great to be repayed again by small prizes.

In the mean while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to busie themselves, in the partition of those Provinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords: wherein *Seleucus* had a notable advantage by being present, and Master of the field; for neither *Ptolomy* nor *Cassander* were at the overthrow given, having only sent certain troops to re-inforce the Army which *Seleucus* led, who took hold of a part of *Asia* the less, and all *Syria*, being no otherwise divided from his own Territory, than by the River of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order been taken by the Confederates, for the division of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that War, which they made only in their own common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Selecucus*, to make the best benefit that he could of the Victory, at which nevertheless others did repine; and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the over-greatness of *Seleucus* brought no less danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted upon the same reason of State as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined; for he read it in the Law universal of Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendships on all sides, and cure themselves of all unprofitable passion: the hatred of each to other, and their loves being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so far too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day slain *Antigonus* the Father, and driven *Demetrius* the Son out of *Asia*, sought to morrow how to match himself with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his Daughter; and so by *Demetrius* to serve his turn against *Lysimachus*.

The story of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antigonus*, the Son of *Seleucus* fell so passionately in love, and so distempered, as *Seleucus* his Father, to save his Sons life, gave her (though she were his Wife) unto him; and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance between *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; between *Ptolomy* and *Lysimachus*; between *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*, though for the present it brought him again into the rank of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the marriages between Christian Kings have done in latter times, namely between the *Austrians*, the *Arragonians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither have the Leagues of those elder times been found more faithfull, than those of

of the ſame latter times have been, as in the ſtories of *Charls* the Eighth of *France*, and of *Charls* the Emperour, of *Francis* the Firſt, and of the Kings of *Naples*, Dukes of *Millan*, and others, the Reader may obſerve: between whom from the year of our Lord, *One thouſand four hundred ninety and five*, when *Charls* the Eighth undertook the Conqueſt of *Naples*, to the year *One thouſand five hundred fifty and eight*, when *Henry* the Second died; the Hiſtories of thoſe times tell us, that all the bonds, either by the Bed, or by the Book, either by Weddings or Sacramental Oaths, had neither faithfull purpoſe nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit by giving his Daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recovered *Silicia* from *Pliſtarchus*, the Brother of *Caſſander*, who had gotten it as his ſhare in the diviſion of *Antigonus* his poſſeſſions: for the Intruder was not ſtrong enough to hold it by his proper forces, from him that entred upon it as a lawfull heir; neither would *Seleucus* lend him any help, as by the Rule of Confederacy he ſhould have done againſt the common enemy. So *Pliſtarchus* with very angry complaint, as well againſt *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went unto *Caſſander*; whither *Phila*, their Siſter, followed him ſhortly, to pacifie them both, and keep all quiet; being ſent for that purpoſe by *Demetrius* her Huſband, that was not ſtrong enough to deal with *Caſſander*; and therefore glad to make uſe of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his own proſperity, he never took notice to the others good. About the ſame time he took to Wife a Daughter of *Ptolomy* (plurality of Wives being familiar with theſe *Macedonians*, that had learned it in their Eaſtern Conqueſts) and ſo was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than ſtrengthened with two friends; for neither of them wiſhed him any good, otherwiſe than might ſeem to advance their own ambitious deſires.

Seleucus and *Ptolomy* could both of them have been contented better, that *Demetrius*, with help of their countenance, ſhould ſeek his fortune ſomewhat farther off, than ſettle his eſtate under their noſes. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himſelf: and *Ptolomy* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed awhile) to the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were ſo, that *Seleucus* would fain have ſet his new Father-in-law upon the neck of *Lyſimachus*; or whether he were indeed greedy of the bargain; he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchaſe of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not hearken, but meant to keep as much Land as he could, having already found in *Cilicia* twelve thouſand talents of his Fathers Treaſure, that would ſerve him to make ſport a while. This refuſal ſo diſpleaſed *Seleucus*, that in angry terms he demanded the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to be ſurrendred unto him; which were the only places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battel. Inſtead of giving them up, *Demetrius* took preſent order to have them better manned; and ſpake it ſtoutly, That were he overcome a thouſand times, yet would he not hire *Seleucus* to become his Son-in-law. In this quarrel *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant diſpoſition, that would break friendſhip with his Father-in-law for two Towns, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to govern. But the fire conſumed it ſelf in words, which had it faſtned upon arms, like it is that the weaker ſhould have found friends out of envy to the ſtronger.

§. VI.

How Demetrius *wan the City of* Athens, *and prevailed in* Greece, *but loſt in* Aſia. *Of troubles in* Macedon *following the death of* Caſſander.

IN the mean while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to uſe the liberty which *Demetrius* had beſtowed on them, were fallen by ſedition, under the Tyranny of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their diſtempered City was ſo weakned, that it ſeemed ill able to keep off the puniſhment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage haſtened him, whom they had once called their *God and Saviour*, to preſent himſelf unto them, in the habit of a revenging fury. He brought againſt them all the force that he could well ſpare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, becauſe his doubtfull Eaſtern friends, were unwilling to give impediment to any buſineſs that might entangle him in *Greece*. His firſt enterpriſe in *Athens* had ill ſucceſs; a great part of his Fleet periſhing in a tempeſt. But he ſoon repaired the loſs; and (after ſome Victories in *Peloponneſus*, where he wan divers Towns that had fallen from him) returning to the enterpriſe, waſted the Country of *Attica*, and cut off all relief from the City, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it, any long time: for it ſtood in a barren ſoil, and wanted now the command of thoſe Iſlands, and places abroad, from

from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals; being also destitute of means to keep such a Navy as might bring in supply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolomy*, who (trusting thereby to win the love of *Greece*) had loaden an hundred and fifty ships with Corn, and sent them to relieve the hungry City. But these hundred and fifty were unable to deal with three hundred good fighting-ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore hasted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come so near that they might be descryed. This brake the heart of the people, among whom the famine was so extreme, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Mouse, which dropped down between them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embassadours to yield up the Town, and crave pardon, having so far offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capital offence to propose any motion of peace. Yet were they fain to abolish this Decree, rather because they knew not what else to do, than because they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the Victory, did not only forbear to take away the lives of these unthankfull men, which they had submitted unto his mercy; but out of his liberality gave them food, and placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Nevertheless he was grown wiser than to trust them so far as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Havens, and dispose of them at his pleasure; he was ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave a sure Garrison within their Walls, to keep them honest perforce. After this he went into *Peloponnesus*, vanquished the *Lacedæmonians* in two Battels, and was in very fair possibility to take their City: when the dangerous news of *Lysimachus* and *Ptolomy*, that prevailed faster upon him elsewhere, than himself did upon his enemies in *Greece*, called him in all haste. *Lysimachus* had won many Towns in *Asia*; *Ptolomy* had gotten all the Isle of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children and Mother, that were straitly besieged. Whilest he was bethinking himself which way to turn his face, a notable piece of business offered it self, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Cassander was lately dead in *Macedon*, and soon after him, *Philip* his eldest Son, whose two younger Brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, sought for the Kingdom. In this quarrel *Thessalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had married, seemed better affected to *Alexander*, than to her elder Son: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his own Mother. The odiousness of this fact gave a fair lustre to *Alexanders* cause: drawing the generality of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in revenge of the Queens death, upon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was so strongly backed by *Lysimachus*, whose Daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without some foreign aid. For which cause he called in both *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will soon appear in the following Tragedy, of him and his Brother. Their Father *Cassander* had been one that shifted well for himself, at such time as every man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill-ordered division of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, and a good Souldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head against a wall, upon some opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary quarrel, derived from his Father, whom she could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by cruelty that she used against his friends, both alive and dead; as it made him adventure upon shedding the Royall blood: wherewith, when once he had stained his hands, he did not care how far he proceeded in that course of murder. His carefulness to destroy those women and children, whose lives hindred his purpose, argues him to have been rather skilfull in matters of Arms, than a valiant man; such cruelty being a true mark of cowardize, which fears a-far off the dangers, that may quietly pass away: and seeks to avoid them by base and wicked means, as never thinking it self safe enough, until there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may be said, that they had well deserved the bloody end which over-took them; yet ill-beseemed it *Cassander* to do the Office of a Hang-man. But *Alexanders* children had by no Law of men, deserved to dye for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his bed, yet the divine Justice brought swords upon his wife and children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloody man, by destroying his whole house as he had done his Masters.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of Pyrrhus *and his doings in* Macedon. *The death of* Caſſanders *Children.* Demetrius *gets the Kingdom of* Macedon; *prevails in War againſt the Greeks*; *loſeth reputation in his War againſt* Pyrrhus, *and in his Civil Government, and prepares to win* Aſia. *How all conſpire againſt* Demetrius. Pyrrhus *and* Lyſimachus *invade him, his Army yields to* Pyrrhus, *who ſhares the Kingdom of* Macedon *with* Lyſimachus.

Pyrrhus, the Son of that unfortunate Prince *Æacides*, which periſhed in War againſt *Caſſander*, was hardly preſerved, being a ſuckling Infant, from the fury of his Fathers enemies. When his Foſterers had conveyed him to *Glaucias* King of *Illyria*; the deadly hatred of *Caſſander* would have bought his life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that ſhall be his heir. *Glaucias* was ſo far from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that he reſtored him by force to his Fathers Kingdom, when he was but twelve years of age. Within the compaſs of ſix years, either the indiſcretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, drave him out of his Kingdom, and left him to try the world anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his Siſter) became his Page, followed him a while in his Wars, was with him in the great Battel of *Ipſus*, whence he fled with him to *Epheſus*; and was content to be hoſtage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomy*. In *Egypt* he ſo behaved himſelf, that he got the favour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomies* principal Wife; ſo that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon ſent home, with money and men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolomy*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdom of *Epirus*, and was ſettled in it, then fell out that buſineſs between the Children of *Caſſander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Caſſanders* Sons, was ſo far too weak for *Pyrrhus*, that he had no deſire to attend the coming of *Demetrius*, but made an haſty agreement, and divided the Kingdom with his younger Brother *Alexander*; who likewiſe felt the aid of *Pyrrhus* ſo troubleſome, that he was more willing to ſend him away, than to call in ſuch another helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacity to requeſt, or take as granted, by ſtrong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and much more of the Country, as the reward of his pains: leaving the two Brethren to agree as well as they could about the reſt. Neceſſity enforced the Brethren to compoſition: but their compoſition would not ſatisfie *Demetrius*, who took the matter hainouſly, that he was ſent for, and made a fool to come ſo far with an Army, and finde no work for it. This was a frivolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpoſe to do as *Pyrrhus* had done; and ſo much more, by how much he was ſtronger. Hereupon it ſeemed to *Alexander* a wiſe courſe, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him upon ſome advantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the ſtory, and it might be true; though the greateſt part, and perhaps the wiſeſt, believed it not. But the iſſue was, that *Alexander* himſelf was feaſted and ſlain by *Demetrius*; who took his part of the Kingdom, as a reward of the murder; excuſing the fact ſo well, by telling his own danger, and what a naughty man *Caſſander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the ſame time *Lyſimachus* was buſied in War with a King of the wild *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to ſeek peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtain, he cauſed the remainder of *Macedon* to be given up; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his Son-in-law. At this ill bargain *Antipater* grievouſly ſtormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet ſtill he ſtormed; untill his Father-in-law, to ſave the labour of making many excuſes, took away his troubleſome life. Thus in haſte, with a kind of neglect, and as it were to avoid moleſtation, were ſlain the Children of *Caſſander*: of *Caſſander* that had ſlain his own Maſters Children, in a wiſe courſe of policy, with carefull meditation (ſo much the more wicked as the more long) ſtudying how to erect his own houſe, that fell down upon his grave, ere the earth on it was throughly ſettled.

It might be thought, that ſuch an acceſs of Dominion, added much to the greatneſs of *Demetrius*. But indeed it ſhewed his infirmity; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of Civil Government: but thought (or ſhewed by his actions that he thought) the uſe and fruit of a Kingdom, to be none other, than to do what a King liſted. He gave himſelf over to Women and Wine, laughing openly at thoſe which offered to trouble him with ſupplications, and the tedious diſcourſe of doing Juſtice. He had more ſkill in getting a Kingdom, than in ruling it: War being his recreation, and Luxury his nature. By long reſt (as ſix years reign is long to him, that knows not how to

reign one year) he discovered so much of his worst conditions, as made the people both weary of his idleness; and the Souldiers of his vanity. He was freed from care of matters in *Asia*, by hearing that all was lost: though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolomy* had with great honour, entertained and dismissed his Mother and Children. This afforded him the better leisure of making War in *Greece:* where he vanquished the *Thebans*, and won their City twice in short space, but used his Victory with mercy. Against *Lysimachus* he would fain have done somewhat (the peace between them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came; so as this Journey purchased nothing but enmity. Another expedition he took in hand against *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse event. *Pyrrhus* held somewhat belonging to *Macedon*, which he had indeed as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdom; he had also made excursions into *Thessaly*. But there needed not any handsome pretence of quarrel, seeing *Demetrius* thought himself strong enough to over-run his enemies Country, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they have known raw Novices in that faculty, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinary. *Pyrrhus* was a Captain, whom latter Ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the rank of Generals, than either *Demetrius* or any of *Alexanders* followers. At this time, he missed that part of the Army, which *Demetrius* led, and fell upon the other half: which he overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour, shewed in single combate against *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; who being a strong man of body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was utterly beaten. The loss of this Battel did not so much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behaviour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his best quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of *Alexanders* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (said they) none, save *Pyrrhus*, is like him in deed, in performing the office of a Captain.

These Rumours were not more nourished by the verrue of the *Epirot*, than by dislike of their own King; whom they began to disesteem, not so much in regard of his unprofitable Journey into *Epirus* (for he had wasted much of the Countrey, and brought home his Army in good case) as of his Insolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparel seemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not only too sumptuous and new-fangled, but very unmanly; and serving chiefly to be a daily witness, how much he contemned them and their good opinions. Of his Souldiers lives he was retchless: and suffered unwisely this unprincely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That *the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay.* He made a mockery of Justice; and (as it were, to publish unto all his Subjects, how little he esteemed it or them) having by a shew of popularity invited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poor Suters after him in great hope, till coming to a Bridge, he threw all their Writings into a River; pleasing himself, in that he could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses he grew so odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacity, and invading *Macedon*, had almost won it all with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sick in his bed: who recovering health, and taking the field, had such great odds of strength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he began to have some feeling of the general hate; which to redress, he did not (for he could not) alter his own conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on work in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appear; that is, in a great War. His intent was to invade *Asia* with a Royal Army: wherein the fortune of one Battel might give him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, he first made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that so he might leave all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty Army, of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand Horses, with a Navy of five hundred sail, wherein were many ships, far exceeding the greatness of any that had been seen before; yet so swift and useful withall, that the greatness was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy* suspect their own forces, and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to joyn against this ambitious Son of *Antigonus*, that was like to prove more dangerous to them all, than ever was his Father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in *Asia*, there could be

no

no ſecurity for his friends in *Europe*, what league ſoever were of old concluded. Therefore they reſolved to begin with him betimes, and each to invade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his own Kingdom. *Lyſimachus* came firſt, and againſt him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Army: but whileſt he was yet on the way, news were brought into his Camp, that *Pyrrhus* had won *Berrhæa*. The matter was not over-great: were it not that minds prepared with long diſcontent, are ready to lay hold upon ſmall occaſions of diſlike. All the Camp was in uproar: ſome wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to utter ſeditious words, and many deſired leave of *Demetrius*, to go to their own houſes, meaning indeed to have gone to *Lyſimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wiſeſt way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lyſimachus* their own Country-man, againſt *Pyrrhus* that was a ſtranger: hoping by victory againſt the *Epirot*, to recover the love of his followers, in ſuch ſort that he might afterwards at leiſure deal with the other. But herein his wiſdom beguiled him. For the ſouldiers were as haſty as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to ſee that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some ſpake of his valour; ſome enquired, others anſwered, of his perſon, his armour, and other tokens whereby he might be known; as particularly, by a pair of Goats-horns, that he wore on his creſt. It was not likely, that theſe men ſhould hurt him. Divers of them ſtole away, and ran over into *Pyrrhus* his Camp: where the news that they brought, were better welcome than their perſons. For they ſaid, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get ſight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all ſalute him King. To try this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and preſented himſelf bare-headed in view of the Camp, whither ſome were ſent before to prepare his welcome. The news of his arrival found a general applauſe, and every one began to look out, with deſire to ſet eye on him. His face was not ſo well known as his Helmet; therefore he was admoniſhed to put it on: which done, all came about him, and proffered their ſervice; neither were there any, that ſpake for *Demetrius*; only ſome (and they the moſt moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes, and ſhift for himſelf. So *Demetrius* threw aſide his Maſkers habit, and attyring himſelf poorly, did fearfully ſteal away out of his own Camp, deſerving well this calamity: whether it were ſo, that he would not hearken to the good counſel of his friends; or whether his behaviour deprived him of ſuch friends, as would dare to let him hear the unpleaſant ſound of neceſſary truth.

Whileſt *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entry into the Kingdom of *Macedon*; *Lyſimachus* came upon him very unſeaſonably, and would needs have half: ſaying, that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the War; and therefore had reaſon to challenge his part of the gain. The bargain was quickly made, and the diviſion agreed upon: each of them being rather deſirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to work his fellow quite out of all, upon better opportunity.

§. VIII.

How Demetrius *gathering Forces, enterpriſed many things with ill ſucceſs, in* Greece *and* Aſia. *How he was driven upon* Seleucus, *and compelled to yield himſelf. His impriſonment and death.*

THE *Athenians* were as unthankfull to *Demetrius* in this his adverſity, as they had been in former times. For they preſently forſook his friendſhip, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their Patron. *Demetrius*, when he went againſt *Lyſimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in *Greece*, under his Son *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had ſoon gotten an Army, though *Phila* his Wife (who is highly commended for a wiſe and vertuous Lady) did poyſon her ſelf, upon deſperate grief for his misfortune. The firſt, upon whom he attempted to ſhew his anger, were the *Athenians* that had well deſerved it. He began to lay ſiege to their Town: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philoſopher, whom they had made their ſpokes-man; and taking fair words inſtead of ſatisfaction, paſſed over into *Aſia*, with eleven thouſand Souldiers, meaning to try his fortune againſt *Lyſimachus*, for the Provinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his firſt coming into thoſe parts, fortune ſeemed to ſmile upon him. For many good Towns, willingly, or by compulſion, yielded to his obedience. There were alſo ſome Captains that fell from *Lyſimachus* to him, with their companies and treaſures. But it was not long ere *Agathocles* the Son of *Lyſimachus*, came upon him with an Army ſo ſtrong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his laſt ſtock againſt it.

Wherefore he resolved to pass through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Provinces of the higher *Asia*; trusting to find a Kingdom somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsel was grievously impeached by *Agathocles*: who pursued him close, and cut off all his provisions, driving him to take which wayes he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes *Demetrius* vanquished this troublesome enemy: nevertheless, he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poor titulary King, with extream famine. At length, in passing the river *Lycus*, so many of *Demetrius* his men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance: but were driven to travel with such speed as might well be called a plain flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of war, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest with their Captain, escaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of *Cilicia*, whilest *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece*: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claim to the Country; but with vehement and humble Letters he besought his Son-in-law to call to mind their alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These Letters at the first wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how *Demetrius* had carried himself, when he recovered strength after the battel at *Ipsus*, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Army.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none took effect, through the jealousie of *Seleucus*. Therefore meer desperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man, and his furies got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sickness took and held him forty days, in which time, a great number of his few men ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding he still held out, and once had like to have taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his coming been discovered by Fugitives, that gave alarm. Finally, when all his Army had forsaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himself, he was compelled by the last of those adherents (for even some of those few forsook him) to yield unto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his own humanity by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence, though otherwise he used him with as much favour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept under sure guard in a demy-Island, wherein were goodly Walks, Orchards, and Parks for hunting. He had all that he asked royally, and friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his liberty was reserved unto the coming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonica*, out of the high Countreys. In this sort he spent three years, now merrily all the while (as one that living enjoyed the happiness, which with so much travel and blood-shed, he had sought in vain) and then dyed, leaving to his Son *Antigonus*, the same which his Father had left unto himself; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in *Corinth*; his qualities have appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his House will shew it self hereafter, in times and places convenient.

§. IX.

The death of Ptolomy, *of* Lysimachus, *and of* Seleucus, *that was the last of* Alexanders *Captains: with other occurrences.*

ABout the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, a vertuous Prince, war-like, gentle, bountifull, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. He had, by many Wives and Concubines, many Children, out of whom he selected *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and caused him to reign together with himself, two or three years before he died, that so he might confirm him in the Inheritance of the Kingdom. At this, *Ptolomy Ceraunus* (for all of that house assumed the name of *Ptolomy*) was grievously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gave him loving entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexanders* Captains left, *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liver of that brave Company. The true ground of their quarrel, was their neer equality or strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lysimachus* had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poysoning *Agathocles* his eldest Son: whose wife and children fled unto *Seleucus* for aid.

The *Macedons*, after seven moneths pause, having spent their first heat of admiration, began to hearken so well to *Lysimachus*, their natural Countrey-man, that they forsook *Pyrrhus*, upon none other ground than because

becauſe he was an Alien. This they had known well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gave him. *Lyſimachus* had reigned about five years alone, when the City of *Lyſimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared by events, to have foreſhewed the fall of his houſe. His own jealouſie, and the inſtigation of a mother-in-law, cauſed him to poyſon his ſon *Agathocles*; which drew upon him that War, wherein (after the loſs of all his fifteen Children that were taken away by divers accidents) he periſhed himſelf.

Seleucus was encountred by *Lyſimachus* on *Aſia* ſide, where one battell concluded the war, with *Lyſimachus* his death. It pleaſed *Seleucus* more than the victory, that he was the laſt of all the great Heroes that followed *Alexander*. For now he ſeemed to himſelf as Lord and Heir of all the conquered World. So he paſſed over into *Macedon*, to take poſſeſſion of *Europe*, where there was none to withſtand him. But here he ended his days, and within ſeven moneths followed *Lyſimachus*, and others of his fellows, by a bloody death, being treacherouſly ſlain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, whoſe friend and Patron he had been. Seventy and ſeven year old he was, when he fought with *Lyſimachus*, and *Lyſimachus* was ſeventy and four. With them ended the generation of old Captains, that had ſeen the dayes as it were of another World under the *Perſian*: yet was there left one equal to any of them in the Art of War: even *Pyrrhus* the Epirot, of whom we ſpake before; that is now ready to enter into war with the *Romans*, a more warlike people than *Alexander* himſelf did ever encounter. Of which war, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a ſtory more important, than any likely to enſue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdoms that were held by *Alexanders* Succeſſors, with leſs (and ſtill decreaſing) vertue, than was that, by which they were firſt purchaſed.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome, *and ſettling of the Eaſtern Kingdoms.*

§. I.

How the Romans *enlarged their Dominions in* Italy, *from the death of* Tullus Hoſtilius, *unto ſuch time as they were aſſailed by* Pyrrhus.

HOw *Rome* was founded by *Romulus*; ſettled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many (though ſmall) Victories, gathered ſtrength, unto ſuch time as it became the Head of *Latium*, by the conqueſt of *Alba*, in the Reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*: it hath been already noted in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatneſs beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*; and extending it ſelf out of *Italy*, to overwhelm the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it convenient (as in like caſes I have done) briefly to ſet down the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation of thoſe many actions, which could not have been delivered in the ages, wherein they were ſeverally performed, without much interruption of the Hiſtory, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hoſtilius* (who when he had reigned two and thirty years, was burnt together with his houſe by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grand-childe to *Numa Pompilius* by his Daughter, and not much unlike him in diſpoſition, ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Rome*. He walled the City about; enlarged it with the Hill *Aventine*, which he encloſed; built a bridge over *Tybris*, and the City of *Oſtia* upon the Sea, ſixteen miles diſtant from *Rome*. Finally, having reigned 24 years, he dyed, and by his laſt Will he left his Children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the ſon of *Damaratus*, a *Corinthian*, who avoiding *Cypſelus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquinii*, by the name of which Town he was afterward called *Tarquinius*. From that City in *Hetruria* coming to *Rome*, and encouraged by ſome ominous occurrents, together with his wife *Tanaquils* propheſie,

pheſie, he grew a favourite of *Ancus Martius*; by his *Grecian* wit humouring the factions of the *Roman* Court, inſomuch, that after his deceaſe he became not only Protector to the children, but Governour to the City. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centurions of Horſemen: neither was he leſs eminent in war, than in peace: for he prevailed often againſt the *Tuſcans*, and from his victories, the chiefeſt ornaments of triumph took their original. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned 38. years, he was ſlain by the Sons of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tanaquil* his wife, perceiving what was done, informed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and ſick, but not dangerouſly. And withall ſignified unto them, that in the *interim* of his ſickneſs, one *Servius Tullius*, whom from his birth ſhe alwayes propheſied to be born to great hopes (the ſon of *P. Corniculanus*, and *Ocriſia* a well deſcended, but captive woman) brought up in her houſe, and husband unto her daughter, ſhould ſupply her husbands place, in governing the State, untill his recovery: which government, being thus at firſt obtained by cunning, he afterwards uſurped as his right. He firſt ordained Ratements, Subſidies and Valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourſcore thouſand were muſtered, of which number conſiſted their whole Corporation; and by diſtinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdom in as good ſort, as if it had been a private houſhold. At length, haveing two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outragious: and finding alſo that the two ſons of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had been committed unto his tuition, were of different diſpoſitions, proportionably anſwering to his daughters; he (willing to add water, not oyl, to fire) gave the mild daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed ſon, and the violent, to *Aruns* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courſes, or by accident, it hapned; the two mild ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joyned in marriage: who ſoon concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claim to the Kingdom. Upon this tumult, *Servius Tullius* haſtening to the Senate, (where he thought by Authority to have bridled Inſolency) was thrown down the ſtairs, and going home ſore bruiſed, was ſlain by the way, when he had reigned 44 years. Then *Tullia* his daughter, firſt proclaiming her Husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home enforced her Coachman to drive his Chariot over her fathers corps: whereupon the ſtreet had the denomination of Wicked-ſtreet. This *Tarquine*, exerciſing cruelty without juſtice, and tyranny without mercy, upon the people and Senators; having tired himſelf and them at home, uſed the ſame rage of treachery upon his borders. He took *Oriculum*, *Sueſſa*, *Pometia*, and the *Gabii*. The iſſue of beſieging *Ardea*, a Town eighteen mile diſtant from *Rome*, was of bad ſucceſs. In the heat of which War, his Son *Sextus Tarquinius* violently raviſhed that chaſte Lady *Lucretia*, his kinſman *Collatines* wife: who in way of expiation for ſo unchaſte a deed, thought good to waſh out thoſe ſpots of infamy with her own blood; ſo (having firſt bequeathed the revenge unto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her husband *Collatine* and *Junius Brutus*) ſhe kill'd her ſelf: whereupon (chiefly by *Junius Brutus* his reſolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was depoſed and baniſhed; and fled to *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria* for ſuccour, in the five and twentieth year of his reign, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City: in which ſpace *Rome* had ſcarce gotten poſſeſſion of fifteen miles round about her.

Junius Brutus by the help of *Collatine*, having expelled *Tarquine*, and freed his Country from that heavy yoke of bondage, inforced the people by ſolemn oath, never to admit any government by Kings amongſt them: whereupon they ranſacked their Kings goods, conſecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the State upon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But becauſe the name of King was odious in their ears, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetual to annual, and from a ſingle Government to a double; leſt perpetual or ſole dominion might be ſome motive to uſurpation; and inſtead of Kings they called them Conſuls, ſignifying, as it may be interpreted, Providers: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be alwayes mindfull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it ſo hard ſetling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innovation of State, ſcarce daring to aſſure themſelves of their own ſecurity, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to reſign up his authority, fearing that tyranny would be hereditary, and ſuppoſing that the very name and affinity with the houſe of *Tarquine*, ſavoured already of their condition. In his room was ſubſtitute *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious

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in the peoples eyes, gave liberty, in matters of controverſie to appeal from the Conſuls to the people, and that he might as well in goods as in perſon, avoid occaſion of ſuſpition, cauſed his own houſe to be pulled down, becauſe it was built in a place defenſible, as if it had been a Cittadel. Neither was *Brutus* any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples ſafety, as their favour: for having got intelligence, that ſome greener wits, and in the firſt rank his own ſons, were itching after innovations, hoping to reſtore the baniſhed Kings; he cauſed them, publickly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all unpartially to the block.

Hitherto the *Romans*, having by the unblemiſhed integrity of *Brutus*, well appeaſed all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter imployed their military deſignments againſt Forraigners: firſt, for their liberty; ſecondly, for inlarging of their poſſeſſions; and laſtly, for defending their confederate Provinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome*, ſituated as it were in the mid-way between *Latium* and the *Tuſcans*, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, could not but give occaſion of offence to her neighbours; untill by main oppoſition, having prevailed againſt her borderers, ſhe uſed them as inſtruments, whereby to obtain the reſt.

Their firſt war, in the firſt year of Conſuls, was againſt *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria*: who being over-perſwaded by *Tarquins* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the baniſhed King, and with great forces, to ſeat him again in his Kingdom.

In the firſt conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, having long time born the main brunt of his enemies on the Bridge over *Tibris*, at length, feeling himſelf too faint to ſtand againſt ſo many, cauſed the bridge behinde him to be broken down, and with his armour leaping into the River, like a hunted Stagg, refreſhed his hot ſpirits, and returned ſafe to his fellows, with the like reſolution to ſuſtain a new charge. *Porſenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Janiculus*, which is the very entrance into the City, and found the Victory, in a manner, aſſuredly his own: yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the conſtant reſolution of *Mutius Scævola* (who having by errour ſlain *Porſenna* his Secretary, in ſtead of the King himſelf, did in ſcorn of torments threatned, burn off his own hand) he thought it not any whit prejudicial either to his ſafety, or credit, to enter league with them at the worſt hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his ſpleen was not quite abated, though *Arans* his Son, and *Brutus*, his enemy, in ſingle combat, had ſlain each other. And here the *Romans*, although they loſt, *Brutus* got the field; and their Ladies, whoſe Champion he was, for their chaſtity, not for beauty, mourned the loſs of him one whole year. Into this place, for the reſidue of his year, was ſubrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his room (deceaſing naturally before the year expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquin, upon his overthrow, feeling the fates diſaſtrous, thought it no boot to ſtrive againſt the ſtream, but ſpent the reſidue of his time, which was about fourteen years, privately at *Tuſculum*. Yet his Son-in-law *Mamilius Tuſculanus*, ſtomaching a-freſh at thoſe old repulſes, becauſe *Porſenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denyed further ſuccour unto the *Tarquines*, muſtered up his *Latins*, and gave battel to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the iſſue uncertain, untill *Aulus Poſthumus*, the *Roman* Dictator, (for they had created this Magiſtracy greater than Conſuls, purpoſely for this war, when firſt it was expected) to exaſperate his Souldiers courage, threw their own Enſigns amidſt the Enemies; and *Coſſus*, or *Spurius Caſſius*, (Maſter of the Horſe-men, an aſſiſtant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover again their Enſigns. This fight was ſo well performed, that a report went of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, two gods, who came on milk-white Steeds, to be eye-witneſſes of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their Victory; for the General conſecrated a Temple to them, as a ſtipend for their pains. After this the *Romans* fierce ſpirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected upon themſelves at home; and the ſixteenth year after the Kings expulſion, upon inſtigation of ſome deſperate banckrours, thinking themſelves wrongfully oppreſſed by the Senate and Conſuls, they made an uproar in the holy Mount; untill by *Menenius Agrippa*, his diſcreet alluſion, of the inconvenience in the Head and Belly's diſcord, to that preſent occaſion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might have ſome new Magiſtrates created, to whom they might appeal in caſes of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controverſies, the Conſuls authority notwithſtanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement among themſelves,

themſelves, they had continual War with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Among theſe, the *Volſci* and *Æqui* held them longeſt; who made War of themſelves upon the *Romans*: whereby they loſt the beſt City in their whole juriſdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conqueſt, *T. Martius* got the ſurname of *Coriolanus*: a name honourable then, as drawn from a great Victory; although, by reaſon of the poverty of the Town, a *Roman* General, in after times, would have been aſhamed of that title. But yet theſe graces had been no occaſion of diſparagement, had he not afterwards in a great time of dearth, adviſed to ſell corn, which they procured from *Sicil*, at too high a rate, to the people, whereupon *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalf, accuſed him, and after judgement baniſhed him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volſci*, whom lately before he had vanquiſhed, incenſed them to renew their forces again; which being committed unto him, and to *Attius Tullus*, he prevailed in field, ſo far forth, that he was come within four or five miles of the City. Incamping there, he made ſo ſharp war, and was at ſuch defiance with his Country, that he would not relent by any ſupplication of Embaſſadours, untill his mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, with a pitifull tune of deprecation, ſhewing themſelves better Subjects to their Country than friends to their Son and Husband, were more available to *Rome* than was any force of Arms. Hereupon *Coriolanus* diſmiſſing his Army, was after put to death among the *Volſci*, as a Traitor, for neglecting ſuch opportunity: or (as others ſurmiſe) living with them untill old age, he died naturally.

Not long after this the *Veii* in *Hetruria*, provoked the *Romans*; againſt whom the *Fabii*, three hundred and ſix in number, all of one Family, intreated and obtained, that they only might be employed, as it had been in a private quarrel. Theſe *Fabii*, after ſome good ſervices, lying incamped at *Cremera*, were circumvented, and all ſlain: one only of that whole houſe had been left, by reaſon of infancy, at home; from whom afterward ſprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquiſhed *Hannibal*.

In proceſs of time, the *Romans* were alſo troubled with the *Volſci*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minutius* their Conſul, with his whole Army, had been diſcomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinatus* choſen Dictator, and taken from the plough to the higheſt honour in *Rome*, with ſucceſs anſwerable to his expedition, diſperſed his enemies, and freed his Country in the ſpace of ſixteen dayes. In the continuance of this *Volſcian* war, it was that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two years before choſen Governours of the State, and Inactors of *Solons* Laws amongſt them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the mean while the Conſuls, and all other Magiſtrates) would have raviſhed *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginius*, Captain of a company, and lying then in a Camp at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people in an uproar took the Hill *Aventine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men to reſign up their authority again to new Conſuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or deſire to revenge old loſſes, drew the *Romans* into a new war againſt the *Veientes* and their adherents, upon whom, having tried their forces with diverſity of Captains, and variety of event, they vanquiſhed the *Faliſci*, and the *Fidenates*, and utterly ſubdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Faliſci*, *Furius Camillus* ſhewed no leſs integrity than fortitude. For when a Schoolmaſter, by training forth into the *Roman* camp, many children of the principal Citizens, thought to betray the Town, yielding them all up as hoſtages: *Camillus* delivered this Traitor bound unto his Souldiers, willing them to whip him back into the City; which forthwith yielded unto him in reverence of his juſtice. The ſiege of *Veii* was ten years, and ſo troubleſome, that the *Romans* were there firſt inforced to winter abroad under beaſts ſkins (to which they were the more eaſily induced, becauſe then firſt they received pay) and to make vows never to return without Victory.

At length winning the City by a Mine, they got ſo large ſpoils, that they conſecrated their tenths to *Apollo Pythius*: and the whole people in general were called to the ranſacking of the City. But yet they were no leſs unthankfull to *Camillus* for his ſervice, than before they had been to *Coriolanus*; for they baniſhed him the City, upon ſome occaſion of inequality in dividing the ſpoils: yet he requited their unkindneſs with a new piece of ſervice againſt the fury of the *Gauls*; who being a populous Countrey, and very healthfull, the fathers (as ſometimes now) lived ſo long, that the ſons deſtitute of means, were enforced to roave abroad, ſeeking ſome place where to ſet up their reſt: and withall being a Nation vaſte in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rovers over many Countries. Some of them lig' ting on *Italy*,

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set upon *Clusium* a Town in *Hetruria*: whereof *Rome* having information (and being careful of her Confederate Towns) sent Embassadours, warning them to desist from such injurious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, upon some injury offered by the *Roman* Embassadours, converted their forces from *Clusium* towards *Rome*; and giving a great overthrow unto the *Romans*, by the River *Allia*, upon the sixteenth day before the Calends of *August* (which day was after branded for unlucky, and called *Allienſis* in the *Roman* Kalendar) they hastned towards the City. Then was *Rome* the true map of misery and desolation. For some leaving the City; some creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and, every one shifting for himself ere the enemy came, *Rome* was abandoned as indefensible. The Vestal Virgins, in this tumult, were safely conveyed away; the Ancients of the City, gathering boldness out of desperate fear, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the world, did set themselves in Thrones, in their several houses, hourly expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to dye, as they had lived, in State. The younger sort, with *M. Manlius* their Captain, took upon them to make good the Capitol.

By this the *Gauls* were entred the City, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoil, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senators, they sate in their Majesty with a grave resolution; having first reverenced them as gods, anon they tryed whether they would dye like men. When the City was throughly rifled, they attempted the Capitol: which held them work for the space of seven months. Once they were like to have surprised it by night, but being descried by the gaggling of Geese, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed upon: the *Gauls* being weary, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* should take a thousand pound weight in gold, to desist from their siege. Whilest the gold was in weighing, the *Gauls*, with open insolency, made their weights too heavy: *Brennus* their Captain, casting his sword into the ballance, and with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this cavilling came *Furius Camillus* with an Army from *Ardæa*, (where he had lived in his banishment) and fell upon the *Gauls* with such violence, that he dispersed their troops, quenched the fire of the City with their blood, forcing them to restore the spoils with advantage, and forbear the gold, in accepting which they had lately been so nice. Further, having rid the City of them, he so hotly pursued them thorow a great part of *Italy*, that the remainder of their Army which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this first, had the like ill success. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; especially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in single fight slew a several Champion of the *Gauls*) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable service, was afterwards accounted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their City, were earnestly bent to go to the *Veii* to inhabit; but *Camillus* dissuaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of *Veii* they changed their government from Consuls to military Tribunes. The government of these also, after some years, was by civil dissention interrupted: so that one while Consuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchy. Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled again, till, after many years expired, the Consular authority was established, it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should alwayes be a Plebeian. This was after the building of the City 365 years. And now *Rome*, by suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minority, dares set forth against the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirty miles off: situated between *Campania* and *Apulia*. These did so strongly invade the *Campanians* their neighbours, that they forced them to yield themselves subjects to *Rome*, and undergo any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoever else to obtain protection: which the *Romans*, although both Countries had been their confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should devour the less, easily allowed of; aiming themselves at the good situation of *Campania*, the abundance of Corn and Wine, pleasant Cities and Towns, but especially *Capua* it self, the fairest City then in all *Italy*.

The families of the *Papyrii* and *Fabii* were most imployed in the managing of this War, which endured the space of fifty years. And in this season were the *Romans* often times dangerously encountred by the *Samnites*, as when *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumius* were Consuls, and discomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no small ignominy: and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* lost the field with

three thousand men. But for those losses, many great Victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrel. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but less warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length, tributary to *Rome*. In the continuance of this long war it was, (though in time of truce between the *Romans* and *Samnites*) that the *Latins* began to challenge equal freedom in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing office, so that they required to have one of the Consuls yearly chosen out of them.

This demand of the *Latins* was not unreasonable. For the *Romans* themselves were a Latin Colony; besides all which, they made offer to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud to admit any such capitulation. So a great battel was fought between them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* prevailed, by the vertue of the Consuls.

Manlius Torquatus and the elder *Decius* were then Consuls, whom the Soothsayers advertised, that the side should be victorious which lost the General in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Consul exposed his life to the enemy, and purchased victory (as was believed) by his death. In which kind of devoting himself for his Army, the son of this *Decius* being after Consul, did imitate his father in the *Hetrurian* war. But (as *Tully* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decii*, that purchased victory, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a Religion, as required the lives of so worthy Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Country. The discipline of *Manlius* was no less resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemy. For breach of which order he caused his own son to be put to death, who had slain a Captain of the *Latins*, being challenged in single fight.

When the *Latins*, the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other people, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any people of *Italy* to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* adventured to try their fortune, and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Consul, wasting all their Country with fire and sword, from the River *Nar* and *Velia*, to the *Adriatique* Sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the *Italians* that made trial of the *Roman* arms, were the *Tarentines* and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as mediatours between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptory denunciation of War, unto that party which should dare to refuse peace by them tendred. These threats which discovered their bad affection unto *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were utterly subdued, matter enough of quarrel was found to examine their ability of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certain ships of theirs were robbed, and sent Embassadours unto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Upon some wrong done to these Embassadours, was laid the foundation of that War, wherein the *Lucans*, *Messapians*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, joyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Rome* to rebell and take their part. But some experience of the *Roman* strength, taught all these people to know their own weakness. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aid (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of *Rome* should be confined unto more narrow bounds than all *Italy*, which already in a manner it did over-spread.

§. II.

How Pyrrhus *warred upon the* Romans, *and vanquished them in two battels.*

Pyrrhus, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and unable to deal with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to live in rest: which he abhorred no less than a wiser Prince would have desired. He had a strong Army, and a good Fleet, which in that unsettled estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdom: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so increased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom to make an offensive war upon him, without far greater forces: *Antigonus*, the son of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the same time, and some other Towns, with the remainder of his Fathers Army and treasures, left in his hand. Upon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might have won; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serve to give some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of imployment, and covetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadours came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with brave offers, as needing no other aid

aid than his good conduct, which to obtain, they would caſt themſelves under his protection. They had in their company ſome of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians*, and others; which promiſed, in behalf of their ſeveral Nations, as much as could be deſired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conqueſts; that he might enlarge his Empire to the Weſt, as far as *Alexander* had gotten Eaſtward; and ſtill by one victory open the gate unto another. To which effect it is ſaid, that once he anſwered *Cyneas* his chief Counſellour, aſking what he meant to do after every of the victories which he hoped to get: that having won *Rome*, he would ſoon be Maſter of all *Italy*; that, after *Italy* he would quickly get the Iſle of *Sicil*; that, out of *Sicil*, he would paſs over into *Affrick*, and win *Carthage*, with all the reſt of the Countrey; and being ſtrengthened with the force of all theſe Provinces, he would be too hard for any of thoſe that were now ſo proud and troubleſome. But *Cyneas* enquired yet further, what they ſhould do, when they were Lords of all. Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) anſwered pleaſantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as *Cyneas* then told him) that they preſently might do, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his own.

Nevertheleſs, this *Italian* Expedition ſeemed unto *Pyrrhus* a matter of ſuch conſequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any ſcholaſtical diſputation. Wherefore he prepared his Army, of almoſt thirty thouſand men, well ſorted, and well trained ſouldiers: part of which he ſent over before him under *Cyneas*, with the reſt he followed in perſon. At his coming, he found the *Tarentines*, very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, utterly careleſs to provide for the war. Wherefore he was fain to ſhut up their Theatre, and other places of pleaſure and reſort, enforcing them to take arms, and making ſuch a ſtrict muſter, as was to them very unpleaſing, though greatly behooving to their eſtate.

Whilſt he was occupied with theſe cares, *Lævinus* the *Roman* Conſul drew near, and began to waſte *Lucania*, a Province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this War.

The *Lucanians* were not ready to defend their own Countrey; the *Samnites* were careleſs of the harm, that fell not (as yet) upon themſelves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would have been, but their valour was little: all of theſe had been accuſtomed to ſhrink for fear of the *Roman* fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more upon his own forces: than the iſſue of their vaunting promiſes. He was now driven either to ſet forward with thoſe that himſelf had brought into *Italy*, and the aſſiſtance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little was to be repoſed; or elſe to weaken the reputation of his own ſufficiency, which by all means he was careful to uphold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had been ſcattered by foul weather at Sea, were ſafely come to him: with which he reſolved to aſſay the valour of the *Romans*, againſt whom he proudly marched.

Lævinus the Conſul was not affrighted with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and give him battel ere all his adherents ſhould be ready to joyn with him. This boldneſs of the *Roman*, and the ſlackneſs of the *Meſſapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger moſt concerned, cauſed *Pyrrhus*, to offer a treaty of peace: requiring to have the quarrel between the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to win time, that the *Samnites* and their fellows might arrive at his Camp; or whether, conſidering better at near diſtance, the weight of the buſineſs which he had taken in hand, he were deſirous to quit it with his honour; the ſhort anſwer that was returned to his propoſition, gave him no means of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* ſent him this word, that *they had neither choſen him their Judge, nor feared him their enemy.*

Hereupon both Armies haſtned their march unto the River of *Siris*: *Lævinus* intending to fight before the arrival of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from paſſing that River, until his own Army were full. Upon the firſt view of the *Roman* Camp, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to do with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a brave diſcipline of War: which cauſed him to ſet a ſtrong *Corps de garde* upon the paſſage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, until he ſaw his beſt advantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemy was not only skilful in the Art of War, but couragious in execution. For the *Roman* Army entred the Foord, in face of his *Corpſe de garde*; and their horſe, at the ſame time began to paſs the River in ſundry places: which cauſed the *Greeks* to forſake the defence of their bank, and ſpeedily retire unto their Camp.

This audacity forced *Pyrrhus* to battel; wherewith he thought it beſt to preſent

them, ere the whole Army had recovered firm footing, and were in order. So directing his Captains how to marshal his battels; himself with the horse charged upon the *Romans*: who stoutly received him as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the duty of a careful General; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personal valour. It behooved him indeed to do his best; for he never met with better opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slain under him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the use of his Kings armour, which was torn from his back. This accident had almost lost him the battel; but he perceiving it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vain joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater loss (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his side, as long as only spear and sword were used. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose unusual form and terrible aspect, the horses of the *Romans* (unaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustain; then was the victory quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battels, perceiving their horse put to the rout, and driven out of the field; finding also themselves both charged in flank, and over-born, by the force and huge bulk of those strange beasts; gave way to necessity, and saved themselves, as well as they could, by hasty flight: in which consternation, they were so forgetfull of their discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victory was soon spread over *Italy*; and the reputation was no less than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* Consul, with a select Army, should lose in plain battel, not only the Field, but the Camp it self, being so notably fortified as they alwayes were. And this honour was the more bravely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* friends, save the unwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he took, in having the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at such time as he blamed the *Lucans* and *Samnites*, for coming (as we say) a day after the Fair. Nevertheless he wisely considered the strength of the *Romans*, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them whilest with his honour he might; and to that purpose he sent unto them *Cyneas* his Embassadour, demanding only to have the *Tarentines* permitted to live at rest, and himself accepted as their especial friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his cunning, and with liberal gifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recovering their captives, or their danger, by the rising of many States in *Italy* against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blind Senator, did stir them up to make good their honour by war. So they returned answer, that whilest *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italy*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that *Cyneas* made at his return, of the *Roman* puissance and vertue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great desire of confederacy with that gallant City. Hereupon many kind Offices passed between them: but still when he urged his motion of peace, the answer was; *He must first depart out of* Italy, *and then treat of peace.*

In the mean season, each part made provision for war; the *Romans* levying a more mighty Army than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with access unto his forces of all the East parts of *Italy*. So they came to the trial of a second battel, wherein (though after long and cruel fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants gave to *Pyrrhus* a second victory. But this was not altogether so joyfull as the former had been: rather it gave him cause to say, that such another victory would be his utter undoing. For he had lost the flower of his Army in this battel: and though he drave the *Romans* into their Camp, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of prevailing against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilest he should be driven to spend upon his old stock. Neither could he expect that his Elephants should alwayes stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight would soon teach the *Romans*, that were apt Scholars in such learning, how to make them unserviceable. Wherefore he desired nothing more, than how to carry his honour safe out of *Italy*: which to do (seeing the *Romans* would not help him, by offering or accepting any fair conditions of peace, or of truce) he took a slight occasi-

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on, preſented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

§. III.

The great troubles in Macedon *and* Sicil. *How* Pyrrhus, *being invited into* Sicil, *forſook* Italy; *won the moſt of the Iſle; and loſt it in ſhort ſpace.* Pyrrhus *returns into* Italy, *where he is beaten by the* Romans, *and ſo goes back to his own Kingdom.*

WHen *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had traiterouſly murdered his Benefactor and Patron *Seleucus*, he preſently ſeized upon all the Dominions of *Lyſimachus* in *Europe*, as if they had been the due reward unto him, that had ſlain the Conquerour. The houſes of *Caſſander* and *Lyſimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of ſtrength and reputation enough to advance himſelf againſt *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lyſimachus* were rather pleaſed to have him their King, that had (as he profeſſed) revenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiouſneſs of his fact, by which they were freed from ſubjection, to one, againſt whom they had ſtood in oppoſition. Many there were, that upon remembrance of his fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perſwading themſelves that his reign might prove good, though his entrance had been wicked. Theſe affections of the *Macedonians* did ſerve to defeat *Antigonus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt upon the Kingdom. As for *Antigonus* the ſon of *Seleucus*, he was far off, and might be queſtioned about ſome part of *Aſia*, ere he ſhould be able to bring an Army neer unto *Europe*. Yet he made great ſhew of meaning to revenge his Fathers death: but being ſtronger in money than in arms, he was content, after a while, to take fair words, and make peace with the murtherer. While theſe three ſtrove about the Kingdom, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claim as good as any of theirs, made uſe of their diſſention: threatning war, or promiſing his aſſiſtance to every one of them. By theſe means he ſtrengthened himſelf, and greatly advantaged his *Italian* voyage, which he had then in hand: requeſting money of *Antiochus*, ſhips of *Antigonus*, and ſouldiers of *Ptolomy*, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a ſtrong power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to have them reſtored at two years end) more for fear than for love: that ſo he might free himſelf from trouble, and quietly enjoy his Kingdom.

Thus *Ptolomy* grew mighty on the ſudden; and the power that by wicked means he had gotten, by means as wicked he encreaſed.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the ſtrong City of *Caſſandria* was held by *Arſinoe* his ſiſter, the widow of *Lyſimachus*, who lay therein with her young children. Her he circumvented by making love to her, and (according to the faſhion of thoſe times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of conſanguinity) taking her to wife, with promiſe to adopt her children: a promiſe that he meant not to perform; for it was not long, ere he ſlew them, and drave her into exile.

In the pride of this good ſucceſs, which his villany found, vengeance came upon him from a far, by the fury of a Nation that he never heard of. *Belgius* a Captain of the *Gauls*, having forced his paſſage through many Countreys, unto the confines of *Macedon*, ſent a proud meſſage to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwiſe, to look for all the miſeries of war. Theſe *Gauls* were the race of thoſe, that iſſued out of their Countrey, to ſeek new ſeats in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* took and burnt the City of *Rome*. They had divided themſelves, at their ſetting forth, into two companies; of which the one fell upon *Italy*; the other, paſſing through the Countreys that lye on the Northern ſide of the *Adriatick* Sea, made long abode in *Pannonia*, and the Regions adjoyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeem peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled *Ceraunus* to do: unto whoſe borders they came about an hundred and eight years after ſuch time as their fellows had taken *Rome*.

When their Embaſſadours came to *Ptolomy*, aſking what he would give: his anſwer was, that he would be contented to give them peace, but it muſt be with condition, that they ſhould put into his hands their Princes as hoſtages, and yield up their arms; otherwiſe he would neither pardon their boldneſs, nor give any credit to their words. At this anſwer, when it was returned, the *Gauls* did laugh; ſaying, That they would ſoon confute with deeds, the vanity of ſuch proud words. It may ſeem ſtrange, that he, who had given away part of his Army unto *Pyrrhus*, for very fear; ſhould be ſo confident in undertaking more mighty enemies. The King of the *Dardanians* offered to lend him twenty thouſand men againſt the *Gauls*: but he ſcorned the offer; ſaying, That he had the children of thoſe, which under

der the conduct of *Alexander* had subdued all the East. Thus he issued forth against all the barbarous people with his famous *Macedonians*, as if the Victory must needs have followed the reputation of a great Name. But he soon found his great errour when it was too late. For the Enemies were not only equal in strength of body, and fierceness of courage, but so far superiour to the *Macedonians* in number, that few or none escaped their fury. *Ptolomy* himself grievously wounded, fell into their hands, whilest the battel continued; and they presently strook off his head, which they shewed to his men on the top of a Lance, to their utter astonishment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all *Macedon* with such desperation, that the people fled into walled Towns, and abandoned the whole Country as lost. Only *Sosthenes*, a valiant Captain, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Army, with which he many times got the upper-hand, and hindred *Belgius* from using the Victory at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would have made him King; which title he refused, and was contented with the name of a General. But (as mischiefs do seldom come alone) the good success of *Belgius* drew into *Macedon*, *Brennus*, another Captain of the *Gauls*, with an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; against which mighty Army, when *Sosthenes* with his weak troops made opposition, he was easily beaten, and the *Macedonians* again compelled to hide themselves within their walls, leaving all their Countrey to the spoil of the *Barbarians*.

Thus were the *Macedonians* destitute of a King, and trodden down by a Nation that they had not heard of, in less than fifty years after the death of *Alexander*, who sought to discover and subdue unknown Countries, as if all *Greece*, and the Empire of *Persia* had been too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very seasonably had these news been carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*, who sought a fair pretext of relinquishing his War with the *Romans*; had not other tydings out of *Sicil* distracted him, and carried him away in pursuit of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned over the whole Island, the *Carthaginians* sent an Army to conquer *Sicil*, out of which, by him, they had been expelled. This Army did so fast prevail, that the *Silicians* had no other hope to avoid slavery, than in submitting themselves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to live under the well-known heavy yoak of *Carthage*. To him therefore the *Syracusans*, *Leontines*, and *Agragentines*, principal Estates of the Isle, sent Embassadours, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so unluckily, both at one time. Yet whether he thought the business of *Sicil* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he believed (as came after to pass) that his advantage upon *Macedon* would not so hastily pass away, but that he might finde some occasion to lay hold on it at better leisure; over into *Sicil* he transported his Army, leaving the *Tarentines* to shift for themselves; yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a Garrison in their Town to hold them in subjection.

As his departure out of *Italy* was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature advice; so were his actions following, untill his return into *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, than well-ordered, or noteworthy. The Army which he carried into that Isle, consisted of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse: with which, soon after his descent into *Sicil*, he forc't the *Carthaginians* out of all, in effect, that they had therein. He also won the strong City of *Eryx*; and having beaten the *Mamertines* in battel, he began to change condition, and turn Tyrant. For he drave *Sostratus* (to whom this cruelty was suspected) out of the Island, and put *Thenon* of *Siracuse* to death, being jealous of his greatness; which two persons had faithfully served him, and delivered the great and rich City of *Syracuse* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as he served himself, and salved the dis-reputation of his leaving *Sicil*, by an Embassage sent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Sammites*, imploring his present help against the *Romans*, who since his leaving *Italy*, had well-neer dispossest them of all that they had.

Taking this fair occasion, he imbarked for *Italy*; but was first beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies in his passage, and secondly assailed in *Italy* it self, by eighteen hundred *Mamertines*, that attended him in the straits of the Country. Lastly, after he had recovered *Tarentum*, he fought a third battel with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious over him, and forc't him out of *Italy* into his own *Epirus*.

A Prince he was far more valiant than constant; and had he been but a General of an Army for some other great King or State, and had

had been directed to have conquered any one Country or Kingdom, it is to be thought, that he would have purchaſed no leſs honour than any man of War, either preceding or ſucceding him; for a greater Captain, or a valianter man, hath been no where found. But he never ſtayed upon any enterpriſe; which was, indeed, the diſeaſe he had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.

§. IV.

How Antigonus, *the Son of* Demetrius, *delivered* Macedon *from the* Gaules. *How* Pyrrhus *won the Kingdom of* Macedon *from* Antigonus.

THE vertue of *Soſthenes* being too weak to defend the Kingdom of *Macedon*; and the fortune which had accompanied him againſt *Belgius*, failing him in his attempts againſt *Brennus*: the *Macedonians* were no leſs glad to ſubmit themſelves unto the government of *Antigonus*, than they had been formerly deſirous to free themſelves from the impotent rule of his Father *Demetrius*. His coming into the Country with an Army, Navy, and Treaſure beſeeming a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driven to uſe againſt the *Barbarians*, only thoſe forces which he brought with him, having none other than good wiſhes of the *Macedons* to take his part. *Brennus* with the main ſtrength of his Army, was gone to ſpoil the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, having left no more behinde him, than he thought neceſſary to guard the borders of *Macedon* and *Pannonia*; which were about fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Theſe could not be idle, but thought to get ſomewhat for themſelves, in the abſence of their fellows: and therefore ſent unto *Antigonus*, offering to ſell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Ceraunus*, he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuſe. *Antigonus* was unwilling to weaken his reputation by condeſcending to their proud demands: yet he judged it unfit to exaſperate their furious choler, by uncourteous words or uſage, as *Ceraunus* had over-fondly done. Wherefore he entertained their Embaſſadours in very loving and ſumptuous manner, with a royal feaſt: wherein he expoſed to their view ſuch abundance of maſſie gold and ſilver, that they were not ſo much delighted with the meat, as with ſight of the veſſels, wherein it was ſerved. He thought hereby to make them underſtand how great a Prince he was, and how able if need required, to wage a mighty Army.

To which end, he likewiſe did ſhew unto them his Camp and Navy, but eſpecially his Elephants. But all this bravery ſerved only to kindle their greedy appetites; who ſeeing his ſhips heavy loaden, his Camp full of wealth, and ill fortified, himſelf (as it ſeemed) ſecure, and his men, both in ſtrength and courage, inferiour unto the *Gauls*, thought all time loſt wherein they ſuffered the preſent poſſeſſors to ſpend the riches which they accounted aſſuredly their own. They returned therefore to their companions with none other news in their mouths, than of ſpoil and purchaſe: which tale carried the *Gauls* head-long to *Antigonus* his Camp, where they expected a greater booty, than the victory over *Ceraunus* had given to *Belgius*. Their coming was terrible and ſudden; yet not ſo ſudden, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who diſtruſting the courage of his own men, diſlodged ſomewhat before their arrival, and conveyed himſelf, with his whole Army and Carriage, into certain woods adjoyning, where he lay cloſe.

The *Gauls*, finding his Camp forſaken, were not haſty to purſue him, but fell to ranſacking the empty Cabbins of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either loſt or hidden. At length, when they had ſearched every place in vain, angry at their loſt labour, they marched with all ſpeed towards the Sea-ſide; that they might fall upon him, whilſt he was buſie in getting his Men and Carriages a ſhip-board. But the ſucceſs was no way anſwerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought upon *Antigonus*, they were ſo careleſs of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the ſpoil of what they found on the ſhore, and in ſuch ſhips as lay on ground.

Part of the Army had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in covert; and had ſaved it ſelf by getting aboard the Fleet: in which number were ſome well-experienced men of War: who diſcovering the much advantage offered unto them, by the deſperate preſumption of their enemies, took courage, and encouraged others to lay manly hold upon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great reſolution, gave ſo brave a charge upon the diſordered *Gauls*, that their contemptuous boldneſs was thereby changed into ſudden fear, and they, after a great ſlaughter, driven to caſt themſelves into the ſervice of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this Victory cauſed all the barbarous

barbarous Nations in those quarters to re-entertain their ancient belief of the *Macedonian* valour: by which the terrible and resistless oppressors of so many Countries were overthrown.

To speak more of the *Gauls* in this place, and to shew how, about these times, three Tribes of them passed over into *Asia* the less, with their wars and conquests there; I hold it needless: the victorious Armies of the *Romans* taming them hereafter in the Countries which now they wan, shall give better occasion to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howsoever the good success of *Antigonus* got him reputation among the barbarous people; yet his own Souldiers, that without his leading had won this Victory, could not thereupon be perswaded to think him a good man of war: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the service, wherein his conduct was no better than creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appear) was greatly helpfull unto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not so much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affairs in *Italy* stood upon hard terms, had sent unto *Antigonus* for help: not without threats, in case it were denyed. So was he sure to get either a supply, wherewith to continue his War against the *Romans*; or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake *Italy*, under colour of making his word good, in seeking revenge. The threats which he had used in bravery, meer necessity forced him at his return into *Epirus*, to put in practice.

He brought home with him eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse: an Army too little to be employed, by his restless nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had means to keep in pay. Therefore he fell upon *Macedon*; intending to take what spoil he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this business, two thousand of *Antigonus* his souldiers revolted unto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings easily perswaded the courage of this daring Prince to set upon *Antigonus* himself, and to hazard his fortune, in trial of a Battel, for the whole Kingdom of *Macedon*.

It appears, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight with this hot warriour; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to weary him out of the Country. For *Pyrrhus* overtook him in a streight passage, and charged him in the rear; wherein were the *Gauls* and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength; a manifest proof that he was in retrait. The *Gauls* very bravely sustained *Pyrrhus* his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slain) after a sharp fight: wherein it seems that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the streight, and not advancing to their succour, took away their courage, by deceiving their expectation. The Captains of the Elephants were taken soon after; who finding themselves exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the *Gauls*, yielded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus* and his *Macedonians*, to their great discomfort; which emboldened *Pyrrhus* to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged only in a front, it was matter of extreme difficulty (if not impossible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had seen so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*; who discovered so well their affections, that he adventured to draw near in person, and exhort them to yield. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader refused to become his follower. All forsook *Antigonus*, a few horse-men excepted, that fled along with him to *Thessalonica*; where he had some small forces left, and mony enough to entertain a greater power, had he known where to levy it. But whilst he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gauls* into his service; whereby he might repair his loss: *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Pyrrhus*, came upon him, and easily defeating his weak forces, drave him to flie from the parts about *Macedon*, to those Towns afar off in *Peloponnesus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himself a King.

This good success revived the spirits of the *Epirot*, and caused him to forget all sorrow of his late mis-fortunes in the *Roman* War: so that he sent for his Son *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come over into *Greece*, where was more matter of conquest, and let the *Italians* shift for themselves.

§. V.

How Pyrrhus *assailed* Sparta *without success. His enterprise upon* Argos, *and his death.*

PYrrhus had now conceived a great hope that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing that in open fight he had vanquished the *Gauls*, and beaten *Antigonus*, and

and won the Kingdom of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeed, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had won, any Leader of ſuch name and worth, as deſerved to be ſet up againſt him: which filled him with the opinion that he might do what he pleaſed. He raiſed therefore an Army, conſiſting of five and twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and four and twenty Elephants; pretending War againſt *Antigonus*, and the giving liberty to thoſe Towns in *Peloponneſus*, which the ſame *Antigonus* held in ſubjection; though it was eaſily diſcovered, that ſuch great preparations were made, for accompliſhment of ſome deſign more important than War againſt a Prince already vanquiſhed, and almoſt utterly dejected. Eſpecially the *Lacedæmonians* feared this expedition, as made againſt their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being exp[illegible] out of his Country, had betaken hi[illegible] to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promiſed to reſtore him to his Kingdom. This promiſe was made in ſecret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make ſhew of any diſpleaſure that he bare unto *Sparta*; but contrariwiſe profeſſed, that it was his intent, to have two of his own younger Sons trained up in that City, as in a place of noble diſcipline. With ſuch colours he deluded men, even till he entred upon *Laconia*; where preſently he demeaned himſelf as an open enemy; excuſing himſelf and his former diſſembling words with a jeſt; *That he followed herein the Lacedæmonian cuſtom, of concealing what was truly purpoſed.* It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*, to deal in like ſort with others, whom, in the time of their greatneſs, they ſought to oppreſs: but now they complained of that, as falſhood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they alwayes practiſed in wiſdom, till it made them diſtruſted, forſaken, and almoſt contemptible. Nevertheleſs, they were not wanting to themſelves in this dangerous extremity. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Town; cauſing ſuch as could bear arms to reſerve themſelves freſh againſt the aſſault: which *Pyrrhus* had unwiſely deferred, upon aſſurance of prevailing.

Sparta was never fortified, before this time, otherwiſe than with armed Citizens: ſoon after this (it being built upon uneven ground, and, for the moſt part, hard to approach) the lower and more acceſſible places, were fenced with walls, at the preſent only trenches were caſt, and barricadoes made with Carts, where the entrance ſeemed moſt eaſie. Three days together it was aſſailed by *Pyrrhus* exceeding fiercely; and no leſs ſtoutly defended. The deſperate courage of the Citizens preſerved the Town the firſt day; whereinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the ſecond day, but that his wounded horſe threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindful of ſaving the perſon of their King, than of breaking into the City, though already they had torn in ſunder the Barricadoes. Preſently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captains got into *Sparta*, with a good ſtrength of men; and *Areus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had been helping his friends in War) with two thouſand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Country ſtood, until he was almoſt at home. Theſe ſuccours did not more animate the *Spartans*, than kindle in *Pyrrhus* a deſire to prevail againſt all impediments. But the third dayes work ſhewed how great his errour had been, in forbearing to aſſault the Town at his firſt coming. For he was ſo manfully repelled, that he ſaw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwiſe than by a long ſiege: in which tedious courſe he had no deſire to ſpend his time.

Antigonus had now raiſed an Army, though not ſtrong enough to meet the Enemy in plain field, yet able to hinder all his purpoſes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtful what way to take; being diverſly affected, by the difficulty of his enterpriſe in hand, and the ſhame of taking a repulſe in his firſt attempt. Whilſt he was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inviting him thither; with promiſe to deliver that City into his hands.

Civil Diſſention raging then hotly in *Argos*, cauſed the heads of ſeveral factions to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the comeing of theſe two Princes taught the Citizens wit, and made them deſirous to rid their hands of ſuch powerful aſſiſtants, as each of the two Kings pretended himſelf to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to ſave them from the tyranny of *Pyrrhus*: and that he would be gone, if they need not his help. On the other ſide, *Pyrrhus* would needs perſwade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them ſafe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they ſo deſired.

The *Argives* took ſmall pleaſure in hearing the Fox and Kite at ſtrife, which of them ſhould keep the Chickens from his enemy: and therefore prayed them both to divert their powers ſome other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condeſcended, and gave hoſtages to aſſure his word: for

he was the weaker, and ſtood in need of good will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promiſe: Hoſtages he would give none to his inferiours, eſpecially meaning deceit. This made them ſuſpect his purpoſe to be ſuch, as indeed it was. Yet he leſs regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of aſſurance, by giving ſuch a bond, as he intended to break ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the City ſhould be opened by night unto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Army without any tumult entred the City: till the Elephants, with Towers on their back, cloyed the way, being too high to paſs the Gate. The taking off, and ſetting on again of thoſe Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarm to the City, and ſome leiſure to take order for defence, before ſo many were entred, as could fully maſter it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the *Gaules* (that had the Vantguard) being ignorant of the wayes in the dark night. The Citizens, on the other ſide, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by-paſſage: and ſetting upon the enemies on all ſides, did put them to great loſs and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore underſtanding by the confuſed noiſe, and unequal ſhoutings of his own men, that they were in diſtreſs, entred the City in perſon, to take order for their relief, and aſſurance of the place. But the darkneſs, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, until break of day. Then began he to make his paſſage by force, and ſo far prevailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is ſaid, that ſeeing in that place the Image of a Wolf and a Bull, in ſuch poſiture as if they had been combatant, he called to mind an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he ſhould behold a Bull fighting with a Wolf: and that hereupon he made retrait.

Indeed, the coming of *Antigonus* to the reſcue, the diſorder and confuſion of his own men, with divers ill accidents, gave him reaſonable cauſe to have retired out of the City, though the Wolf and Bull had been away. The tumult was ſuch, that no directions could be heard; but as ſome gave back, ſo did others thruſt forward, and the *Argives* preſſing hard upon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retrait with his own ſword. The tops of the houſes were covered with Women, that ſtood looking on the fight. Among theſe was one, that ſaw her own Son in dangerous caſe, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore ſhe took a tile-ſtone, or ſlate, and threw it ſo violently down on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to the ground aſtoniſhed with the blow; and lying in that caſe, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the reſtleſs ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdom of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith poſſeſſed the Army, the body, and the children of his Enemy. The body of *Pyrrhus* had honourable burial, and was given by *Antigonus* unto *Helenus* his Son; which young Prince he graciouſly ſent home into his Fathers Kingdom of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the poſterity of *Seleucus* reigned over *Aſia* and *Syria*; and the houſe of *Ptolomy* had quiet poſſeſſion of *Egypt*: untill ſuch time as the City of *Rome*, ſwallowing all up, digeſted theſe, among other Countreys, into the body of her own Empire.

Finis Libri quarti.

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the ſettled Rule of *Alexanders* Succeſſors in the Eaſt, untill the *Romans*, prevailing over all, made Conqueſt of *Aſia* and *Macedon*.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the firſt Punick War.

§. I.

A Diſcuſſion of that Probleme of Livie; Whether the Romans could have reſiſted the Great Alexander. *That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equal valour to the Engliſh.*

THAT Queſtion handled by *Livie*, *Whether the Great* Alexander *could have prevailed againſt the Romans, if after his Eaſtern Conqueſt, he had bent all his Forces againſt them*, hath been, and is the ſubject of much diſpute; which (as it ſeems to me) the argu-ments on both ſides do not ſo well explain, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath given of the *Roman* power in his dayes. For if he, a Commander (in *Hannibals* judgement) inferiour to *Alexander*, though to none elſe, could with a ſmall ſtrength of men, and little ſtore of mony, or of other needful helps in War, vanquiſh them in two Battels, and endanger their Eſtate, when it was well ſettled and held the beſt part of *Italy*, under a confirmed obedience: what would *Alexander* have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needful to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of employment, coming upon them before their Dominion was half ſo well ſetled? It is eaſie to ſay, that *Alexander* had no more than thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe (as indeed, at his firſt paſſage into *Aſia*, he carried over not many more) and that the reſt of his followers were no better than baſe effe-

nate *Asiatiques*. But he that considers the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolomy*, *Antigonus* and *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead Emperours power, shall easily find, that such a reckoning is far short of the truth.

It were needless to speak of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of Battery, and the like: of all which the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having nought, save men and arms. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punick* War, were trained in the rudiments of Navigation; sitting upon the shoar, and beating the sand with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oar, as not daring to lanch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will easily conceive how far too weak they would have proved in such services.

Now for helpers in War; I do not see why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deserve to be laid in ballance against those parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subjection. To omit therefore all benefit that the Eastern World, more wealthy, indeed, than valiant, could have afforded unto the *Macedonian:* let us only conjecture, how the States of *Sicil* and *Carthage*, neareſt neighbours to such a quarrel (had it happened) would have stood affected. The *Sicilians* were for the most part *Grecians*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily have submitted themselves unto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what terms they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, that *Alexanders* coming into those parts, would have brought excessive joy to them that were fain to get the help of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his subjects. As for the *Carthaginians*, if *Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his own besieged City, could by adventuring to sail into *Africk*, put their Dominion, yea, and *Carthage* it self, in extream hazard; shall we think that they would have been able to withstand *Alexander?* But why do I question their ability, seeing that they sent Embassadours, with their submission, as far as *Babylon*, ere the War drew near them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some other few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none that forsook them not, at some time, both before and after this) have opposed their valour and good military discipline, against the power of all Countreys to them known, if they would have made resistance. How they could have sped well, in undertaking such a match; it is uneasie to find in discourse of humane reason. It is true, that vertue and fortune work wonders; but it is against cowardly fools, and the unfortunate: for whosoever contends with one too mighty for him, either must excell in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or else must look both to be overcome, and to be cast down so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman* or the *Macedonian* were in those dayes the better Souldier, I will not take upon me to determine: though I might without partiality, deliver mine own opinion, and preferr that Army, which followed not only *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of War, before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune, who can give a rule that shall alwayes hold? *Alexander* was victorious in every Battel that he fought: and the *Romans* in the issue of every War. But forasmuch as *Livie* hath judged this a matter worthy of consideration; I think it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italy:* where in three years after his death, the two *Roman* Consuls, together with all the powers of that State, were surprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yield up their arms. We may therefore permit *Livie* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Captains of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the same conceit should blind our judgement, we cannot permit without much vanity.

Now in deciding such a Controversie, me-thinks it were not amiss, for an *Englishman*, to give such a sentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) between the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that strove about a piece of Land; saying, that it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the *Romans* themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman* were the best Warriour? I will answer, The *Englishman.*

man. For it will ſoon appear to any that ſhall examine the noble acts of our Nation in war, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; againſt no ſavage or unmanly people; the enemy being far ſuperiour unto us in number, and all needful proviſions, yea, as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exerciſe of War.

In what ſort *Philip* wan his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Perſians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquiſhed; as likewiſe of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, againſt ſuch arms as it commonly encountred: any man, that hath taken pains to read the foregoing ſtory of them, doth ſufficiently underſtand. Yet was this *Phalanx* never, or very ſeldom, able to ſtand againſt the *Roman* Armies; which were embattelled in ſo excellent a form, as I know not whether any Nation beſides them have uſed, either before or ſince. The *Roman* weapons likewiſe, both offenſive and defenſive, were of greater uſe than thoſe with which any other Nation hath ſerved, before the fiery inſtruments of Gun-powder were known. As for the enemies with which *Rome* had to do, we find, that they which did over-match him in numbers, were as far over-matched by her in weapons; and that they, of whom ſhe had little advantage in arms, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This alſo (as *Plutarch* well obſerveth) was a part of her happineſs; that ſhe was never over-laid with two great Wars at once.

Hereby it came to paſs, that having at firſt increaſed her ſtrength by acceſſion of the *Sabines*; having won the State of *Alba*, againſt which ſhe adventured her own ſelf, as it were in wager, upon the heads of three Champions: and having thereby made her ſelf Princeſs of *Latium*, ſhe did afterwards by long war, in many ages, extend her Dominion over all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well-near oppreſſed her: but her Souldiers were Mercenary; ſo that for want of proper ſtrength, they were eaſily beaten at their own doors. The *Ætolians*, and, with them, all, or the moſt of *Greece*, aſſiſted her againſt *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his help to beat the ſame *Ætolians*. The wars againſt *Antiochus*, and other *Aſiatiques*, were ſuch as gave to *Rome* ſmall cauſe of boaſt, though much of joy: for thoſe oppoſites were as baſe of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands, by uſing her aid to protect them againſt the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I ſhall not need to ſpeak of her other conqueſts: it was eaſie to get more when ſhe had gotten all this. It is not my purpoſe to diſgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemiſh the reputation of ſo many famous victories: I am not ſo idle. This I ſay; That among all their wars, I find not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *Engliſh*. If my judgement ſeem over-partial, our wars in *France* may help to make it good.

Firſt therefore it is well known, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world beſides) had never any ſo brave a Commander in war as *Julius Cæſar*: and that no *Roman* Army was comparable unto that which ſerved under the ſame *Cæſar*. Likewiſe, it is apparent, that this gallant Army, which had given fair proof of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* war, when it firſt entred into *Gaule*; was nevertheleſs utterly diſheartned, when *Cæſar* led it againſt the *Germans*. So that we may juſtly impute all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Cæſars* men, to their long exerciſe, under ſo good a Leader, in ſo great a War. Now let us in general compare with the deeds done by theſe beſt of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principal ſervice; the things performed in the ſame Country, by our common *Engliſh* Souldiers, levied in haſte, from following the Cart, or ſitting on the ſhop-ſtall: ſo ſhall we ſee the difference. Herein will we deal fairly, and believe *Cæſar* in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Hiſtorians to witneſs, what actions were performed by the *Engliſh*. In *Cæſars* time *France* was inhabited by the *Gaules*, a ſtout people, but inferiour to the *French*, by whom they were ſubdued; even when the *Romans* gave them aſſiſtance. The Country of *Gaule* was rent in ſunder (as *Cæſar* witneſſeth) into many Lordſhips: ſome of which were governed by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in ſuch ſort as might make it appliable to the neareſt Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not only in general through the whole Country, but between the petty States, yea in every City, and almoſt in every houſe. What greater advantage could a Conquerour deſire? Yet there was a greater. *Arioviſtus*, with his *Germans*, had over-run the Country, and held much part of it in ſubjection, little different from meer ſlavery: yea, ſo often had the *Germans* prevailed in war upon the *Gaules*, that the *Gaules*, (who had ſometimes been the better Souldiers) did hold themſelves no way

equal

equal to those daily Invaders. Had *France* been so prepared unto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it self by this time, and long ere this time, would have been ours. But when King *Edward* the third began his war upon *France*, he found the whole Country setled in obedience to one mighty King; a King whose reputation abroad, was no less than his puissance at home; under whose ensign, the King of *Bohemia* did serve in person; at whose call the *Genowayes*, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take arms; finally, a King unto whom one (*a*) Prince gave away his Dominion, for love; (*b*) another sold away a goodly City and Territory for mony. The Country lying so open to the *Romans* and being so well fenced against the *English*; it is note-worthy, not who prevailed most therein (for it were meer vanity to match the *English* purchases with the *Roman* conquest) but whether of the two gave the greater proof of military vertue. *Cæsar* himself doth witness, that the *Gaules* complained of their own ignorance in the Art of war, and that their own hardiness was overmastered by the skill of their enemies. Poor men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of battery, raised and planted against their walls, as more than humane works. What greater wonder is it, that such a people was beaten by the *Romans*; than that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant, as any under the sky, are commonly put to the worse by small numbers of *Spaniards*? Besides all this, we are to have regard of the great difficulty that was found, in drawing all the *Gaules*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joynt forces they might oppose their assailants: as also the much more difficulty of holding them long together. For hereby it came to pass, that they were never able to make use of opportunity: but sometimes compelled to stay for their fellows; and sometimes driven to give or take battel upon extream disadvantages, for fear lest their companies should fall asunder: as indeed, upon any little disaster, they were ready to break, and return every one to the defence of his own. All this, and (which was little less than all this) great odds in weapon gave to the *Romans* the honour of many gallant Victories. What such help? or what other worldly help, than the golden mettle of their Souldiers, had our *English* Kings against the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of War? Yea, did they not think themselves therein our superiours? Were they not in arms, in horse, and in all provisions, exceedingly beyond us?

(*a*) The Dolphin of Viennois. (*b*) The King of Majorca

Let us hear what a *French* writer saith of the inequality that was between the *French* and *English*, when their King *John* was ready to give the on-set upon the *Black Prince*, at the battel of *Poitiers*. John *had all advantages over* Edward, *both of number, force, shew, Country, and conceit (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affairs;) and withall, the choice of all his horsemen (esteemed then the best in* Europe) *with the greatest and wisest Captains of his whole Realm.* And what could he more?

I think it would trouble a *Roman* Antiquary to find the like example in their Histories; the example I say, of a King, brought prisoner to *Rome*, by an army of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with forty thousand, better appointed, and no less expert Warriours. This I am sure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of half Scullions, as *Livie* rightly terms them, nor their cowardly Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, are worthy patterns. All that have read of *Cressi* and *Agincourt*, will bear me witness, that I do not alledge the battel of *Poitiers*, for lack of other, as good examples of the *English* Vertue: the proof whereof hath left many a hundred better marks in all quarters of *France*, than ever did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute these Victories of ours to the long bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the *French* Cross-bow: my answer is ready; That in all these respects, it is also (being drawn with a strong arm) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more use. The Gun and the Cross-bow are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weakness or sickness, or a sore finger makes the long Bow unserviceable. More particularly, I say, that it was the costem of our Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, *point blank*: and so shall he perceive, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battel. This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the distance of a Butts length, one flight of arrows, or two at the most, can be delivered before they close. Neither is it in general true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly than the Cross-bow: but this is the rare effect of an extraordinary arm; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall ask, How then came it to pass, that the *English* wan so many great battels, having no advantage to help him? I may, with best commendation of modesty,

referr

refer him to the *French* Hiſtorian; who relating the victory of our men at *Crevant*; where they paſſed a Bridge in face of the enemy, uſeth theſe words: *The Engliſh comes with a conquering bravery, as he that was accuſtomed to gain every-where without any ſtay: he forceth our guard placed upon the Bridge to keep the paſſage.* Or I may cite another place of the ſame Author, where he tells, how the *Britons*, being invaded by *Charls* the eighth, King of *France*, thought it good policy to apparel a thouſand and five hundred of their own men in *Engliſh* Caſſocks; hoping that the very ſight of the *Engliſh* Red Croſs, would be enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not ſtand to borrow of the *French* Hiſtorians (all which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Æmilius*, report wonders of our Nation:) the propoſition which firſt I undertook to maintain; *That the military vertue of the Engliſh, prevailing againſt all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the Romans, which was aſſiſted with all advantages that could be deſired.* If it be demanded, Why then did not our Kings finiſh the Conqueſt, as *Cæſar* had done? my anſwer may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the Race of *Æacidæ*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gave this note; *Bellipotentes ſunt magis quàm ſapientipotentes: They were more war-like than politick.* Whoſo notes their proceedings, may find, that none of them went to work like a Conquerour, ſave only King *Henry* the fifth; the courſe of whoſe victories it pleaſed God to interrupt by his death. But this queſtion is the more eaſily anſwered, if another be firſt made. Why did not the *Romans* attempt the Conqueſt of *Gaul* before the time of *Cæſar*? Why not after the *Macedonian* War? Why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantian*? At all theſe times they had good leiſure: and then eſpecially had they both leiſure and fit opportunity, when under the conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquiſhed the *Cimbri*, and *Teutones*, by whom the Country of *Gaul* had been pitiouſly waſted. Surely, the words of *Tully* were true; That with other Nations the *Romans* fought for Dominion, with the *Gauls* for preſervation of their own ſafety.

Therefore they attempted not the Conqueſt of *Gaule*, until they were Lords of all other Countreys, to them known. We on the other ſide, held only the one half of our own Iſland; the other half being inhabited by a Nation (unleſs perhaps in wealth and numbers of men ſomewhat inferiour) every way equal to our ſelves; a Nation anciently and ſtrongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard enemy to us. So that our danger lay both before and behind us: and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwayes we feared, a ſtronger Invaſion by Land, than we could make upon *France*, tranſporting our Forces over Sea.

It is uſual with men, that have pleaſed themſelves in admiring the matters which they find in ancient Hiſtories: to hold it a great injury done to their judgement, if any take upon him, by way of compariſon, to extoll the things of latter ages. But I am well perſwaded, that as the divided vertue of this our Iſland, hath given more noble proof of it ſelf, than under ſo worthy a Leader, that *Roman* Army could do, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her Empire, making *Cæſar* a *Monarch*; ſo hereafter, by Gods bleſſing, who hath converted our greateſt hinderance, into our greateſt help, the enemy that ſhall dare to try our forces, will find cauſe to wiſh, that avoiding us, he had rather encountred as great a puiſſance as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that laying aſide compariſons, we return to the rehearſal of deeds done; wherein we ſhall find, how *Rome* began, after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italy*, to ſtrive with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the firſt *Punick* War.

§. II.

The eſtate of Carthage *before it entred into War with* Rome.

THE City of *Carthage* had ſtood above ſix hundred years, when firſt it began to contend with *Rome* for the maſtery of *Sicil*. It fore-went *Rome* one hundred, and fifty years in antiquity of foundation: but in the honour of great atchievements, it excelled far beyond this advantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion in *Africa* it ſelf, from the Weſt of *Cyrene*, to the ſtreights of *Hercules*, about one thouſand and five hundred miles in length, wherein ſtood three hundred Cities. It had ſubjected all *Spain*, even to the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, together with all the Iſlands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, to the Weſt of *Sicil*; and of *Sicil* the better part. It flouriſhed about ſeven hundred and thirty years, before the deſtruction thereof by *Scipio*: who, beſides other ſpoils, and all that the Souldiers reſerved, carried thence four hundred and ſeventy thouſand weight of ſilver, which make of our mony (if our pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and

ten

ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious City ran the same fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest pieces of the world fore-shews the dissolution of the whole.

About one hundred years after such time as it was cast down, the Senate of *Rome* caused it to be re-built: and by *Gracchus* it was called *Junonia*: it was again and again abandoned and re-peopled, taken and re-taken; by *Genfericus* the *Vandal*, by *Belliſarius* under *Juſtinian*, by the *Perſians*, by the *Egyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The ſeat thereof was exceeding ſtrong: and while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compaſſed it about, ſaving that it was tyed to the Main by a neck of Land; which paſſage had two miles and more of breadth (*Appian* ſaith, three miles and one furlong) by which we may be induced to believe the common report, that the City it ſelf was above twenty miles in compaſs; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to have been twice as great.

It had three Walls without the Wall of the City; and between each of thoſe, three or four Streets, with Vaults under ground, of thirty foot deep, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: over theſe they had ſtables for four thouſand horſe, and Granaries for their provender. They had alſo lodgings in the Streets, between theſe out-walls, for four thouſand horſe-men, and twenty thouſand foot-men, which (according to the diſcipline uſed now by thoſe of *China*) never peſtered the City. It had towards the South part, the Caſtle of *Byrſa*; to which *Servius* gives two and twenty furlongs in compaſs, that make two miles and a half. This was the ſame piece of ground which *Dido* obtained of the *Lybians*, when ſhe got leave to buy only ſo much Land of them, as ſhe could compaſs with an Ox hide. On the Weſt-ſide it had alſo the Salt-Sea, but in the nature of a ſtanding pool; for a certain arm of Land, faſtened to the ground, on which the City ſtood, ſtretched it ſelf towards the Weſt-continent, and left but ſeventy foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this ſtanding-Sea was built a moſt ſumptuous *Arſenall*, having their Ships and Gallies riding under it.

The form of their Common-weal reſembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titulary Kings, and the *Ariſtocratical* Power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well obſerveth) the people in latter times uſurped too great authority in their Councils. This confuſion in Government, together with the truſt that they repoſed in hired Souldiers, were helping cauſes of their deſtruction in the end. Two other more forcible cauſes of their ruine, were their avarice and their cruelty. (*a*) Their avarice was ſhewed both in exacting from their Vaſſals (beſides ordinary tributes) the one (*b*) half of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great offices, not upon gentle and merciful perſons, but upon thoſe who would beſt tyranize over the people, to augment their treaſures. Their cruelty appeared, in putting them to death without mercy, that had offended through ignorance: the one of theſe rendred them odious to their Vaſſals, whom it made ready upon all occaſions, to revolt from them: the other did break the ſpirits of their Generals, by preſenting to the heat of their actions abroad, the fear of a cruel death at home. Hereby it came to paſs, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* Forces, after ſome great loſs received, have deſperately caſt themſelves, with all that remained under their charge, into the throat of deſtruction; holding it neceſſary, either to repair their loſſes quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them have dared to manage their own beſt projects, after that good form, wherein they firſt conceived them, for fear leſt the manner of their proceeding ſhould be miſ-interpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* Rule, to crucifie, not only the unhappy Captain, but even him, whoſe bad counſel had proſperous event. The faults, wherewith, in general, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Hiſtorians, I find to be theſe; luſt, cruelty, avarice, craft, unfaithfulneſs, and perjury. Whether the *Romans* themſelves were free from the ſame crimes, let the tryal be referred unto their actions. The firſt league between *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: having been made the year following the expulſion of *Tarquin*. In that league the *Carthaginians* had the ſuperiority, as impoſing upon the *Romans* the more ſtrict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* ſhould not ſo much as have

(*a*) Liv. Dec. 3. lib. 1. c. 9.
(*b*) Tributes are this day, do alſo take the one half of the fruits of the earth: yea they take both of the bodies and ſouls of the Chriſtians their Vaſſals, by bereaving them of their children, and bringing them up in the Mahometan Religion. The Iriſh take the fourth ſheaf: and were wont to eat up with their horſ-men, foot-men, and dogs, what they pleaſed, of the other three parts remaining. The Husbandman and the Yeoman of England are the freeſt of all the World: And reaſon good for of them have the bodies of our victorious Armies been compounded. And it is the free-man, and not the ſlave, that hath courage and the ſenſe of ſhame deſerved by cowardiſe. How free the *Engliſh* Yeomen have been in times, not long ſince paſt, *Fortescue* hath ſhewed in his praiſe of our Countreyes Laws. But I may ſay, that they are more free now than ever: and our Nobility and Gentry more ſervile. For ſince the exceſſive bravery and vain expence of our Gentry hath taught them to raiſe their Rents, ſince by Incloſures, and diſmembring of Mannors, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principalities of the Gentry of *England*, have been diſſolved, the Tenants having payed unto their Lords their rack Rent, owe them now no ſervice at all, and (perchance) as little love.

trade

trade in some part of *Africk*, nor suffer any ship of theirs to pass beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *fair Promontory*, unless it were by force of tempest: whereas on the other side, no Haven in *Italy* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second league was made long after, which (howsoever it hath pleased *Livy* to say, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreaty) was more strict than the former: prohibiting the *Romans* to have trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the Island of *Sardinia*.

Lib. Dec. 1. l. 7.

By these two treaties it may appear, that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not only to keep the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the state of *Africk*; but to countenance and uphold them, in their troubling all *Italy*, whereby they themselves might have the better means to occupy all *Sicil*, whilest that Island should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon we find good cause of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crown of gold, weighing twenty and five pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Samnites* were overthrown. But the little state of *Rome* pervailed faster in *Italy*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicil*. For that mighty army of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africk* into *Sicil*, wan only two Cities therein: many great fleets were devoured by tempests; and howsoever the *Carthaginians* prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their own valour, or by the assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repair their own losses, and take revenge upon those Invaders. But never were the people of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicil*, than when the death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Island in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilest the *Carthaginians* were busie in making their advantage of this good opportunity; *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines* and their fellows, came into *Italy*, where he made sharp war upon the *Romans*. These news were unpleasing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtile Nation, easily fore-saw, that the same busie disposition which had brought this Prince out of *Greece* into *Italy*, would as easily transport him over into *Sicil*, as soon as he could finish his *Roman* war. To prevent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassadour to *Rome*; who declared in their name, that they were sorry to hear what misadventure had befallen the *Romans* their good

Pol. Graec. Sicil. l.

friends in this war with *Pyrrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the state of *Rome*, by sending an Army into *Italy*; if their help were thought needful, against the *Epirots*.

It was indeed the main desire of the *Carthaginans*, to hold *Pyrrhus* so hardly to his work in *Italy*, that they might at good leisure, pursue their business in *Sicil*: which caused them to make so goodly an offer. But the *Romans* were two high-minded: and refused to accept any such aid of their friend, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seem unable to stand by their own strength. Yet the message was taken lovingly, as it ought; and the former league between *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed; with covenants added, concerning the present business; That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it should be with reservation of liberty, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrrhus* should invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, using all means to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one upon every new occasion, changeth his own purposes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leisure to make a step into *Sicil*: whether though in fine he was neither getter nor saver, yet he clean defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leaving them, at his departure from thence, as far from any end, as when they first began.

So many disasters in an enterprise, that from the first undertaking had been so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well have induced the *Carthaginians* to believe, that an higher providence resisted their intendment. But their desire of winning that fruitful Island, was so inveterate, that with unwearied patience, they still continued in hope of so much the greater an harvest, by how much their cost and pain therein buried had been the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and by force or practice, recovered in few years all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chief City of the Island, that so they might the better enable themselves to deal with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a troop of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had served under *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messana* as friends, and finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, took advantage of the power that they had to do wrong; and with perfidious cruelty, slew those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied

the City, Lands, Goods, and Wives of those whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meer desperation of finding any that would approve their barbarous treachery, added rage unto their stoutness. Having therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than *the law of the stronger*, they over-ran all the Country round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend *Messana* against the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate, to wit, against the *Syracusians*, and others, but they rather wan upon them; yea, and upon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turned her back to these *Mamertines*, the *Syracusians* wan fast upon them; and finally, confining them within the walls of *Messana*, they also with a powerful army besieged the City. It hapned ill, that about the same time a contention began between the *Syracusian* Souldiers, then lying at *Magara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and Governours of the Common wealth; which proceeded so far, that the Army elected two Governours among themselves, to wit, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his years excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrary to the policy of that State, to approve any election made by the Souldiers; yet for the great clemency used at his first entrance, he was by general consent established and made Governour. This office he rather used as a Scale, thereby to climb to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preferment.

In brief, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himself within the City; and somewhat without it, that gave impediment to his obtaining, and safe keeping of the place he sought, to wit, a powerful party within the Town, and certain mutinous troops of Souldiers without, often and easily moved to sedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himself, he took to Wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest estimation and authority among the *Syracusians*. For the second, leading out the Army to besiege *Messana*, he quartered all those companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the City, and leading the rest of his Horse and Foot unto the other side, as if he would have assaulted it in two several parts, he marched away under the covert of the Town walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the assieged: So returning home, and levying an Army of his own Citizens, well trained and obedient, he hasted again towards *Messana*, and was by the *Mamertines* (grown proud by their former victory over the Mutiners) incountred in the plains of *Mylæum*, where he obtained a most signal victory; and leading with him their Commander captive into *Syracuse*, himself by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, finding themselves utterly enfeebled, some of them resolved to give themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to crave assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom the several faction dispatched Embassadors for the very same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soon ready to lay hold upon the good offer: so that a Captain of theirs got into the Castle of *Messana*, whereof they that had sent for him gave him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captain, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doors, and the Town reserved for other Masters.

These news did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captain, as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Army to besiege *Messana*, as a Town that rebelled, having once been theirs. *Hieron* the new-made King of *Syracuse* (to gratifie his people incensed with the smart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entred into a league, for exterminating the *Mamertines* out of *Sicil*. So the *Mamertines* on all sides were closed up within *Messana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Navy at Sea, and with an Army on the one side of the Town, whilest *Hieron* with his *Syracusians* lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger came *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Consul, with an Army to the streights of *Sicil*: which passing by night with notable audacity, he put himself into the Town, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying unto them that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to give them protection, even by force of War, if reason would not prevail.

This message was utterly neglected; And so began the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein it will then be time to shew on which part was the Justice of the quarrel,

rell, when ſome actions of the *Romans* lately foregoing this, have been firſt conſidered.

§. III.

The beginning of the firſt Punick war. That it was unjuſtly undertaken by the Romans.

WHen *Pyrrhus* began his war in *Italy*, the City of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirot*, but much more diſtruſting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to ſeize upon it in that buſie time, ſought aid from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, conſiſting of four thouſand ſouldiers, under the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and aſſured for the preſent. But after a while, this *Roman* Garriſon, conſidering at good leiſure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Meſſana* (a City in *Sicil*, ſituate almoſt oppoſite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwiſe divided than by a narrow Sea, which ſevereth it from *Italy*) and rather weighing the greatneſs of the booty, than the odiouſneſs of the villany, by which it was gotten; reſolved finally, to make the like purchaſe, by taking the like wicked courſe. Confederating therefore themſelves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hoſts of *Rhegium*, after the ſame manner; dividing the ſpoil, and all which that State had, among themſelves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly ſtained (for no Nation in the world made a more ſevere profeſſion of juſtice, than they did during all the time of their growing greatneſs,) reſolved, after a while, to take revenge upon the offenders. And this they performed ſhortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italy* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithſtanding that thoſe *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulneſs of their fact, hopeleſs of pardon) defended themſelves with an obſtinate reſolution: yet in the end, the aſſailants forced them; and thoſe which eſcaped the preſent fury, were brought bound to *Rome*, where, after the uſual torments by whipping inflicted, according to the cuſtome of the country, they had their heads ſtricken from their ſhoulders, and the people of *Rhegium* were again reſtored to their former liberty and eſtates.

This execution of Juſtice being newly performed, and the fame thereof ſounding honourably through all quarters of *Italy*: meſſengers came to *Rome* from *Meſſana*, deſiring help againſt the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracuſians*, that were in a readineſs to inflict the like puniſhment upon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. A very impudent requeſt it was, which they made: who having both given example of that villany to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with joynt forces to make it good, do intreat the Judges to give them that aſſiſtance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow-thieves.

The *Romans* could not ſuddenly reſolve, whether the way of honeſty or of profit were to be followed; they evermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They conſidered, how contrary the courſe of ſuccouring the *Mamertines* was to their former counſels and actions: ſeeing for the ſame offences they had lately put to torment, and to the ſword, their own Souldiers, and reſtored the oppreſſed to their liberty. Yet when they beheld the deſcription of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the beſt part of *Africa*, of the *Metliterran* Iſlands, of a great part of *Spain*, and ſome part of *Sicil* it ſelf; whileſt alſo they feared, that *Syracuſe* therein ſeated (a City in beauty and riches, little at that time inferiour to *Carthage*, and far ſuperiour to *Rome* it ſelf) might become theirs; the ſafety of their own eſtate ſpake for theſe *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to deſpair by the *Romans*) ſhould deliver up *Meſſana*, with thoſe other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing ſtand between *Carthage*, and the Lordſhip of *Sicil*: for *Syracuſe* it ſelf could not, for want of ſuccor, any long time ſubſiſt, if once the *Carthaginians* that were Maſters of the Sea, did faſten upon that paſſage from the main Land. It was further conſidered; that the opportunity of *Meſſana* was ſuch, as would not only debarr all ſuccours out of the continent, from arrival in *Sicil*; but would ſerve as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italy*, at their own pleaſure.

Theſe conſiderations of profit at hand, and of preventing danger, that threatned from a-far, did ſo prevail above all regard of honeſty, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacy with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudus* the Conſul, preſently diſpatcht away for *Meſſana*: into which he entred, and undertook the protection of it, as is ſhewed before. The beſiegers were little troubled with his arrival; and leſs mo-

ved, with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did far exceed him in number of men; the whole Island was ready to relieve them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Town. All this *Appius* himself well understood: and against all this he thought the stiff mettal of his *Roman* Souldiers a sufficient remedy. Therefore he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his coming was to send them away from the Town; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficial to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieve another in distress. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his own mutinous followers not long before: only he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his own quarter, without help of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by unexpected sally, to surpise his trenches) arranged his men in order of battel, wherewith he presented him. The *Syracusian* wanted not courage to fight; but surely he wanted good advice: else would he not have hazzarded all his power against an enemy of whom he had made no trial; when it had been easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his own Camp. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorn the beginning of his reign. But he was well beaten, and driven to save himself within his trenches: by which loss, he learned a point of wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in good stead all the days of his life. It was a foolish desire of revenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so busie, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

Had *Messana* been taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it self must have sought help from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mighty Cities) but a small stock, which it behooveth him to govern well: such another loss would have made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake up his Camp: and retired home: intending to let them stand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* Army gone, did with great courage, and with much alacrity of his Souldiers, give charge upon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enemy forsook both field and camp, leaving all the Country open to the *Romans*; who having spoiled all round, without resistance, intended to lay siege unto the great City of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes of attaining to greater matters, than at the first they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any form of terrour in the City of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost than what had been prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, without any suspicion of War from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this war; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honesty (for questionless the enterprise was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict terms of lawfulness; whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yield themselves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot find: neither can I find how the messengers of those folk, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendry in the publick name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull surrendry of themselves and their possessions, were become subject unto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assist the *Mamertines*, against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might have aided the *Campanes* against the *Samnites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point serving to clear this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtless it is, that no company of Pyrates, Thieves, Out-laws, Murderers, or such other Malefactors, can by any good success of their villany, obtain the priviledge of civil societies, to make league or truce; yea, or to require fair war: but are by all means, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take upon me to maintain that opinion of some *Civilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince or State can give protection to such as these, as long as any other is using the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming necessary to their crimes. Wherefore we may esteem this action of the

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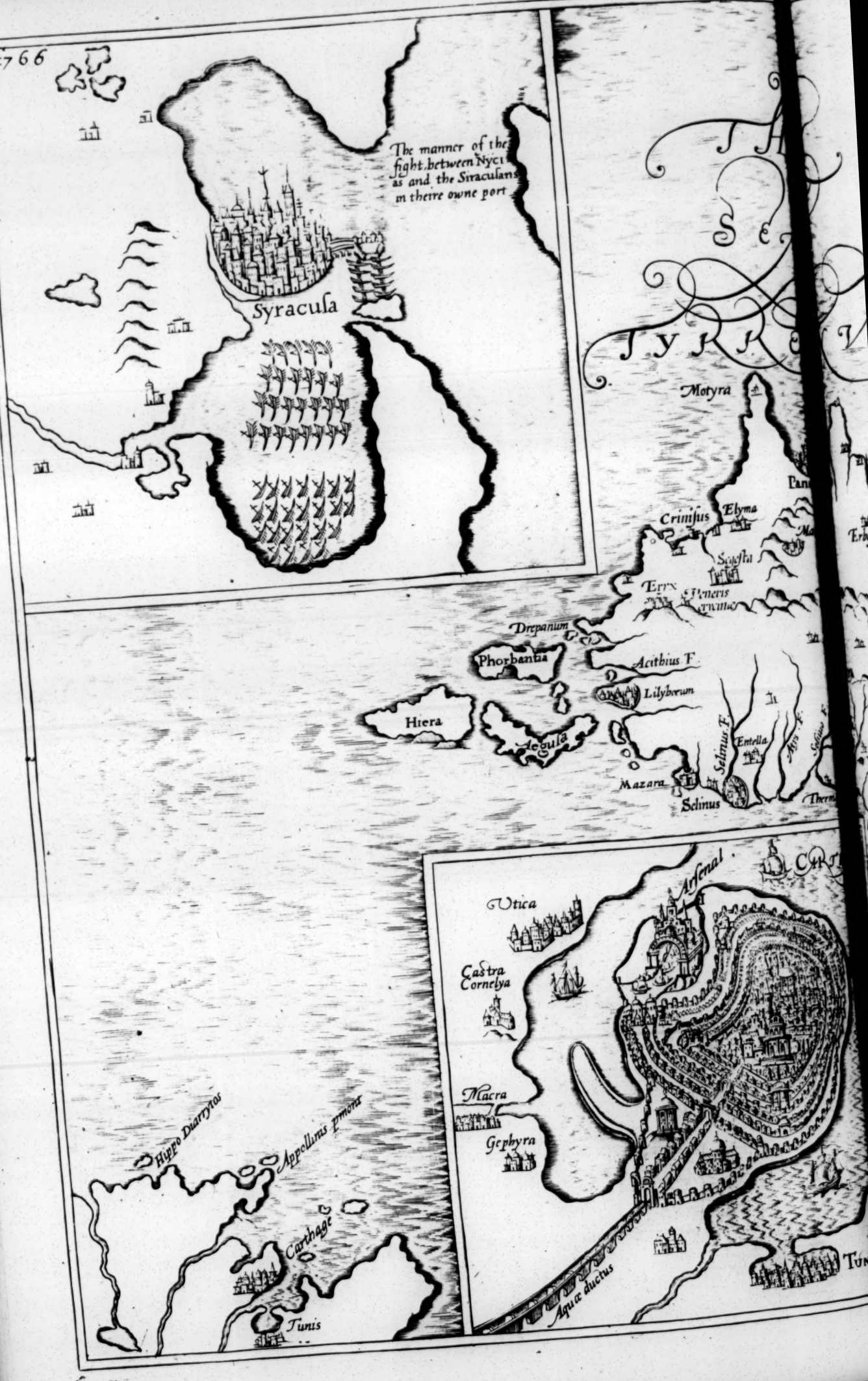
The manner of the fight between Nycias and the Siraculans in theire owne port
Syracusa
Motyra
Crimisus
Elyma
Scirpha
Drepanum
Phorbantia
Acithius F.
Lilybæum
Hiera
Aegulæ
Selinus F.
Entella
Mazara
Selinus
Utica
Arsenal
Castra Cornelya
Macra
Gephyra
Hippo Diarrytos
Appollinis promont
Carthage
Tunis
Aquæ ductus

Lipara
Vulcan's Temple
Rhegium
Melsana or Zancle
Tauromena or Naxos
Actna M.
Asines F.
Simethus F.
Cyclopum scopuli
Catana
Himera
Himera F.
Erbessus
Enna
Terias F.
Chrysas F.
CYCLOPES
Trotilum
Morgentium
Leontium
Herbessus
Mactorium
Megara or Hyhla
Megaris Sinus
Thapsus
Lucas F.
SICANIA REGIO
Trinacia
SYRACUSII
Anapus F.
Syracusæ
Agrigentum
Himera or Gela F.
Sicanus F.
Hypsa F.
Lepas
Cyparis F.
Erinceus
Gela
Camarina
Dianæ
The overthrow of Nicias
Elorus
Asinagus flu.
Pachynus P:
Callipolis
Motya
AFRICA
SEA

Romans ſo far from being juſtifiable, by any pretence of confederacy made with them; as that contrariwiſe, by admitting this neſt of Murderers and Thieves into their protection, they juſtly deſerved to be warred upon themſelves, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Meſſana* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all ſlain, e're any news of the Confederacy had been brought unto the beſiegers. The great *Alexander* was ſo far perſwaded herein; that he did put to ſword all the *Branchiadæ* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their City, notwithſtanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; becauſe they were deſcended from a company of *Mileſians*, who to gratifie King *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Town and Country, which theſe of their poſterity enjoyed. Nevertheleſs in courſe of humane juſtice, long and peaceable poſſeſſion gives *jus acquiſitum*, a kind of right by preſcription unto that which was firſt obtained by wicked means: and doth free the deſcendants from the crime of their Anceſtors, whoſe villanies they do not exerciſe. But that the ſame generation of Thieves, which by a deteſtable fact hath purchaſed a rich Town, ſhould be acknowledged a lawfull company of Citizens, there is no ſhew of right. For even the Conquerer that by open War obtaineth a Kingdom, doth not confirm his title, by thoſe victories which gave him firſt poſſeſſion: but length of time is requiſite to eſtabliſh him, unleſs by ſome alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claim, as did our King *Henry* the firſt, by his marriage with *Maude*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Ironſide*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had ſo good) of juſtice, in this quarrel, than had the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandols*, and other Nations, of the Wars that they made upon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her ſelf, in the time of her viſitation, was burnt to the ground.

§. IV.

Of the Iſland of Sicil.

†. I.

The qualitie of the Iſland: and the firſt inhabitants thereof.

THe defence of the *Mamertines*, or the poſſeſſion of *Meſſana*, being now no longer ſince the firſt victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage* are about to contend: it will be agreeable unto the order, which in the like caſes we have obſerved, to make a brief collection of things concerning that noble Iſland, which have been the ſtage of many great acts, performed as well before and after, as in this preſent War.

That *Sicil* was ſometimes a *Peninſula*, or *Demie-Iſle*, adjoyning to *Italy*, as a part of *Brutium* in *Calabria*, near unto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempeſt ſevered from the ſame: it is a general opinion of all antiquity. But at what certain time this diviſion happened, there is no memorial remaining in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Dioniſius* affirm, that it was cauſed by an earth-quake; *Silius* and *Caſſiodorus* do think it to have been done by the rage and violence of the tide, and ſurges of the Sea. Either of theſe opinions may be true; for ſo was *Eubœa* ſevered from *Bœotia*; *Atalante* and *Marcis* from *Eubœa*; *Sillie* here in *England*, from the cape of *Cornwall*; and *Brittain* it ſelf (as may ſeem by *Verſtigans* arguments) from the oppoſite continent of *Gaule*. But for *Sicil*, they which lend their ears to fables, do attribute the cauſe of it to *Neptune* (as *Euſtathius* witneſſeth) who with his three-forked Mace, in favour of *Jocaſtus*, the ſon of *Æolus*, divided it from the main land, and ſo made it an Iſland, which before was but a *Demie-Iſle*; that by that means he might the more ſafely inhabit, and poſſeſs the ſame. *Diodorus Siculus*, moved by the authority of *Heſiodus*, aſcribeth the labour of ſundring it from *Italy*, to *Orion*: who that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountains) firſt opened the *Sicilian* ſtreights, as *Hercules* did thoſe of *Gibralter*.

Plin. l. 2. c. 91. Sil. l. 5.

Orion. l. 4. c. 14. Diod. l. 6. Ovid de Faſt. 4.

They which value the Iſlands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantity and content, do make this the greateſt, as *Euſtathius* and *Strabo*, who affirm this, not only to excell the reſt for bigneſs, but alſo for goodneſs of ſoil. As concerning the form of this Iſland, *Pomponius Mela* ſaith, it is like that Capital letter of the *Greek*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally known to be true. That the whole Iſland was conſecrated to *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, all old writers with one conſent affirm. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, becauſe it firſt taught the rules of ſetting and ſowing of Corn: to *Proſerpina*, not ſo much for that ſhe was from hence violently

violently taken by *Pluto*, as becauſe (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Pluto*, as ſoon as ſhe, uncovering her ſelf, firſt ſhewed her ſelf to be ſeen of him, gave her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertility and riches of this Country, there is a famous teſtimony witten by *Cicero*, in the ſecond Oration againſt *Verres*, where he ſaith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granary* and *Store-houſe of the Commonwealth*, and *the Nurſe of the vulgar ſort*. The ſame *Cicero* doth add in that place; that it was not only the Store-houſe of the people of *Rome*: but alſo that it was a well-furniſhed treaſure. For without any coſt or charge of ours (ſaith he) it hath uſually clothed, maintained, and furniſhed our greateſt Armies with leather, apparrel and corn. *Strabo* reporteth almoſt the ſame thing of it. Whatſoever *Sicilie* doth yield (ſaith *Solinus*) whether by the ſun, and temperature of the air, or by the induſtry and labour of man, it is accounted next unto thoſe things that are of beſt eſtimation: were it not that ſuch things as the earth firſt putteth forth, are extreamly over-grown with ſaffron. *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith, that in the fields near unto *Leontium*, and in divers other places of this Iſland, wheat doth grow of it ſelf without any labour or looking to of the huſbandman. *Martianus* ſheweth, that there were in it ſix Colonies, and ſixty Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found ſcatteringly in many good Authors.

Now beſides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iſland, as well in peace as War, there be many other things which have made it very renowned, as the birth of *Ceres*; the raviſhing of *Proſerpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the mount *Ætna*; *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, with other antiquities and rarities; beſides thoſe learned men, the noble *Mathematician*, *Archimedes*; the famous *Geomatrician*, *Euclides*; the painful Hiſtorian *Diodorus*; and *Empedocles*, the deep Philoſopher.

That *Sicil* was at firſt poſſeſſed and inhabited by Giants, *Læſtrigones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and uncivil; all hiſtories and fables do jointly with one conſent averr. Yet *Thucydides* ſaith, that theſe ſavage people dwelt only in one part of the Iſland. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spain*, poſſeſſed it. That theſe *Sicani* were not bred in the Iſle (although ſome ſo think) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* do very conſtantly avouch.

Of theſe it was named *Sicania*. Theſe *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driven by the *Pelaſgi* from their own ſeats, and finding no place upon the Continent, which they were able to maſter and inhabit, paſſed over into this Iſland, three hundred years before the *Greeks* ſent any Colonies thither: and (ſaith *Philiſtus*) eighty years before the fall of *Troy*. Theſe *Siculi* gave the name of *Sicilia*, to the Iſland; and making war upon the *Sicani*, drave them from the Eaſt and Northern part thereof, into the Weſt and South. At their landing; they firſt built the City *Zancle*, afterward called *Meſſana*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontine*, and *Syracuſe* it ſelf, beating from thence the *Ætolians*, who long before had ſet up a Town in that place. As for the name of *Syracuſe* it was not known, till ſuch time as *Archias* of *Corinth* (long after) won that part of the Iſland from the *Siculi*; Neither did the *Siculi* at their firſt arrival diſpoſſeſs the *Ætolians* thereof, but ſome hundred years after their deſcent, and after ſuch time as they had founded the Cities before named with *Neæ*, *Hybla*, *Trinacria*, and divers others.

After theſe *Siculi* came another Nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*; who were thence driven by the *Oenotrians*. Theſe ſat down in that part of *Sicil*, where they afterward raiſed the Cities of *Morgantum*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were divided, and by a civil war greatly infeebled. Among theſe ancient ſtories, we find the laſt voyage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Crete*. *Thucydides*, an hiſtorian of unqueſtionable ſincerity, reports of *Minos*, that he made conqueſt of many Iſlands: and ſome ſuch buſineſs, perhaps, drew him into *Sicil*. But the common report is, that he came thither in purſuit of *Dædalus*. The tale goes thus: *Dædalus* fleeing the revenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil*, to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*, and, during his abode there, he built a place of great ſtrength, near unto *Megara*, for *Cocalus* to lay up his treaſure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the reſt, he caſt a Ram in gold, that was ſet up in the Temple of *Venus Erycina*; which he did with ſo great Art, as thoſe that beheld it thought it rather to be living, than counterfeit.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dædalus*, prepares to invade the Territory of *Cocalus*; but when he was arrived, *Cocalus* doubting his own ſterngth, promiſeth to deliver *Dædalus*. This he performs not, but in the mean while, kills *Minos* by treaſon, and perſwades the *Cretans*,

Minos

Minos his followers, to inhabit a part of *Sicil*; the better (as it ſeems) to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the *Siculi*. Hereupon the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gave their conſent, and builded for themſelves the City of *Minoa* after the name of the King *Minos*. After, they likewiſe built the Town of *Engium*, now called *Gange*: and theſe were the firſt Cities, built by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*, about two ages before the war of *Troy*; for the grand-children of *Minos* ſerved with the *Greeks* at the ſiege thereof.

But after ſuch time as the *Cretans* underſtood, that their King had by treaſon been made away; they gathered together a great Army, to invade *Cocalus*: and landing near unto *Camicus*, they beſieged the ſame five years, but in vain. In the end (being forced to return, without any revenge taken) they were rackt on the coaſt of *Italy*, and having no means to repair their ſhips, nor the honour they had loſt, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, between the two famous Ports of *Brunduſium* and *Tarentum*. Of theſe *Cretans* came thoſe Nations, afterward called *Iapyges* and *Meſſapii*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Egeſtus* and *Elymus*, brought with them certain troops into *Sicil*, and ſeated themſelves among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of *Egeſta* and *Elyma*.

It is ſaid, that *Æneas* viſited theſe places in his paſſage into *Italy*: and that ſome of the *Trojans*, his followers, were left behind him in theſe Towns of *Sicil*: whereof there want not good Authors, that make *Æneas* himſelf the founder.

About the ſame time, the *Phœnicians* ſeized upon the Promontories of *Pachinus*, and *Lilybeum*, and upon certain ſmall Iſles adjoyning to the main Iſland: which they fortified, to ſecure the trades that they had with the *Silicians*; like as the *Portugals* have done in the *Eaſt-India*, at *Goa*, *Ormus*, *Moſambique*, and other places. But the *Phœnicians* ſtayed not there; for after they had once aſſured their deſcents, they built the goodly City of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

Theſe we find, were the Nations that inhabited the Iſle of *Sicil*, before the war of *Troy*, and ere the *Greeks* in any numbers began to ſtraggle in thoſe parts.

It may perchance ſeem ſtrange to the Reader, that in all ancient ſtories, he finds one and the ſame beginning of Nations, after the flood; and that the firſt planters in all parts of the World were ſaid to be mighty and Giant-like men; and that, as *Phœnicia*, *Ægypt*, *Lybia* and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Oreſtes*, *Antæus*, *Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmark* had *Starchaterus*, remembred by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britanie*, and other Regions had Giants for their firſt inhabitants: ſo this Iſle of *Sicil* had her *Leſtrigones* and *Cyclopes*. This diſcourſe I could alſo reject for fained and fabulous, did not *Moſes* make us know, that the *Zamzummims*, *Emims*, *Anakims*, and *Og* of *Baſan*, with others, which ſometime inhabited the Mountains and Deſarts of *Moab*, *Ammon*, and Mount *Seir*, were men of exceeding ſtrength and ſtature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertullian*, St. *Auguſtine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Iſidore*, *Pliny*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authors, have confirmed the opinion: Yea, *Veſputius*, in his ſecond Navigation into *America*, had reported that himſelf had ſeen the like men in thoſe parts. Again, whereas the ſelf-ſame is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their ſimplicity of life, their mean fare, their feeding on Acorns and roots, their poor cottages, the covering of their bodies with the ſkins of beaſts, their hunting, their arms, and weapons, and their warfare, their firſt paſſages over great Rivers and Arms of the Sea, upon raſts of trees tied together; and afterwards their making boats firſt of twigs and leather, then of wood; firſt with Oars, and then with Sails; that they eſteemed as gods, the firſt finders out of Arts; as of Huſbandry, of Laws, and of Policy: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all lived in the ſame newneſs of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the ſame want of his inſtruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankind. For other teaching had they none, that were removed far off from the *Hebrews*, (who inherited the knowledge of the firſt Patriarchs) than that from variable effects they began, by time and degrees, to find out the cauſes: from whence came Philoſophy Natural; as the Moral did from diſorder and confuſion; and the Law from cruelty and oppreſſion.

Saxo G. in præfat. Hiſt.

Tertul. de Reſurr. Auguſt. de Civit. Dei lib. 15. Et queſt. in Gen. Nicep. lib. 2. c. 37. Procop. l. 2. de Bello Goth. Pan. lib 7. cap 2.

But it is certain, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth ſtranger and more incredible things, than the Infancy. For we have now greater Giants for vice and injuſtice, than the World had in thoſe dayes, for bodily ſtrength; for cottages, and houſes of clay and timber, we have raiſed Palaces of ſtones; we carve them, we paint them, and adorn them with gold, inſomuch as men are rather known by their houſes, than their houſes by them; we are fallen from two diſhes to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkenneſs:

kenneſs from the covering of our bodies with the ſkins of beaſts, not only to ſilk and gold, but to the very ſkins of men. But to conclude this digreſſion, *Time* will alſo take revenge of the exceſs, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorque auxit, longiſſima ſubruet: Long time brought forth, longer time increaſed it, and a time, longer than the reſt, ſhall overthrow it.*

§. II.

The Plantation of the Greeks *in* Sicil.

WHen the firſt Inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicil*: it happened, that one *Theocles*, a *Greek*, being driven upon that Coaſt by an Eaſternly wind, and finding true the commendations thereof, which had been thought fabulous, being delivered only by Poets, gave information to the *Athenians* of this his diſcovery, and propoſed unto them the benefit of this eaſie Conqueſt offering to become their guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *Engliſh*. Wherefore he took the ſame courſe that *Columbus* afterwards did. He over-laboured not himſelf in perſwading the Noble *Athenians* (who thought themſelves to be well enough already) to their own profit; but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needy and induſtrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By theſe was built the City of *Naxus*, and a Colony planted of *Eubœans*.

But the reſt of the *Greeks* were wiſer than our Weſtern Princes of *Europe*: For they had no Pope, that ſhould forbid them to occupy the void places of the World. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubœans*, and landed in *Sicil*, near unto that City, called afterward * *Syracuſe*: of which, that part only was then compaſſed with a wall, which the *Ætolians* called *Homothermon*; the *Grecks*, *Naſos*; the *Latines*, *Inſula*. He with his *Corinthians* having overcome the *Siculi*, drave them up into the Country; and after a few years, their multitude increaſing, they added unto the City of the Iſland, that of *Acradina*, *Tyca*, and *Neapolis*. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many ſhips, as any Haven of that part of *Europe*, as by the fertility of the ſoil, *Syracuſe* grew up in great haſt, to be one of the goodlieſt Towns of the world. In ſhort time the *Greeks* did poſſeſs the better part of all the Sea-coaſt; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themſelves into the faſts and mountanous parts of the Iſland, makeing their Royal reſidence in *Trinacria*.

Some ſeven years after the arrival of *Archias*, the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the ſucceſs of the *Corinthians*, did aſſail, and obtain the City of *Leontium*, built and poſſeſt by the *Siculi*. In brief, the *Greeks* win from the *Siculi*, and their Aſſociates, the Cities of *Catana* and *Hybla*, which in honour of the *Megarians* that forc't it, they called *Megara*.

About five and forty years after *Archias* had taken *Syracuſe*; *Antiphemus*, and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Army into *Sicil*, and built *Gela*, whoſe Citizens, one hundred and eight years after, did erect that magnificent and renowned City of *Agrigentum*, governed according to the Laws of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracuſians* alſo, in the ſeventieth year after their Plantation, did ſet up the City of *Acra*, in the Mountains; and in the ninetieth year *Caſmena*, in the Plains adjoyning; and again in the hundred and thirtieth year of their dwelling in *Syracuſe*, they built *Camerina*: and ſoon after that, *Enna*, in the very Centre of the Iſland. So did the *Cumani* about the ſame time, recover from the *Siculi* the City of *Zancle*, which they had founded in the ſtraight between *Sicil* and *Italy*. They of *Zancle*, had been the founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this, *Doriæus* the *Lacedæmonian* built *Hereclia*; which the *Phœnicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, ſoon after invaded and ruined, though the ſame were again ere long re-edified.

Selinus alſo was built by a Colony of *Megara*: and *Zancle* was taken by the *Meſſenians*; who having loſt their own Country, gave the name thereof unto this their new purchaſe. Such were the beginnings of the greateſt Cities in this Iſland.

* *Syracuſe*, as *Cicero* declares, was the greateſt, and moſt goodly City of all that the *Greeks* poſſeſt; For the ſituation is both ſtrong, and of an excellent proſpect from every entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port (was for the moſt part) environed with beautiful buildings: and that part which was without the City, was on both ſides bankt up, and ſuſtained with beautiful wal's of Marble. The City of it ſelf was one of the greateſt of the World: for it had in compaſs (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, a hundred and eighty furlongs, which make of our miles about eighteen. It was compounded of four Cities (*Strabo* ſaith of five) to wit, *Inſula*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*: of which greatneſs the ruines and foundations of the walls do yet witneſs. After ſuch times as the *Dores* of *Peloponneſus* had driven out the *Sicilians*, this goodly City for a long time became the ſeat of Tyrants. The firſt whereof was *Gelo*: The ſecond, *Hiero* the elder: The third, *Thraſybulus*: The fourth and fifth, *Dionyſius* the elder, and younger: The ſixth, *Dion*: The ſeventh, *Agathocles*: The eighth, *Pyrrhus*: The ninth, *Hiero* the younger: The tenth and laſt, *Hieronymus*; who being ſlain at *Leontium*, at length the *Romans* conquered it under the conduct o *Marcellus*.

§. III.

§. III.

Of the Government and Affairs of Sicil *before* Dionyſius *his Tyranny.*

THE moſt part of the Cities in *Sicil*, were governed by the rule of the people, till ſuch time as *Phalaris* began to uſurp the ſtate of *Agrigentum*, and to exerciſe all manner of Tyranny therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a deteſtable Engine, gave an hollow Bull of Braſs, wherein to incloſe men, and ſcorch them to death: praiſing the device with this commendation; That the noiſe of one tormented therein, ſhould be like unto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gave a due reward to the Inventer; by cauſing the firſt tryal to be made upon himſelf. He reigned one and thirty years, ſaith *Euſebius*; others give him but ſixteen: Howſoever it were, one *Telemachus* in the end, fell upon him with the whole multitude of *Agrigentum*, and ſtoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*, even whilſt the Tyrant was tormenting the ſame *Zeno*, to make him confeſs ſome matter of conſpiracy.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recovered their liberty, and enjoyed it long, till *Thero* uſurped the Government of the Common-weal: at which time alſo *Panætius* made himſelf Lord of *Leontium*; and *Cleander* of *Gela*: but *Cleander* having ruled ſeven years, was ſlain by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his Brother *Hippocrates* ſucceeded in his room, and greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle*, of *Meſſena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with divers others of the ancient Inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He alſo made war with the *Syracuſians*, and, in the end, got from them by compoſition, the City of *Camerina*. But when he had reigned ſeven years, he was ſlain in a Battel againſt the *Siculi*, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syracuſians* change their form of Government, from Popular to *Ariſtocratical*; a preparation towards a Principality, whereinto it was ſoon after changed. After the death of *Hyppocrates*, *Gelon* (deſcended from the *Rhodians*, which together with the *Cretans*, had long before, among other of the *Greeks*, ſeated themſelves in *Sicil*) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former War, with notable ſucceſs, became Lord of *Gela*. He, after his Maſters death, breaking the truſt committed unto him by *Hippocrates* over his children, and being in poſſeſſion of *Gela*, took the occaſion and advantage of a contention in *Syracuſe*, between the Magiſtrates and the People. For coming with a ſtrong Army to the ſuccour of the Governours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the firſt, (and indeed) the moſt famous, that ever governed the *Syracuſians*. This change happened in the ſecond year of the threeſcore and twelfth Olympiad; wherein the better to eſtabliſh himſelf, he took to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had alſo uſurped the ſtate of *Agrigentum*. *Pauſ. l. 6.*

Now this *Gelon*, the Son of *Dinomenes*, had three Brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thraſybulus*: to the firſt of which he gave up the City of *Gela*, when he had obtained the Principality of *Syracuſe*. For, after that time, all his thoughts travelled in the ſtrengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuſe*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracuſians* who built it, and brought the Citizens to *Syracuſe*. The *Megarians* that had moved a War againſt him, he overcame; the richer ſort he brought unto *Syracuſe*; and the people he ſold for ſlaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon the like occaſion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agrigentines*, having diſpoſſeſt *Terillus* of his City *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawn into the quarrel by *Anaxilus*, Lord of *Meſſena*, Father-in-law to *Terillus*: and *Gelon* was alſo ſolicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after divers conflicts, the *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were overthrown by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fifty thouſand of them left their bodies in *Sicil*. *Herod. & Diod.*

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* ſent for ſuccour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Army paſt the *Helleſpont*. He, for their relief having armed thirty thouſand Souldiers, and two hundred ſhips, refuſed nevertheleſs to ſend them into *Greece*, becauſe they refuſed him the command of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So he uſed to their Embaſſadours only this Saying, *That their Spring was withered*; accounting the Army, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the *Greek* Nation.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great loſs received, fearing the invaſion of their own Country, ſent to *Gelon* by their Embaſſadours, to deſire peace, who grants it them on theſe conditions: That from thenceforth they ſhould not ſacrifice their children to *Saturn*; That they ſhould pay him two

thousand talents of silver, and present him with two armed ships, in sign of amity. These conditions the *Carthaginians*, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for war, they sent unto *Demarata*, *Gelons* Wife, a Crown, valued at an hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The wars ended, and *Sicil* in peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, he left the world, and left for his successor his Brother *Hiero*. *Philistus* and *Pliny* report, That when his boby was burnt, according to the custom of that Age, a Dog of his, which alwayes waited on him, ran into the fire, and suffered himself to be burnt with him.

To *Gelor*, *Hiero* his Brother succeeded; a man rude, cruel, covetous, and so suspicious of his Brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasybulus*, as he sought by all means to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this, by the conversation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the study of good Arts. Divers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agrigentum*, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicil*, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aid the *Grecians* against him. He also overthrew in battel *Thrasydæus*, the Son of *Theron*, and thereby restored the *Agrigentines* to their former liberty. But in the end, he lost the love of the *Syracusians*; and after he had reigned eleven years, he left the Kingdom to his Brother *Thrasybulus*, who became a most unjust and bloody Tyrant. *Thrasybulus* injoyed his Principality no longer than ten months. For, notwithstanding the force of mercenary Souldiers; which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuse* by the Citizens; to whom, being besieged in *Acradina*, he restored the Government, and was banished the Island. From whence he sailed into *Greece*, where he died a private man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracusians* recovered again their former liberty, as all the rest of the Cities did; after which they had never sought, had the Successors of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principality of *Syracuse*. For in all changes of Estates, the preservation ought to answer the acquisition. When a liberal, valiant, and advised Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his own, or exalted himself from being a private man to the dignity of a Prince, it behooveth the Successour to maintain it by the same way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuse* (though not without blows, ere that she could cleanse her self of the creatures and lovers of *Gelon*) was now again become Mistress of her self, and held her self free, well-near threescore years, to the time of *Dionysius*, though she were in the mean while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her own, called *Tindario*.

Now, to prevent the greatness of any one among them, for the future, they devised a kind of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking pattern from the *Athenian Ostracisme*. They called this their new devised judgement of exile, *Petalismus*, wherein every one wrote upon an Olive-leaf (as at *Athens* they wrote upon shells) the name of him, whom he would have expelled the City. He that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five years. Hereby in a short time, it came to pass that those of judgement, and best able to govern the Common-weal, were, by the worst able, either suppresst, or thrust out of the City. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could, seeking some place of more security, wherein to maintain themselves. And good reason they had so to do; seeing that there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerful and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not very long. For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore again the wiser sort unto the Government; from which, the Nobility having practised to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*, that inhabited the inner part of the Island (who had already taken *Enna*, and some other of the *Grecian* Cities, and overthrown the Army of the *Agragentines*) the *Syracusians* sent forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Bolcon*. This their Captain made nothing so much haste to find out *Ducetius*, against whom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Army he led, as soon as *Ducetius* presented him battel. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the *Syracusians* perished.

But making better choice among those whom they had banished, they levy other troops: by whom, in conclusion, *Ducetius* being

being beaten, ſubmitteth himſelf, and is conſtrained to leave the Iſland for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned again, and built the City *Collatina* on the Sea-ſide.

Ducetius being dead; all the *Greek* Cities did in a ſort acknowledge *Syracuſe*, *Trinacria* excepted; which alſo by force of Arms, in the fourſcore and fifth Olympiad, they brought to reaſon.

But they do not long enjoy this their Superintendency. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppreſt by them, ſeek aid from the *Athenians*, about the ſixth year of the *Peloponneſian* War. In this ſuit they prevailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to ſuccour them, under the leading of *Laches*, and *Charœodes*. To this Fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with ſome ſupplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* Captains, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracuſians*, and their Partiſans; wan and loſt divers places; took *Meſſana*; and, in the ſeventh year of the *Peloponneſian* War, loſt it again. They alſo at the ſame time attempted *Hymera*, but in vain. The fire of this quarrel took hold upon many Cities, which did invade each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themſelves on all hands, and yet could ſee none iſſue of the War, the *Leontines*, without the advice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracuſians*, and were admitted into their ſociety, with equal freedom. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to have greatned themſelves in *Sicil*, by the diviſion and civil War, were diſappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and fain to be gone with the broken remainder of their Fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the cuſtom of popular Eſtates) by taking revenge upon their own Commanders. So they baniſhed *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and laid an heavy fine upon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the moſt memorable War, that ever was made by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*: which was that of the *Athenians*, againſt the *Selinuntines* and *Syracuſians*, in favour of the Cities of *Egeſta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppreſt the *Egeſtans*; and they of *Syracuſe* the *Leontines*, and the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the War. For the *Athenians* undertook the protection of their old friends: and, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aid from *Lacedæmon* was ſent to the *Syracuſians*. The *Lacedæmonians* dealt plainly, having none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their own Tribe, that craved their ſuccour, being in diſtreſs. The *Athenians* ſcarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were ſo great, as diſcovered their intent to be none other, than the Conqueſt of the whole Iſland. Yet they which had called them in, were ſo blinded with their own paſſions, that they would not believe their own eyes; which preſented unto them a Fleet and Army, far greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the City of *Athens* had engaged all her power; as regarding not only the greatneſs of the enterpriſe, but the neceſſity of finiſhing it in a ſhort ſpace of time. For the *Lacedæmonians* (as hath already been ſhewed in due place) ſtood at that time in ſuch broken terms of peace with *Athens*, as differed not much from open War. Wherefore it was thought neceſſary, either to ſpare coſt in this great Expedition, or altogether to forbear it: which was likely to be hindred by Wars at home, if their proceedings were ſlack abroad. And ſurely, had not the deſire of the *Athenians* been over-paſſionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had cauſed them to abſtain from ſo chargeable a buſineſs, and to reſerve their forces for a more needful uſe. But young counſels prevailed againſt the authority of ancient men, that were more regardful of ſafety than of honour.

Of this buſineſs, mention hath been already made, in that which we have written of the *Peloponneſian* War. But what was there delivered in general terms, as not concerning the affairs of *Greece*, otherwiſe than by conſequence, doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicil* was like to have felt a great converſion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed againſt *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chief Commanders therein.

Theſe had commiſſion and direction, as well to ſuccour the *Segeſtans*, and to reeſtabliſh the *Leontines*, caſt out of their places by the *Syracuſians*; as alſo by force of Arms, to ſubject the *Syracuſians*, and all their adherents in *Sicil*, and compel them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their ſupream Lords. To effect which, the forenamed Captains were ſent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and five thouſand one hundred Souldiers, beſides the thirty ſhips of burden, which tranſported their

victuals, engines, and other munitions for the War: and these were *Athenians*, *Mantinæans*, *Rhodians*, and *Candians*: there were, besides these, six thousand *Megarians* light-armed, with thirty horsemen.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 9. With these troops and fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuse to give them entry; but sell them victuals for their mony. From thence they sent to the *Egestans*, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the war, seeing for their sakes they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answers, that these *Egestans* were poor, and that they had abused the *Athenian* Embassadours with false shews of gold, having in all but 30. talents. The *Athenians* further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians*, their ancient friends, and allied unto the *Leontines*, refused to trust them within their Walls. Hereupon *Nicias* adviseth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or perswade them to an agreement with the *Egestans*; as likewise to see what disbursements the *Egestans* could make; and so return again into *Greece*, and not to waste *Athens* in a needless war. *Alcibiades*, on the other side, would solicite the Cities of *Sicil* to confederacy against the *Syracusians* and *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them unto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus* he perswades them to assail *Syracuse* it self, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they surprise *Catana*: and there they take new counsel how to proceed. Thence they imployed *Nicias* to those of *Egesta*, who received from them thirty talents towards his charges; and one hundred and twenty talents more there were of the spoils they had gotten in the Island. Thus the Summer being spent in idle consultations, and vain attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to assail *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades* having been accused at home, in his absence, was sent for back by the *Athenians* to make his answer: and the Army was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtain a landing place very near unto *Syracuse*, by this device.

They imploy to *Syracuse* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they trust; and instruct him, to promise unto the *Syracusians*, that he would deliver into their hands all the *Athenians* within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracusians* draw thitherward with their best forces. But in the mean while, the *Athenians*, setting sail from *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuse*, where they land at fair ease, and fortifie themselves against the Town. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracusians* had the loss: but the *Athenians*, wanting horse, could not pursue their victory to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refresh their Army at *Catana*, for the winter-season. From thence they made an attempt upon *Messana*, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had discovered such as were Traitors within the City to the *Messenians*. This he now did, in despight of his own Citizens, the *Athenians*; because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to have put him to death, or to have banished him: whereof being assured by his friends, he took his way towards the *Lacedæmonians*, and to them he gave mischievous counsel against his Country. While this winter yet lasted, the *Syracusians* send Embassadors to *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, for aid: as likewise the *Athenian* Captains in *Sicil*, send to *Athens* for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* war) the *Athenians* in *Sicil* sail from the Port of *Catana* to *Megara*, forsaken of the Inhabitants; from whence, forraging the Country, they obtain some small victories over the straggling *Syracusians*: and at their return to *Catana*, they receive a supply of two hundred men at arms, but without horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Island from the *Segestans*, and other their adherents: they were also strengthned with a company of Archers, and with three hundred talents in mony.

Hereupon they take courage, and incamp near *Syracuse*, upon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracusians*, that sallyed to impeach their intrenchments. They also received from their Confederates four hundred horse-men, with two hundred other horse, to mount their men at arms. *Syracuse* was now in effect blockt up, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the *Athenians* receive divers losses; among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders, was slain.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* and *Python*, with the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* forces, arrive, and take land at *Hymera*. The Citizens of *Hymera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, joyn with them; so that with these and his own troops, *Gylippus* adventured to march over-land toward *Syracuse*. The *Syracusians* send a part of their forces to meet him and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arrival

arrival near unto the City upon a place of advantage. At the firſt encounter they had the better of their enemies, by reaſon that the *Syracuſian* horſe-men could not come to fight in thoſe ſtraights: but ſoon after, *Gylippus* charging them again, brake them, and conſtrained *Nicias* to fortifie himſelf within his Camp. Whereupon *Nicias* made the ſtate of his affairs known, by his letters to the *Athenians*; ſhewing, that without great ſupplies by Sea and Land, the enterpriſe would be loſt, together with the ſmall Army remaining. Theſe letters received, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon* and *Demoſthenes*, to joyn with *Nicias*: the one they diſpatch preſently with ſome ſupplies; the other they ſend after him in the Spring following.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* at *Syracuſe*, fights with the *Athenians* both by Sea and Land, ſometimes with ill, and at other times with good ſucceſs: but in concluſion, he took from their Fort, near unto *Syracuſe*, the Promontory called *Plymmyrium*; wherein the *Athenians* loſt their treaſure, and a great part of all their proviſions. Notwithſtanding which loſs, and that the *Athenians* themſelves, in *Greece*, were (in effect) beſieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacedæmonians*; yet were they moſt obſtinate in proſecuting the War in *Sicil*, and diſpatched away *Demoſthenes* with new ſuccours. *Demoſthenes*, in his way towards *Sicil*, encountred with *Polyanthes* the *Corinthian*, with his fleet: both the Captains being bound for *Sicil*, the one to ſuccour *Nicias*, the other *Gylippus*. The loſs between them was in effect equal; and neither ſo broken, but that each of them proſecuted the enterpriſe they had in hand. But before the ſuccours arrived to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariſton* had aſſailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuſe*, and in a Sea fight put them to the worſt, to the great diſcouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demoſthenes* arrived with threeſcore and thirteen Gallies, charged with footmeen; and (blaming the ſloath of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracuſians* the ſame day that he arrived. But he made more haſte than he had good ſpeed, being ſhamefully beaten, and repulſed with great loſs. Hereupon *Demoſthenes* and *Eurymedon* determine to riſe up from before *Syracuſe*, and return to the ſuccour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* diſputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good intelligence within *Syracuſe*, whereby he learned, that the Town could not long hold out.

Whatſoever *Nicias* his intelligence was; upon the arrival of a new ſupply into the Town, the *Athenians* had all conſented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipſe of the Moon, boding (as was thought) ill ſucceſs cauſed them to deferr their departure. But this ſuperſtition coſt them dear. For the *Syracuſians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Corinthians*, with threeſcore and ſeventeen ſail of Gallies, entred the great Port of *Syracuſe*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet, and whereon they had fortified themſelves. The *Athenians* in the ſame Port encountred them with fourſcore and ſix Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*: in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten, by the leſſer number, and *Eurymedon* ſlain. Now, though it were ſo, that the *Syracuſians* received the more loſs by land (for the fight was general) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by ſea, in which kind they thought themſelves invincible, they were wonderfully caſt down. For it was well ſaid of *Gylippus*, to the *Syracuſians*; *When any people do find themſelves vanquiſhed in that manner of fight, and with thoſe weapons, in which they perſwade themſelves that they exceed all others, they not only loſe their reputation, but their courage.* The *Athenians*, beſides the Gallies ſunk and wrackt, had ſeventeen taken, and poſſeſt by the enemy: and with great labour and loſs they defended the reſt from being fired, having drawn them within a *Paliſado*, in one corner of the port, unadviſedly: for it is as contrary to a Sea-war, to thruſt ſhips into a ſtraight room and corner, as it is to ſcatter foot in a plain field againſt horſe; the one ſubſiſting by being at large, the other by cloſe imbattailing.

The *Syracuſians*, having now weakned the *Athenian* fleet, reſolve to impriſon them within the Port. And to that purpoſe they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a mile over, and there they came to *Anchor*; filling the out-let with all manner of Veſſels; which they man moſt ſtrongly, becauſe the *Athenians*, being now made deſperate, ſhould not with double ranks of Gallies break through the *Syracuſian* fleet; which lay but ſingle, becauſe they were forc't to range themſelves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore not only mored themſelves ſtrongly by their *Anchors*, but chained the ſides of their Gallies together, and lay behind them again certain ſhips, which ſerved in the former war for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were ſunk; or the chain, which joyned them to their fellows, broken; the *Athenians* might yet find themſelves a ſecond time, intangled and arreſted. To diſorder alſo thoſe *Athenian* Gallies, which came

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on in form of a wedge, to break through, and force a paſſage, the *Syracuſians* had left within theſe Gallies and Ships, inchained together, a certain number of looſe ones, to ſtop their courſe and fury. For where the way of any veſſel, uſing oar or ſails, is broken, and their ſpeed foreſtowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the reſiſtance oppoſing.

On the other ſide, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly loſt, except with an invincible reſolution they could make their way, and break down this great bridge of boats; or (at leaſt) force a paſſage through them in ſome part or other: which they reſolve to hazard, with all their ſhipping (to the number of one hundred and ten of all ſorts) and with all the ſtrength of their Land-army, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did ſo diſorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as albeit ſome few of them had broken through the chains, yet being ſtopt with the ſhips without, and aſſailed by other looſe Gallies of the *Syracuſians*, which were purpoſely left at large in the ſea, they were either taken or ſunk. Three great diſadvantages the *Athenians* had: the firſt, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a ſtraight, they had no room to turn themſelves, nor to free themſelves one from another, being intangled; the ſecond, that having overpeſtered their Gallies with Souldiers, who uſed offenſive arms of darts and ſlings, they had not place upon the decks to ſtretch their arms; the third was, the diſcomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a paſſage, by which they might ſave themſelvs by running away. To be ſhort, the fight was no leſs terrible than the confuſion: the ſlaughter great on all ſides; and the noiſe, and the cryes, ſo lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as ſurvived, were beaten back to the Land, with loſs of threeſcore of their Gallies, broken, ſunk, or abandoned. The *Syracuſians* did alſo loſe twenty of theirs, with *Pythen*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The reſt of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themſelves into the bottom of the Port, ſaved themſelves by the help and countenance of the Land-army there fortified. In this deſperate eſtate, the *Athenian* Commanders go to counſel. *Demoſthenes* perſwades them to furniſh with freſh Souldiers thoſe few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracuſians* were triumphing, and made ſecure by their preſent victory, to ſet upon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to return to *Athens*. This was no ill counſel. For, as we have heard of many great Captains (yea, the greateſt number of all that have been victorious) that have neglected the ſpeedy proſecution of a beaten enemy; ſo might we produce many examples of thoſe, who having ſlept ſecurely in the boſome of good ſucceſs, have been ſuddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Army, and have thereby loſt again all the honour and advantage formerly gotten. But *Nicias* oppoſeth the advice of *Demoſthenes*: Others ſay, that the Seamen were againſt it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all reſolve to march over land to the Cities of their Confederates, till ſome more favourable fortune ſhould call them thence. On the other ſide, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* Captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracuſians* to put themſelves preſently into the field, and to ſtop all the paſſages, leading to thoſe Cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retrait. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the preſent. Which humour in ſome of our Commanders at *Cadez*, loſt us both the *Indian* fleet, and the ſpoils of many other neighbour places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracuſian*, finding it a loſt labour, to perſwade his Countrymen to any haſty proſecution, deviſed this good ſtratagem, whereby to gain time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he ſhould draw them willingly out. He ſent two or three horſe-men out of *Syracuſe* by night, willing them to find *Nicias*, and (after they had aſſured him, that they were of the *Athenians* faction) to give him advice not to march away over-haſtily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alledging that the *Syracuſians* had lodged their Army, which could not long ſtay there, upon the paſſages and places of advantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. Theſe tidings *Nicias* eaſily believed, and put off his journey to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the moſt part) more fearful than wiſe; and to them, every thiſtle in the field appears, by night, a man at arms.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remove; being pierced and purſued with the lamentable out-cryes of thoſe that were ſick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies ſwords. The reſt march away, to the number of forty thouſand; and make their firſt paſſage by force, over the River of *Anapus*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of their enemies,

mies. But being every day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracusian* horse-men, beaten in from forraging and provision of food, they grow weak and heartless. The *Syracusians* also possess the Mountain *Lepas*, by which they were to pass towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall back again towards the Sea-coast, and to take what way they could: being unable to proceed in their journey intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and blind marches by night; which they were fain to endure, as having none other means to escape from the enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with continual skirmishing. To keep all in order, *Nicias* undertook the leading of the Vaunt-guard; and *Demosthenes* conducted the Rear. At the River *Erineus*, *Nicias* takes the start of a whole nights march; leaving *Demosthenes* to make the retreat: who being incompassed, and overprest with numbers, in the end renders himself. The conditions he obtained, were far better than he could have hoped for; and the faith of his enemies far worse than he suspected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias* murdered in prison. The Army of *Demosthenes* being dissolved, they pursued *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being utterly broken upon the passage of the River *Assinarus*, rendred himself to *Gylippus*, upon honest conditions. *Gylippus* sought to preserve him, and to have had the honour to have brought these two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble Enemy to the *Lacedæmonians*, and who, at the overthrow which they received at *Pylus* by the *Athenians*, had saved the lives of the vanquished; *Demosthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedæmon* the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the *Syracusian* Army disswaded the rest, by all the art he had, from using any barbarous violence, after so noble a victory. But the cruel and cowardly sort, (cowardise and cruelty being inseparable passions) prevailed, and caused these brave Captains to be miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be starved in loathsome prisons; and the rest, sold for slaves. This was the success of the *Sicilian* war: which took end at the River *Assinarus*, the four and twentieth day of *May*, in the fourscore and eleventh Olympiad.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicil*; the *Egestans* (for whose defence against the *Selinuntines*, this late war had been taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracusians*, sought help from the *Carthaginians*; to whom they offered themselves, and their City, as their vassals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicil*, yet considering the prosperity of the *Syracusians*, and their late victories over the *Athenians*, they stayed a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse or accept the offer made unto them: for the *Selinuntines* were straightly allied to the *Syracusians*, as may appear by what is past. In the end the *Senators* of *Carthage* resolve upon the enterprise; and (by a trick of their *Punick* wit) to separate the *Syracusians* from the *Selinuntines*, they send Embassadors to *Syracuse*: praying that City, as in the behalf of the *Egestans*, to compell the *Selinuntines* to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of *Syracuse* should think meet to allow them. The *Syracusians* approved the motion; for it tended to their own honor. But the *Selinuntines* would make no such appointment: rather they took it ill, that the *Syracusians*, with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the *Athenian* war, should offer to trouble them, by interposing as Arbitrators, in a business that themselves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would have it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace crave aid of *Syracuse*; and the *Syracusians* as ill grant it unto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrament, which the *Carthaginians* would have put into their hands. Hereupon, an Army of three hundred thousand men is set out from *Carthage*, under the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you have heard before) was overthrown with the great *Carthaginian* Army at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this imployment, that he might take revenge as well of his Uncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them having been slain by the *Himerans*, the other by those of *Selinus*. Both the Cities, *Hannibal*, in this war, won by force of arms, sackt them, and burnt them; and having taken three thousand of the *Himerans* prisoners, he caused them to be led unto the place, where *Amilcar* was slain, and buried them there.

After this followed some trouble at *Syracuse*, occasioned by the banishment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately been General of the *Syracusian* forces, against the *Athenians*. The malice of his enemies had so far prevailed with the ingrateful multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meer vertue, at such a time as he was aiding the *Lacedæmonians*, in their war against *Athens*: wherein he did great service. All the honester sort within *Syracuse* were sorry for their injury

injury done unto him, and ſought to have him repealed. *Hermocrates* himſelf, returning into *Sicil*, gathered an Army of ſix thouſand; with which he began to repair *Selinus*; and by many noble actions laboured to win the love of his Citizens. But the faction that oppoſed him was the ſtronger. Wherefore he was adviſed to ſeize upon a Gate of *Syracuſe*, with ſome ſtrength of men; whereby his friends within the Town, might have the better means to riſe againſt the adverſe party. This he did: but preſently the multitude fell to arms, and ſet upon him; in which conflict he was ſlain. But his Son-in-law, *Dionyſius*, ſhall make them wiſh *Hermocrates* alive again.

§. IV.

Of Dionyſius *the Tyrant: and others, following him, in* Syracuſe.

THe *Syracuſians* had enjoyed their liberty about threeſcore years, from the death of *Thraſybulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionyſius* was raiſed up by God, to take revenge, as well of their cruelty toward ſtrangers, as of their ingratitude towards their own beſt Citizens. For before the time of *Dionyſius*, they had made it their paſtime, to reward the vertue of their worthieſt Commanders with death, or diſgrace: which cuſtom they muſt now be taught to amend.

Dionyſius obtained the principality of *Syracuſe*, by the ſame degrees, that many others, before him, had made themſelves maſters of other Cities, and of *Syracuſe* it ſelf. For, being made *Prætor*, and commanding their Armies againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he got a general love among the people, and men of war. Then began he to follow the example of *Piſiſtratus*, that made himſelf Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a band of ſix hundred men, to defend his perſon: under pretence, that his private enemies, being traiterouſly affected to the State of *Syracuſe*, had laid plots how to murder him, becauſe of his good ſervices. He doubled the pay of his Souldiers; alledging, that it would incourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to aſſure them to himſelf. He perſwaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, thoſe that had been baniſhed, which were the beſt men of *Syracuſe*; and theſe were afterwards at his devotion, as obliged unto him by ſo great a benefit. His firſt favour, among the *Syracuſians*, grew from his accuſation of the principal men. It is the delight of baſe people to reign over their betters: wherefore, gladly did he help them to break down, as fetters impriſoning their liberty, the bars that held it under ſafe cuſtody. Long it was not, ere the chief Citizens had found whereat he aimed. But what they ſaw, the people would not ſee: and ſome that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his help, were willing to help him, though they knew his purpoſes to be ſuch, as would make all the City to ſmart. He began early to hunt after the tyranny; being but five and twenty years of age when he obtained it: belike it was his deſire to reign long. His firſt work, of making himſelf abſolute Lord in *Syracuſe*, was, the poſſeſſion of the Citadel, wherein was much good proviſion, and under it the Gallies were mored. This he obtained by allowance of the people, and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himſelf without all ſhame or fear. The Army the chief Citizens reſtored by him from baniſhment; all the needy ſort within *Syracuſe*, that could not thrive by honeſt courſes; and ſome neighbour-towns, bound unto him, either for his help in war, or for eſtabliſhing the faction, reigning at that preſent; were wholly affected to his aſſiſtance. Having therefore gotten the Citadel into his hands, he needed no more, ſave to aſſure what he had already. He ſtrengthened himſelf by divers marriages; taking firſt to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionyſius*, his Succeſſor; the other, *Ariſtomache*, the daughter of *Hipparinus*, and ſiſter to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuſe*; which bare unto him many children, that ſerved to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere ſome of the *Syracuſians* (envying his proſperity) incited the multitude, and took arms againſt him, even in the novelty of his Rule. But their enterpriſe was more paſſionately, than wiſely governed. He had ſhamefully been beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at arms, making them ſuſpect that it was his purpoſe to let the *Carthaginians* waſte all that he might afterwards take poſſeſſion of the deſolate places; ſo it inflamed them with a deſire to free themſelves from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched haſtily to *Syracuſe*, where they found friends to help them: there they forced his Palace, ranſacked his treaſures, and ſo ſhamefully abuſed his wife, that for the grief thereof ſhe

poiſoned

poiſoned her ſelf. But he followed their heels apace; and firing a Gate of the City by night, entred ſoon enough to take revenge, by making a ſpeedy riddance of them. For he ſpared none of his known, no nor of his ſuſpected enemies. After that, he grew ſo doubtful of his life, as he never durſt truſt Barber to trim him, nor any perſon, no not ſo much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, unſtript and ſearched. He was the greateſt Robber of the people that ever reigned in any State, and withall the moſt unreſpectively cruell.

After this, he ſeparated with fortification that part of the City, called the Iſland, from the reſt; like as the Spaniard did the Citadel of *Antwerp*: therein he lodged his Treaſures, and his Guards.

He then began to make war upon the free Cities of *Sicil*: but while he lay before *Herbeſſe*, an in-land Town, the *Syracuſians* rebelled againſt him; ſo, as with great difficulty he recovered his Citadel: from whence, having allured the old Souldiers of the Companions, who forced their paſſage through the City, with one thouſand and two hundred horſe, he again recovered the maſtery over the *Syracuſians*. And when a multitude of them were buſied in gathering in their harveſt, he diſarmed all the Townsmen remaining, and new ſtrengthened the Fort of the Iſland, with a double wall. He incloſed that part alſo, called *Epipoles*; which, with threeſcore thouſand labourers, he finiſhed within three weeks, being two leagues in compaſs. He then built two hundred new Gallies; and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and forty thouſand Targets, with as many ſwords, and head-pieces, with fourteen thouſand corſlets, and all other ſutable arms. Which done, he ſent word to the *Cathaginians* (greatly infeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the *Greek* Towns, which they held in *Sicil*, he would make war upon them: and, not ſtaying for anſwer, he took the ſpoil of all the *Phœnician* ſhips, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the ſecond did of our *Engliſh*, before the war in our late Queens time. He then goes to the field with fourſcore thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and ſends his brother *Leptines* to ſea, with two hundred Gallies, and five hundred ſhips of burden. Moſt of the Towns which held for *Carthage* yielded unto him; ſaving *Panormus*, *Segeſta* or *Egeſta*, *Ancyra*, *Motya*, and *Eutella*. Of theſe, he firſt wan *Motya* by aſſault, and put all therein to the ſword; but before *Egeſta* he loſt a great part of his Army, by a ſally of the Citizens. In the mean while *Himilco* arrives; but, ere he took land, he loſt in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fifty ſhips of war, and five thouſand Souldiers, beſides many ſhips of burden. This notwithſtanding, he recovered again *Motya* upon his firſt deſcent. From thence marching towards *Meſſana*, he took *Lypara*, and (ſoon after) *Meſſana*, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionyſius* greatly to doubt his eſtate. He therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territory of the *Leontines*, by which he ſuppoſed that *Himilco* would paſs toward *Syracuſe*; and he himſelf took the field again, with four and thirty thouſand foot; and one thouſand horſe. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had divided his Army into two parts, marching with the one half over-land, and ſending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he ſent *Leptines*, his brother to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was utterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twenty thouſand of his men were ſlain, and an hundred of his Gallies loſt. It is very ſtrange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell us; That one City ſhould be able to furniſh five hundred ſail of ſhips, and two hundred Gallies: (for, ſo many did *Syracuſe* arm in this war) and more ſtrange it is, that in a battail at Sea, without any great Artillery, or Muſket-ſhot, twenty thouſand ſhould be ſlain in one fight. In all our fights againſt the *Turks*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the moſt notable, we hear of no ſuch number loſt; nor in any other fight by Sea, that ever happened in our age, nor before us. When *Charls* the fifth went to beſiege *Algier*, he had in all his fleet, tranſporters and others, but two hundred and fifty ſail of ſhips, and threeſcore and five Gallies: for the furniſhing of which fleet, he ſought help from all the Cities and ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the reſt of *Italy*. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, upon extremity, as many as were needfull, of all that could bear arms, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our dayes it is not ſo; neither indeed, is it often requiſite. Upon this overthrow, *Dionyſius* poſts away to *Syracuſe*, to ſtrengthen it: *Hamilco* follows him, and beſiegeth the Town by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant, having received aid from the *Lacedæmonians*, under the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himſelf to Sea, to make proviſion for his Citizens, who, in his abſence, take twenty of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and ſink four. Hereupon, finding their own ſucceſs proſperous,

ſperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill, having alſo at the preſent weapons in their hands, they conſult how to recover their liberty. And this they had done, had not *Pharicidas* the *Lacedæmonian* reſiſted them. It alſo fell out to his exceeding advantage, that the plague was ſo increaſed, and ſo violent among the *Carthaginians*, as it is ſaid, that above an hundred thouſand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, ſets upon them both by Sea and Land; and having ſlain great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to deſire peace. This peace *Dionyſius* ſold him for ſo great ſumm of money; on condition, that he ſhould ſteal away with his *Carthaginians* only: which he baſely accepted, betraying the reſt of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was purſued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behind him. The reſt of the *Africans* fell under the ſwords of their enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while bravely defended themſelves, were (after their ſubmiſſion) entertained, and ſerved the Conquerour.

May ſuch examples of perfidious dealing I have noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliver unto memory the like practices, when they meet with their matches: That which hapned unto *Monſieur de Piles*, was very ſutable to this treachery, wherewith *Dionyſius* purſued *Himilco*, I was preſent when *De Piles* related the injury done unto him. He had rendred S. *John d' Angelie* to the *French* King *Charles* IX. who beſieged him therein. He rendred it, upon promiſe made by the faith of a King, that he ſhould be ſuffered to depart in ſafety, with all his followers. Yet in preſence of the King himſelf, of the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, General of his Army, of the Queen Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marſhals of *France*, he was ſet upon and broken in his March; ſpoiled of all that he had, and forced to ſave his life by flight; leaving the moſt of his Souldiers dead upon the place; the Kings hand and faith warranting him to march away with enſigns diſplaid and withall his goods and proviſions, no whit availing him. It needs not therefore ſeem ſtrange, that an Heathen Tyrant ſhould thus break his faith, ſince Kings, profeſſing Chriſtianity, are bold to do the like, or command their Captains to do it for them.

Dionyſius after this great victory, took care to re-edifie *Meſſena*. *Mago* who ſtayed in *Sicil*, to hold up the *Carthaginians* therein, is again beaten by *Dionyſius*; who is alſo beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new ſupply of fourſcore thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to *Mago*, but theſe take eggs for their money, and make peace with *Dionyſius*, leaving the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to ſhift for themſelves: whom *Dionyſius*, after a long ſiege, overcame, and gave their City to the mercenary Souldiers.

He then paſt into *Italy*, obtained divers victories there, brought the *Rhegians* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and fourſcore thouſand crowns, to furniſh him with threeſcore Gallies, and put in an hundred pledges, for aſſurance of their future obſervance of covenants. This he did, not with any purpoſe to perform unto them the peace that they had ſo dearly bought; but that having taken from them their Galleys, he might beſiege them, and ruine them utterly, with the more eaſe. Now to the end he might not, without ſome colour, falſifie the faith that he had given to them; he pretended to want victual for his Army, at ſuch time as he ſeemed ready to depart out of *Italy*, and ſent to them to furniſh him therewith, promiſing to return them the like quantity at his coming home to *Syracuſe*.

His reſolution was, that if they refuſed to furniſh him, he would then make their refuſal the cauſe of his quarrel: if they yielded to aid him with the proportion which he deſired, that then they ſhould not be able, for want of food, to endure a ſiege any long time againſt him. For, to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price ſoever. And great reaſon he had to take revenge of them, if he had done it fairly, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his reign, he deſired them to beſtow a daughter of ſome of their Nobility upon him for a wife; they anſwered, that they had not any one fit for him, ſave the Hangmans daughter. Princes do rather pardon ill deeds, than villanous words. *Alexander* the great forgave many ſharp ſwords, but never any ſharp tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors. And certainly, it belongs to thoſe that have warrant from God, to reprehend Princes; and to none elſe, eſpecially in publick.

It is ſaid, that *Henry* the fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed againſt the Duke of *Biron*, for his over-bold and biting taunts, that he uſed againſt him before *Amiens*, than for his conſpiracy with the *Spaniard* or *Savoyan*: for he had pardoned 10000. of ſuch as had gone farther, & drawn their ſwords againſt him. The contemptuous

tuous words that Sir *John Parret* uſed of our late Queen *Elizabeth*, were his ruine; and not the counterfeit letter of the *Romiſh* Prieſt produced againſt him. So fared it with ſome other, greater than he, that thereby ran the ſame, and a worſe fortune, ſoon after.

To be ſhort, he made them know new bread from old. He aſſaulted their Town on all ſides, which he continued to do eleven moneths, till he won it by force. He uſed his victory without mercy, ſpecially againſt *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other wars he made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and razing of this City; and thoſe with variable ſucceſs. For, as in one encounter he ſlue *Mago*, with ten thouſand *Africans*: ſo the ſon of *Mago* beat him, and ſlew his brother *Leptines*, with fourteen thouſand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the advice of Proſperity and Adverſity, as all Kings and States do.

When he had reigned eight and thirty years, he died: ſome ſay in his bed, peaceably, which is the moſt likely, though others report it otherwiſe. A cruel man he was, and a faithleſs; a great Poet, but a fooliſh one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for ſpeaking againſt his tyranny, he gave order to have him ſlain, or ſold for a ſlave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond meaſure. His Paraſites therefore ſtiled his cruelty, *The hate of evil men*; and his lawleſs ſlaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his juſtice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kind of vermine, which poiſon all the Princes of the World; and yet they proſper better than the worthieſt and valianteſt men do: and I wonder not at it, for it is a world: and as our *Saviour Chriſt* hath told us, *The World will love her own*.

To this *Dionyſius* his ſon of the ſame name ſucceeded, and inherited both his Kingdom and his Vices. To win the love of the People, he pardoned, and releaſed out of priſon, a great number of perſons, by his Father lockt up and condemned. Withall, he remitted unto his Citizens divers payments, by his Father impoſed upon them. Which done, and thereby hoping that he had faſtned unto himſelf the peoples affections; he caſt off the ſheeps skin, and put on that of the wolf. For being jealous of his own Brethren, as men of more vertue than himſelf, he cauſed them all to be ſlain; and all the kindred that they had by their Mothers ſide. For *Dionyſius* his Father (as hath been ſaid) had two Wives; *Doris* of *Locris*, and *Ariſtomache* a *Syracuſian*, the ſiſter of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionyſius*, who ſucceeded unto him: and by *Ariſtomache* he had two ſons and two Daughters of which the elder, called *Sophroſyne*, he gave in marriage to his eldeſt ſon, and her half-brother *Dionyſius*; the younger, called *Areta*, he beſtowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whoſe death *Dion* took her to wife, being his Neece.

This *Dion* a juſt and valiant man, finding that *Dionyſius* had abandoned all exerciſe of vertue, and that he was wholly given over to ſenſuality, prevailed ſo much with *Plato*, whoſe Diſciple he had been, as he drew him into *Sicil*, to inſtruct the young King. And having perſwaded the King to entertain him, he wrought ſo well with him, as *Dionyſius* began to change condition; to change Tyranny into Monarchy: and to hold the Principality that he had, rather by the love of his people, and his National Laws, than by the violence of his Guards and Gariſons, But this goodneſs of his laſted not long. For *Philiſtus* the Hiſtorian, and other his Paraſites, that hated *Dions* ſeverity, wrought him out of the Tyrants favour, and cauſed him ſoon after to be baniſhed out of *Sicil*, to the great grief of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels between him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionyſius* ſtood in great fear; or (at leaſt) if they refuſed it, to furniſh him with fifty Gallies at his own charge, during the war againſt them: his enemies found means, by ſiniſter interpretation, to convert his good will into matter of Treaſon. They told *Dionyſius*, that all the great commendations, given of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to ſoften his mind, and to make him neglect his own affairs, by the ſtudy of Philoſophy; whileſt *Dion* in the mean time having furniſhed fifty Gallies under colour of the Kings ſervice, had it in his own power either to deliver to the *Syracuſians* their former liberty, or to make himſelf Lord and Soveraign of their State.

It is likely, that the honeſt and liberal offer which he made, to ſerve the King with ſo great a preparation, at his own charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had ſerved the King for none other end than to raiſe and enrich themſelves, and had already been raiſed & enriched, thought themſelves bound to make the ſame offer that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace

to conceive it aright. But the covetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring that *Dion* had, were bold to stile his Love and Liberality, Pride and Presumption; and heartned the young King in his oppressing, and eating up his own people, of whose spoils they themselves shared no small portion. I have heard it, That when *Charls* the fifth had the repulse at *Algier*, in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Cortese*, one of the bravest men that ever *Spain* brought forth, offered unto the Emperour, to continue the siege at his own charge. But he had never good day after it. For they that envied his victories, and his conquest of *Mexico* in the *West-Indies*, perswaded the Emperour, that *Cortese* sought to value himself above him; and to have it said, that what the Emperour could not, *Cortese* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented at first to send him the revenues of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his moveables at his own pleasure: not without giving hope to recall him in short time. Had he continued in this good mood, like enough it is, that *Dion* would have been well pleased to live well, as he did, at *Athens*. But after some time, *Dionysius* made Port-sale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby urged him to take another course, even to seek the restitution of his Country to liberty. The vertues of *Dion*, especially his great Liberality, had purchased much Love in *Greece*. This Love made him suspected and hated of the Tyrant: but it stood him in good stead, when he sought to raise men, with whose help he might return into *Sicil*. Yet he got not above eight hundred (for he carried the matter closely) to follow him in his adventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuse*, as many as should be needfull, that would readily assist him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicil*, marched to *Syracuse*, entred the City without resistance, armed the multitude, and won all, save the Citadel.

Dionysius was then absent in *Italy* but he quickly had advertisement of his dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned hastily to *Syracuse*: whence, after many vain treaties of Peace, and some forcible attempts to recover the Town, he was fain to depart; leaving yet a Castle to the Custody of *Apollocrates* his eldest Son. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philistus*, coming with a strength of men to assist him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his Countries liberty, had the same reward that all worthy men have had from popular Estates. He was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the City. He retired himself to the *Leontines*, who received him with great joy. Soon after his departure from *Syracuse*, new troops enter the Castle: they sally out, assail, spoil, and burn a great part of the City. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request: yet, ere he could arrive, *Dionysius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Towns-men thinking themselves secure, shut the gates against *Dion*. But the next night they of the Castle sally out again, with greater fury than ever; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and set fire in all parts of the Town. In this their extremity *Dion* comes the second time to their succour; the love of his Country surmounting all the injuries that he had received. He sets upon the Garrison of the Castle, with the one part of his Army; and quencheth the fire every where kindled, with the other part. In conclusion, after he had conquered both the fire and the sword, that had well near burnt to ashes, and depopulated *Syracuse*, he recovered the Castle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and sent *Apollocrates* after *Dionysius* his Father into *Italy*. But their malice, of whom he had best deserved, and whom he had loved most, gave an untimely end to his dayes. For he was soon after his victory, murdered by *Gylippus*; who after he had with ill success, awhile governed *Syracuse*, was slain with the same Dagger, with which he had murdered *Dion*.

Ten years after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his friends in *Italy*, recovers his estate; and returns to *Syracuse*, driving *Nysæus* thence, whom he found Governour therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing more than ever, his cruelty, flee to *Icetes*, a *Syracusian* born, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Icetes* enters into confederacy with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their assistance, not only to prevail against *Dionysius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracusians* towards *Dionysius*, to make him also Lord of their City. The *Syracusians*, being deservedly afflicted on all sides, send to the *Corinthians* for succour. *Icetes* also sends thither, and disswades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermedling in the business. He tells them, by his Messengers, That he had entred into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth*, to land an Army in *Sicil*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treason of *Icetes*, more inraged than

than diſſwaded, ſent *Timoleon* with nineteen Gallies, to deliver *Syracuſe* from tyranny. In the mean while, *Icetes* had entred *Syracuſe*, and with the help of the *Carthaginians*, driven *Dionyſius* into the Caſtle, where he beſieged him.

Icetes, being himſelf a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather ſought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliver his Country. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he ſent to perſwade him, to return his Fleet; for that all things were (in effect) eſtabliſhed in *Sicil*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were alſo in the ſame Port of *Rhegium*, whoſe Captains adviſed *Timoleon* to get him gone in peace. They had far more Gallies there than he had, and were like to compel him, if he would not be perſwaded. *Timoleon*, finding himſelf over-maſtered, makes requeſt to the *Carthaginian* Captains, that they would be pleaſed to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open aſſembly of the people, to deliver unto him thoſe arguments for his return, which they had uſed to him in private; that he might, by publick teſtimony, diſcharge himſelf to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perſwading themſelves, that a victory obtained by a few fair words, was without loſs, and far more eaſie, than that of many blows, and wounds, yielded to *Timoleons* deſire. But while the Orations were delivering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the *Rhegians*, ſtole out of the preaſe; and having ſet ſail, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the Governour. From thence he marched toward *Adranum*, where ſurpriſing *Icetes* his Army, he ſlew a part thereof, and put the reſt to run. It is the nature of victory to beget friends. The *Adranitans* joyned with him, and ſo did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionyſius* alſo ſent to *Timoleon*, offering to ſurrender the Caſtle of *Syracuſe* into his hands, as thinking it better to yield up himſelf, and the places which he could not defend, unto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Icetes*, whom he diſdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who, within fifty dayes after his arrival, had recovered the Caſtle of *Syracuſe*, and ſent *Dionyſius* to *Corinth*, to live there a private man, was ſtill invaded by the Armies, and moleſted by the practices of *Icetes*. For he beſieged the *Corinthians* within the Caſtle of *Syracuſe*, and attempted (but in vain) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* ſend unto *Timoleon* a ſupply of two thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, which are ſtayed in *Italy* by foul weather. *Icetes* is ſtrengthened with threeſcore thouſand *Africans*, brought unto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuſe*) and with an hundred and fifty Gallies, to keep the Port. This was the firſt time that ever the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the walls of that City. With this great Army *Icetes* aſſaileth the Caſtle *Timoleon* ſends them victuals, and ſuccour, in ſmall boats, by night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Icetes* do therefore reſolve to beſiege *Catana*; but they were no ſooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captain of the *Corinthians*, ſallied out of the Caſtle, and took that part of *Syracuſe*, called *Acradina*, which he fortified.

In the mean while, the two thouſand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two thouſand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marched toward *Syracuſe*. *Mago* abandoneth *Icetes* being frighted out of *Sicil* (which he might eaſily have conquered) with an idle rumour of treaſon. This made him return to *Carthage*; where the general exclamation againſt his cowardize, did ſo much affright him, that for fear of further puniſhment he hanged himſelf. *Timoleon* enters the City, and beats down the Caſtle (which he called *The Neſt of Tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the City, when the ſtrangers were fled, in effect deſolate; ſo as their horſes did feed on the graſs growing in the Market-place. Therefore he writes to *Corinth* for people to reinhabit it. Ten thouſand are ſent out of *Greece*, many come from *Italy*; others from other parts of the Iſland.

But a new ſtorm ariſeth. *Aſdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lilibæum*, with threeſcore and ten thouſand Souldiers, tranſported (with all their proviſions) in a thouſand ſhips of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Army upon the paſſage of a River.

A tempeſt of rain, hail, and lightning, with boyſterous winds, beating upon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are utterly broken, ten thouſand ſlain, five thouſand taken, with all their carriages and proviſions: among which there were found a thouſand Corſlets guilt and graven. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Icetes*, and following his victory, took him, with his Son *Eupolemus*, and the General of his horſe, priſoners; whom he cauſed all to be ſlain: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty) he ſuffered *Icetes* his wives and daughters to be put to death. But this

was

was the revenge of God upon *Icetes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arete*, *Dions* wife, and a young child of his, with *Arisiomache* his Sister, to be cast into the Sea.

He again prevailed against *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana*, and won *Catana* it self. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippon* Tyrant of *Messena*: but *Timoleon*, pursued him, won the Town; delivering *Hippon* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other the Tyrants in *Sicil.*

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*, on condition that they should not pass the River of *Lycus*. After this, he lived in great honour among the *Syracusians*, till his death; and was solemnly buried by them in the Market-place of their City: the day of his Funerals being for ever ordained to be kept holy among them.

After such time as *Timoleon* had delivered *Syracuse* from the tyranny of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole Island; the Inhabitants injoyed their liberty in peace, about twenty years. The Cities and temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant sailed in safty; and the Labouring man injoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to govern them; should any long time subsist.

Twenty years after the death of *Timoleon*, there started up one *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition: who from a Begger, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captain; and so from degree to degree, rising to be a Prætor: finally, became Lord and Soveraign of the *Syracusians*. Many fortunes he ran, and under-went as many dangers, ere he obtained the principality. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable service, as well for those by whom he was imployed, as also for the *Syracusians*, and against them. For in their Wars against those of *Enna*, and the *Campanes*, he did them memorable service: and on the contrary, as memorable service for the *Murgantines* against the *Syracusians*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made General of their forces, he sackt *Leontium*; and besieged *Syracuse* so straightly, that the Citizens were driven to crave aid, even from their antient and natural enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was sent by the *Carthaginians* to relieve *Syracuse*. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that he got him to make peace between himself and the *Syracusians*; binding himself by promise and oath to remain a friend and servant to the State of *Carthage*, for ever after. *Amilcar* entertained the business, and compounded the quarrels between *Agathocles* and the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles* is chosen Prætor; he entertains five thousand *Africans*, and divers old Souldiers of the *Murgantines*, under colour of a purpose to besiege *Herbita*. With these, and with the assistance of the poor and discontented *Syracusians* (the City also being divided into many factions) he assails the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposites; divides the spoil of the rich among the poor; and gives liberty to his Souldiers, to rob, to ravish, and to murder, for two whole daies and nights, without controlement: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewed the streets with ten thousand dead carkasses, besides those that had broken their necks over the walls; their fury had no further subject to work on.

Agathocles, in an assembly of the people (being an eloquent knave) perswaded them, that, for the violent sickness, by which the Common-wealth was utterly consumed, he found no better than the violent remedies which he had administred: and that he affected no other thing than the reducing of the state from an Oligarchy, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democraty, by which it had been governed, from the first institution, with so great glory and posterity. This he did, to have the Crown clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For, as he knew that he had left none living, within the City, fit or able to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew he right well, that all they which had assisted in the murder and spoil of their fellow-Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawless Lord, who had been partaker with them in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this rable, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: again and again saluting and adoring him, by that name, as if he had been given to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a piece of his pattern; but the one was of base, the other of Kingly Parents; the one took liberty from a Common-weal, the other sought only to succeed in a Monarchy; the one continued his cruelty to the end, the other, after he had obtained he Crown, sought, by making good Laws tto recover the love of his people.

The life of this Tyrant is briefly written by

by *Juſtine*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the ſumm whereof is this. The ſame *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuſe*, and that had lent him five thouſand men to help in the Maſſacre of the Citizens, was alſo content to wink at many wrongs that he did unto the confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpoſe of *Amilcar*, to ſettle *Agathocles* in his tyranny, and to let him vex and waſte the whole Iſland; becauſe it was thereby like to come to paſs, that he ſhould reduce all *Sicil* into ſuch terms as would make it become an eaſie prey to *Carthage*. But when the Cities, confederate with the *Carthaginians*, ſent their Embaſſadours, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Punick* faith (ſo much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than meer falſhood) ſhewed it ſelf very honourable in taking order for the redreſs. Embaſſadours were ſent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in mind of his Covenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africk*, and a new Captain appointed to ſucceed in his charge, with ſuch forces, as might compel *Agathocles* to reaſon, if otherwiſe he would not hearken to it. All this tended to ſave their Confederates, from ſuffering ſuch injuries in the future. For that which was paſt (ſince it could not be recalled) they took order to have it ſeverely puniſhed. *Amilcar* was accuſed ſecretly, and by way of ſcrutiny: the ſuffrages being given, but not calculated; and ſo reſerved until he ſhould return. This was not ſo cloſely handled, but that *Amilcar* had ſoon notice of it. In managing his buſineſs with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his own profit, as well as to the publick benefit of his Country. For he had made ſuch a compoſition with the *Syracuſian*, as gave him not only means to weaken others, but to ſtrengthen himſelf, both in power and authority, even againſt the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the cuſtom of thoſe, that hope to work their own ends by cunning practices, thinking to deal ſubtlely and finely, they ſpin their threads ſo ſmall, that they are broken with the very wind. *Amilcar* ſaw, that his *Carthaginians* had a purpoſe to deal ſubſtantially; and that therefore it would be hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices: which if he could not do, it was to be expected, that their anger would break out into ſo much the greater extremity, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which ſome of his fore-goers had taught him; and, for fear of ſuch a death as the Judges might award him, he ended his own life in what ſort he thought beſt. This deſperation of *Amilcar* ſerved to inform *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He ſaw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore reſolved to get the ſtart of them in action. He diſſembled no longer; but, inſtead of ſpoil and robbery, made open War upon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicil* his own, ere the *Carthaginian* Forces arrived: which thinking to have incountred an ill-eſtabliſhed Tyrant, found him ready, as a King, to defend his own, and give them ſharp entertainment. They were beaten by him; and their Navy was ſo Tempeſt-beaten, that they could neither do good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leave their buſineſs undone, and return into *Africk*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new Fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furniſhed was broken, by foul weather, and the beſt part of it caſt away, even whilſt it was yet within kenning of their City. But *Amilcar*, the Son of *Giſco*, gathering together the remainders of his ſhipwrack, was bold to paſs over into *Sicil*, and landed not far from *Gela*; where *Agathocles* was ſoon ready to examine the cauſe of their coming. Many ſkirmiſhes paſſed between them, in which (commonly) the *Syracuſian* had the better. But his good ſucceſs begat preſumption; whereby he loſt a battel more important than all the other fights. One adverſe chance is enough to overthrow the ſtate of a Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumſpection. The War was ſoon transferred to the walls of *Syracuſe*; within which *Agathocles* was cloſed up, and driven to make his laſt defence by their help, who may be judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, after that great Maſſacre of the principal men, made in the beginning of this new Tyranny, were (for the moſt part) ſuch, as had been either mercenary Souldiers, infranchiſed ſlaves, or baſe and needy people; helpers in eſtabliſhing the preſent Government, and Executioners of the murders, and ſpoil committed in that change. If there were any other (as ſome there were) they were ſo well obſerved, and (withall) ſo fearful, that they durſt not ſtir. But it was enough that they all agreed in the common defence of themſelves and their City; Famine was likely to grow upon them, and inforce them to change their reſolution. In this neceſſity *Agathocles* adventured upon a ſtrange courſe, which the event commended as wiſe. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in thoſe veſſe' that rode in the Haven; and committing

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the Government of the City to his Brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) he had bethought himself of a mean, both to raise the siege, and to repair all other losses. A *Carthaginian* Fleet lay in the mouth of the Haven, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keep the besieged from issuing forth.

Now, at such time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, advertisment came, that many ships of burden, laden with Corn, and other provisions, were drawing near unto *Syracuse*. To intercept these the *Carthaginians* hoise sail, and lanch forth into the deep. They were not far gone, when they might behold *Agathocles* issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to give convoy unto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheel about, and make amain toward him, as thinking him the better booty. He neither abode their coming, nor fled back into the City, but made all speed towards *Africk*; and was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as the day would give them light. In the mean season the victuallers were gotten to *Syracuse*; which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had unburdened the place of no small number. When the *Carthaginian* Admiral perceived, first, that by pursuing two Fleets at once, he had missed of them both: and secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not again, but was gone to seek his fortune elsewhere, he thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend so well upon them, that they should not have leisure to do mischief in some other part.

The *Carthaginian* Navy followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and overtook him after six dayes. He had (at the first) a great start of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselves in seeking their own misfortune: for he fought with them, and beat them; and, having sunk or taken many, drave the rest to flye which way they could, laden with such strange tydings of his voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he discover unto them his project, letting them understand, that there was no better way to divert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuse*, but from all the Isle of *Sicil*, than by bringing the war to their own doors. For here (said he) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take Arms against them, as soon as they perceive that there is an Army on foot, which dares to look upon their walls. Their Towns are ill fortified, their people untrained, and experienced in dangers; the mercenary forces that they levy in these parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promise and make good, by letting them have some share with us in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can do, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one already Master of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many brave words encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (reserving one or two to use as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remain, save only in victory. In this heat of resolution, they win by force two Cities; which after they had throughly sacked, they burnt to the ground: as a mark of terrour to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians* hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Army destroyed in *Sicil*. This impression so dismayes them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had scaped in the late Sea-fight, yet still they fear, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcars* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they suspected their principal Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray *Carthage* unto the enemy; they raise a great Army, and know not to whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captains in the City, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, great enemies. And therefore the more unlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generals of the Army levied, which far exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldom happens, that dissention between Commanders produceth any fortunate event. Necessity drave *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deal with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made easie the victory against the one half of them. For *Bomilcar* would not stir, but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victory, brought over a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* society, to take part with *Agathocles*: who pursuing his victory, winneth many Towns, and sends word to *Syracuse* of his good success. The *Carthaginians* also send unto *Sicil*, willing *Amilcar*, their General, to succour the State of *Africk*, which was in danger to be lost, whilst he was travelling in the Conquest of *Sicil*. *Amilcar* sends them five thousand men:

all

all his forces he thought it not needful to tranſport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicil*, than to be drawn home by one, that could ſcarce retain his own Kingdom. But theſe good hopes had a bad iſſue. He ſpent ſome time in winning a few Towns that adhered unto the *Syracuſians*: and having brought his matters to ſome good order, he conceived a ſudden hope of taking *Syracuſe* by ſurpriſe. It was a pretty (though tragical) Accident, if it were true, as *Tully* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dream which told him that he ſhould ſup the next day within *Syracuſe*. His fancy begot this dream, and he verily believed it. He made more haſt than good ſpeed toward the City: and coming upon it on the ſudden, had good hope to carry it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laid an ambuſh to entrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried priſoner into the City; in which it was likely that he had no great chear to his ſupper: for they ſtruck of his head, and ſent it into *Africk* (a welcome preſent) to *Agathocles*.

This good ſucceſs of things at home, did put ſuch courage into the *Sicilian* Army, that *Agathocles* was bold to wear a Crown, and ſtile himſelf *King of Africk*. He had allured *Ophellas*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promiſes to deliver the Country into his hands: for that (as is ſaid) it was ſufficient unto himſelf to have diverted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicil*, wherein (after this war ended) he might reign quietly. *Ophellas* came with a great Army, and was friendly entertained. But the traiterous *Silician*, taking an advantage, did murther this his aſſiſtant; and afterwards by good words, and great promiſes, drew all the *Cyrenean* Army to follow him in his Wars. Thus his villany found good ſucceſs; and he ſo prevailed in *Africk*, that he got leiſure to make a ſtep into *Sicil*. Many Towns in *Sicil* had embraced a deſire of recovering their liberty; thinking it high time to fight at length for their own freedom, after that they had ſo long been expoſed, (as a reward of victory) either unto Aliens, or to Tyrants of their own Country. Theſe had prevailed far, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cauſe: when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high ſpirits, and his good ſucceſs in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of *Sicil* he returned into *Africk*, where his affairs ſtood in very bad terms. *Archagathus*, his ſon had loſt a battel; and (which was worſe) had ill means to help himſelf: his Army being in mutiny for lack of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accuſtomed promiſes of great booty and ſpoil. It had now been time for him to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*: which to obtain, they would (queſtionleſs) have given to him both mony enough to pay his Army, and all that they then held in *Sicil*. For their City had been diſtreſſed, not only by this his war, but by the treaſon of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himſelf Tyrant over them. But ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed upon the conqueſt of *Carthage* it ſelf: out of which dream he was awakened, by the loſs of a battel, not ſo memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the ſtrange events following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this war, had renewed their old ſacrifices of children to *Saturn*: from which they had abſtained ever ſince they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of ſome, the goodlieſt of their priſoners taken in the battel, to offer unto the ſaid Idol, in way of thankfulneſs to their victory. The fire, with which theſe unhappy men were conſumed, caught hold upon the lodgings neareſt unto the Altar, and ſpreading it ſelf farther through the Camp, with the deſtruction of many men, cauſed ſuch a tumult as is uſual in the like caſes. At the ſame time, the like accident of fire burnt up the Pavilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away, each of them believing, that the noiſe in the adverſe Camp, was a ſign of the enemies coming to invade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a ſafe retrait: *Agathocles*, by a ſecond error, fell into a new calamity. In the beginning of this his flight in the dark, he met with his own *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies, (as indeed the one half of them had revolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the laſt battel) he began to aſſail them, and was ſo ſtoutly reſiſted, that he loſt in this blind fight above four thouſand of his men. This did ſo diſcourage his proud heart, that, being fallen from the near hope of taking the City of *Carthage*, unto ſome diſtruſt of his own ſafety, he knew no more how to moderate his preſent weak fears, than lately he had known how to govern his ambition. Therefore he took the way that came next into his head; which was to ſteal cloſely aboard his ſhips, with his younger ſon (the elder he ſuſpected of Inceſt, and of Ambition) and ſo to flye into *Sicil*; thinking it the beſt courſe to ſhift for himſelf, as wanting veſſels wherein to tranſport his Army. His elder ſon *Archagathus*, perceiving his drift, arreſted him and put him under cuſtody:

but by means of a ſudden tumult, he was let looſe, eſcaped,, and fled alone, leaving both his ſons behind him. His flight being noyſed through the Army, all was in an uproar; and extremity of rage cauſed not only the common Souldier, but even ſuch as had been friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his two ſons, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extreemly baſe, I need not uſe words to prove: That his fear was truly, as all fear is ſaid to be, a paſſion, depriving him of the ſuccours which reaſon offered, the ſequel doth manifeſt. His forſaken Souldiers, being now a headleſs company, and no longer an Army to be feared, obtained nevertheleſs a reaſonable compoſition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they ſold thoſe places, whereof they had poſſeſſion, for nineteen talents. Likewiſe, *Agathocles* himſelf, having loſt his Army, did nevertheleſs, by the reputation of this late war, make peace with *Carthage* upon equal terms.

After this, the Tyrant being delivered from forain enemies, diſcovered his bloody nature, in moſt abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants and his fears, urged him ſo violently, that he was not ſatisfied with the ſpols of the rich, or the death of thoſe whom he held ſuſpected: but in a beaſtly rage depopulated whole Cities. He deviſed new engines of torment; wherein ſtriving to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of braſs, that ſhould ſerve to ſcorch mens bodies, and withall give him leave to behold them in their miſery. So deviliſh is the nature of man, when reaſon, that ſhould be his guide, is become a ſlave to his bruitiſh affections. In theſe miſchiefs he was ſo outragious, that he neither ſpared Sex, nor Age; eſpecially, when he was informed of the ſlaughter of his children in *Aſrick*. But this was not the way to preſerve his eſtate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chaſed out of their Country took arms againſt him, and drave him into ſuch fears, that he was fain to ſeek that love at *Carthage*, which by ruling well he might have had in *Sicil*. He freely delivered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all thoſe Towns of the *Phœnicians* in *Sicil*, belonging unto them, which were in his poſſeſſion. They requited him honourably, with great ſtore of corn, and with four hundred talents of gold and ſilver. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed againſt the Rebels, and ſetled his eſtate. Having no further buſineſs left in *Sicil*, he made a voyage into *Italy*. There he ſubdued the *Brutians*, rather by terrour of his name than by any force, for they yeilded at his firſt coming. This done, he went to the Iſle of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great ſumm, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to ſpoil the Temples of their gods. Herein (methinks) he did well enough. For how could he believe thoſe to be gods, that had continually given deaf ears to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleven ſhips loaden with gold: all which, and all the reſt of the fleet, were caſt away by foul weather at Sea; one Gally excepted, in which he himſelf eſcaped, to ſuffer a more miſerable end. A grievous ſickneſs fell upon him, that rotted his whole body, ſpreading it ſelf through all his veins and ſinews. Whilſt he lay in this caſe, all deſiring his end, ſave only *Theogenia* (a wife that he had taken out of *Egypt*) and her ſmall children: his Nephew, the ſon of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a younger ſon of his own, began to contend about the Kingdom. Neither did they ſeek to end the controverſie by the old Tyrants deciſion; they regarded him not ſo much. But each of them laid wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew ſped ſo well, that he ſlew his Uncle, and got his Grandfathers Kingdom, without aſking any leave. Theſe tydings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with fear and ſorrow. He ſaw himſelf without help, like to become a prey to his ungracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no favour was to be expected, either by himſelf, or by thoſe, whom only he now held dear, which were *Theogenia* and her children. Therefore he adviſed her and them to fly before they were ſurpiſed: for that otherwiſe they could by no means avoid, either death, or ſomewhat that would be worſe. He gave them all his treaſures and goods, wherewith he even compelled them (weeping to leave him deſolate in ſo wretched a caſe) to imbark themſelves haſtily, and make ſpeed into *Egypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himſelf into the fire, or whether his diſeaſe conſumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him, but he ended his life as baſely, as obſcury, and in as much want as he firſt began it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamertines*, his Souldiers, traiterouſly occupied *Meſſana*, and infeſted a great part of the Iſland. Then alſo did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicil*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles*

thocles did, I cannot find. Likely it is that he quickly periſhed. For the *Sicilians* were driven to ſend for *Pyrrhus* to help them, who had marryed with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was ſoon weary of the Country (as hath been ſhewed before) and therefore left it; prophecying that it would become a goodly champion field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* ſhould fight for ſuperiority. In which buſineſs, how theſe two great Cities did ſpeed, the order of our ſtory will declare.

§. V.

A recontinuation of the Roman War in Sicil. *How* Hieron, *King of* Syracuſe, *forſook the* Carthaginians, *and made his peace with* Rome.

WHen *Appius Claudius*, following the advantage of his victory gotten at *Meſſana*, brought the War unto the Gates of *Syracuſe*, and beſieged that great City; *Hieron* found it high time for him to ſeek peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reaſon to be offended with him, for helping himſelf by what means he could, when they were not in caſe to give him aſſiſtance; and foreſeeing withall, that when once he had purchaſed his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to ſit ſtill, without fear of moleſtation, whilſt *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the maſtery. In this good mood the new *Roman* Conſuls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Octacilius* found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendſhip. Yet they made uſe of their preſent advantage, and ſold him peace for an hundred (ſome ſay two hundred) Talents.

Theſe Conſuls had brought a great Army into *Sicil*; yet did they nothing elſe in effect, than bring over *Hiero* to their ſide. If the *Syracuſian* held them buſied (which I find not, otherwiſe than by circumſtances, as, by the ſum of mony impoſed upon him, and by their performing none other piece of ſervice) all the whole time of their abode in the Iſland; then was his departure from the friendſhip of *Carthage*, no leſs to his honour than it was to his commodity. For by no reaſon could they require, that he ſhould ſuffer his own Kingdom to run into manifeſt peril of ſubverſion, for their ſakes that ſhould have received all the profit of the victory: ſeeing they did expoſe him to the whole danger without ſtraining themſelves to give him relief. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proof of the ſtrength of *Syracuſe*, in the dayes of *Agathocles*: and therefore knew, that it was able to bear a very ſtrong ſiege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more ſlack, in ſending help: if (perhaps) it were not ſome part of their deſire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuſe* ſhould weaken one the other, whereby their own work might be the eaſier againſt them both. Yet indeed, the caſe of the beſieged City was not the ſame, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had been when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reaſon to try the uttermoſt hazard of war againſt the *Carthaginians*, who ſought no other thing than to bring it into ſlavery: not ſo againſt the *Romans*, who thought it ſufficient if they could withdraw it from the party of their enemies. Beſides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathocles*, or by *Hiero*. The former of theſe cared not what the Citizens endured, ſo long as he might preſerve his own tyranny: the latter, as a juſt and good Prince, had no greater deſire than to win the love of his people by ſeeking their commodity; but including his own felicity within the publick, laboured to uphold both, by honeſt and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to paſs that he enjoyed a long and happy reign, living dear to his own Subjects, beloved of the *Romans*, and not greatly moleſted by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the conſideration, *That they had left him to himſelf, ere he left their ſociety*, made unwilling to ſeek his ruine; or their more earneſt buſineſs with the *Romans*, made unable to compaſs it.

§. VI.

How the Romans *beſiege and win* Agrigentum. *Their beginning to maintain a fleet. Their firſt loſs, and firſt victory by ſea. Of ſea-fight in general.*

HIeron, having ſided himſelf with the *Romans*, aideth them with victuals and other neceſſaries: ſo that they, preſuming upon his aſſiſtance, recall ſome part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* find it high time to beſtir them; they ſend to the *Ligurians*, and to the troups they had in *Spain*, to come to their aid; who being arrived, they made the City of *Agrigentum* the ſeat of the War, againſt the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition.

The *Roman* Conſuls, having made peace with *Hieron*, return into *Italy*; and, in their places, *Lucius Poſthumus* and *Quintus Mamilius* arrive. They go on towards

* *Agrigentum* was a goodly City, built by the *Geloi*, under the conduct of *Aitor* and *Pistus*. The compass was ten miles about the walls; and it had sometimes in it eight hundred thousand Inhabitants. This City, by reason of the fertility of the soil, and the neighbour-hood of *Carthage*, grew in a short space from small beginnings, to great glory and riches. The plenty and luxury thereof was so great, as it caused *Empedocles* to say, that the *Agrigentines* built Palaces of such sumptuosity, as if they meant to live for ever; and made such feasts, as if they ment to dye the next day. But their greatest pomp and magnificence, was in their goodly Temples, and Theatres, Water-conduits, and Fish-ponds: the ruines whereof at this day are sufficient arguments, that *Rome* it self could never boast of the like. In the Porch of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, (by which we may judge of the Temple it self) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in polished marble of divers colours; a work the most magnificent and rare that ever hath been seen: on the other side, the war of *Troy*, and the encounters which hapned at that siege; with the personages of the Heroes that were doers in that war; all of the like beautiful stone, and of equal stature to the bodies of those men in ancient times: In comparison of which, the latter works of that kind, are but petty things, and meer trifles. It would require a volume to express the magnificence of the Temples of *Hercules*, *Aesculapius*, *Concord*, *Juno Lucina*, *Chastitie*, *Proserpina*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, wherein the Master-pieces of those exquisite Painters and Carvers *Phidias*, *Zeuxis*, *Myron*, and *Polyclatus*, were to be seen. But in process of time it ran the same fortune that all other great Cities have done, and was ruined by divers calamities of war: whereof this war present brought unto it not the least.

Agrigentum: and finding no enemy in the field, they besiege it, though it were stuffed with fifty thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of harvest being come, a part of the *Roman* Army range the Country to gather corn, and those at the siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* sally furiously, and indanger the *Roman* Army, but are in the end repelled into the Town with great loss; but by the smart felt on both sides, the Assailants redoubled their guards, and the besieged kept within their covert. Yet the *Romans*, the better to assure themselves, cut a deep trench between the walls of the City and their Camp: and another on the outside thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force them suddenly, by a sally; nor those of the Country without, break upon them unawares: which double Defence kept the besieged also from the receiving any relief of victuals, and munitions, whilst the *Syracusian* supplies the assailants with what they want. The besieged send for succour to *Carthage*, after they had been in this sort pent up five months. The *Carthaginians* imbark an Army, with certain Elephants, under the command of *Hanno*; who arrives with it at *Heraclea*, to the West of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno* put himself into the field, and surpriseth *Erbesus*, a City wherein the *Romans* had bestowed all their provision. By means hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within *Agrigentum*; and the *Roman* Camp no less straightly assieged by *Hanno*, than the City was by the *Romans*: insomuch, as if *Hieron* had not supplied them, they had been forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distress was not enough to make them rise, *Hanno* determined to give them battel. To which end departing from *Heraclea*, he makes approach unto the *Roman* Camp. The *Romans* resolve to sustain him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* horsemen to change the Vantguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to return as broken, till they came to the body of the Army, that lay shadowed behind some rising ground. The *Numidians* perform it accordingly; and while the *Romans* pursued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* gives upon them, and having slaughtered many, beats the rest into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two months, but lay strongly encamped, waiting untill some opportunity should invite them. But *Annibal* that was besieged in *Agrigentum*, as well by signs as messengers, made *Hanno* know how ill the extremity which he endured, was able to brook such dilatory courses. *Hanno* thereupon, a second time, provoked the Consuls to fight: But his Elephants being disordered by his own Vantguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he lost the day: and with such as escaped, he recovered *Heraclea*. *Annibal* perceiving this, and remaining hopeless of succour, resolved to make his own way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this dayes victory, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; he rusht out of the Town, with all the remainder of his Army, and past by the *Roman* camp without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vain: sure they were, that he could not carry the City with him, which with little a-do the *Romans* entred, and pitifully spoiled. The *Romans*, proud of this victory, pursued rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this War, only to succour the *Mamertines*, and to keep the *Carthaginians* from their own coasts: but now they determine to make themselves Lords of all *Sicil*; and from thence, being favoured with the wind of good success, to sail over into *Africk*. It is the disease of Kings, of States, and also of private men, to covet the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the desire of that which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true use and fruition of what we have already. This curse upon mortal men, was never taken from them since the beginning of the World unto this day.

To prosecute this War, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Octacilius*, two new Consuls, are sent into *Sicil*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being Masters of the field, many in-land Towns gave themselves unto them. On the contrary, the *Carthaginians* keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to secure their own coasts, often invaded by the *African* fleets,

fleets, as to equal themſelves in every kind of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant inſhip-wrights craft, a ſtorm of wind thruſt one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of five banks, to the ſhore.

Now had the *Romans* a pattern, and by it they began to ſet up an hundred *Quinqueremes* which were Gallies, rowed by five on every bank; and twenty, of three on a bank: and while theſe were in preparing, they exerciſed their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a ſtrange faſhion. They placed upon the Sea-ſands many ſeats, in order of the banks in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beat the ſand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Maſter, that ſo they might learn the ſtroke of the Gally, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finiſhed, ſome rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new conſuls (for they changed every year) was made Admiral: who being more in love with this new kind of warfare, than well adviſed, paſt over to *Meſſana* with ſeventeen Gallies, leaving the reſt to follow him. There he ſtayed not, but would needs row along the coaſt to *Lipara*, hoping to do ſome piece of ſervice. *Hannibal* a *Carthaginian* was at the ſame time Governour in *Panormus*; who being advertiſed of this new Sea-mans arrival, ſent forth one *Boodes*, a Senator of *Carthage*, with twenty Gallies, to entertain him. *Boodes*, falling upon the Conſul unawares, took both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* received this good news, together with the *Roman* Gallies, and their Conſul; he grew no leſs fooliſh hardy than *Cornelius* had been. For he, fancying to himſelf to ſurprize the reſt of the *Roman* fleet, on their own coaſt, ere they were yet in all points provided; ſought them out with a fleet of fifty ſail: wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and leaving the greater number of his own behind him, made an hard eſcape with the reſt: for of one hundred and twenty Gallies, the *Romans* under *Cornelius* had loſt but ſeventeen, ſo as one hundred and three remained, which were not eaſily beaten by fifty.

The *Romans*, being advertiſed of *Cornelius* his overthrow, make haſt to redeem him, but give the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Duilius*. *Duilius*, conſidering that the *Roman* veſſels were heavy and ſlow, the *African* Gallies having the ſpeed of them, deviſed a certain Engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might faſten or grapple themſelves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies ſides together. This done the weightier ſhips had gotten the advantage, and the *Africans* loſt it. For neither did their ſwiftneſs ſerve them, nor their Marriners craft; the veſſels wherein both Nations fought, being open: ſo that all was to be carryed by the advantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Beſides this, as the heavier Gallies were accidentally likely to cruſh, and crack the ſides of the lighter and weaker, ſo were they by the reaſon of their breadth, more ſteady; and thoſe that beſt kept their feet, could alſo beſt uſe their hands. The example may be given between one of the long boats of his Majeſties great ſhips, and a *London-Barge*.

Certainly, he that will happily perform a fight at Sea, muſt be ſkilful in making choice of Veſſels to fight in: he muſt believe that there is more belonging to a good man of War, upon the waters, than great daring; and muſt know, that there is a great deal of difference, between fighting looſe or at large, and grappling. The Guns of a ſlow ſhip pierce as well, and make as great holes, as thoſe in a ſwift. To clap ſhips together, without conſideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of War: for by ſuch an ignorant bravery was *Peter Stroſſie* loſt at the *Azores*, when he fought againſt the *Marqueſs* of *Santa Cruz*. In like ſort, had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admiral of *England*, been loſt in the year 1588. if he had not been better adviſed, than a great many malignant fools were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Army aboord them; and he had none: they had more ſhips than he had, and of higher building and charging; ſo that, had he intangled himſelf with thoſe great and powerful Veſſels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdom of *England*. For twenty men upon the defences, are equal to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwiſe, the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twenty of ours to defend themſelves withall. But our Admiral knew his advantage, and held it: which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head. Here to ſpeak in general of Sea-fights (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the Preſs,) I ſay, that a fleet of twenty ſhips, all good ſailers, and good ſhips, have the advantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ſhips and of ſlower ſailing. For if the fleet of an hundred ſail keep themſelves near together, in a groſs ſquadron; the twenty ſhips, charging

ing them upon any angle, shall force them to give ground, and to fall back upon their own next fellows: of which so many as intangle, are made unserviceable or lost. Force them they may easily, because the twenty ships, which give themselves scope after they have given one broad side of Artillery, by clapping into the wind, and staying, they may give them the other: and so the twenty ships batter them in pieces with a perpetual volly; whereas those that fight in a troop, have no room to turn, and can alwayes use but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of an hundred sail give themselves any distance, then shal the lesser fleet prevail, either against those that are arear and hindmost, or against those, that by advantage of over-sailing their fellows keep the wind, and if upon a Lee-shore, the ships next the wind: be constrained to fal back into their own squadron, then it is all to nothing, the whole fleet must suffer shipwrack, or render it self. That such advantage may be taken upon a fleet of uncequal speed, it hath been well enough conceived in old time; as by the Oration of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracusians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may easily be observed.

Of the Art of War by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord *Henry*, *Prince of Wales*; a subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or modern: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his loss; by the loss of that brave Prince; of which, like an Eclipse of the Sun, we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal words and sorrows; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*

But it is now time to return to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by losing their advantage of swift boats, and boarding the *Romans*, have lost fifty sail of their Gallies: as on the other side, their enemies by commanding the Seas, have gotten liberty to sail about the West part of *Sicil*; where they raised the siege laid unto *Segesta* by the *Carthaginians*, and won the Town of *Macella*, with some other places.

§. VII.

Divers Enterfeats of War, between the Romans *and* Carthaginians, *with variable success. The* Romans *prepare to invade* Africk: *and obtain a great victory at Sea.*

THE Victory of *Duilius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the first Naval Triumph, that was ever seen in that City; so gave it unto the *Romans* great incouragement, to proceed in their Wars by Sea; whereby they hoped, not only to get *Sicil*, but all the other Isles between *Italy* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither soon after they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions, that might help to recompence the late misfortune: and being advertised, that some quarrel was grown between the *Roman* Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incamp apart, he sent forth *Hanno* to set upon them; who taking them unawares, buried four thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-war in *Sicil*, *Hannibal*, who had lately been beaten by Sea, but escaped unto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former errour, obtained the trust of a new fleet, wherewith he arrived at *Sardinia*: the conquest of which Island, the *Romans* had entertained for their next enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the *Romans*, crossing the Sea from *Sicil*, arrived in the Port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They set upon him unawares, and took the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himself hardly escaping the danger. But it little availed him to have escaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were so ill pleased with this his second unfortunate voyage, that they hanged him up for his diligence: for (as it hath been said of old) *Non est bis in bello peccare*; *In War it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Consuls, till **Pa-*

If we may give credit to Antiquities, which Fazellus a diligent Writer, hath left us in his History of *Sicil*. P normus, now c Palermo,

is one of the first Cities that hath been built in all *Europe*. Fo whereas *Thucydides* seems to make it a Colony of the *Phœnicians*; F zanus, *in libello de Panormo*, *lib.* 6. affirms that it was first and long be the time which *Thucydides* set down founded by the *Chaldæans*, and D *masœnes*. To prove which, he tells us of two inscriptions upon Marble the *Hebrew* Character found at *Panormus*, in the time of *William* the secon King of *Sicil*, that were then beheld of all the Citizens and other str gers, which being translated into Latine, say as followeth; *Vixerit [illegible] filio Abrahæ, & regnante in Idumea, atque in valle Damascena, F[illegible] Isaac, ingens Hebræorum manus, quibus adjuncti sunt multi Damasceni, [illegible] Phœnices, profecti in hanc triangularem insulam, sedes perpetuas locaturi hoc amœnissimo loco, quem Panormum nominaverunt.* In the other Ma are found these words; *Non est alius Deus præter unum Deum; non est [illegible] potens præter eundem Deum, &c. Hujus Turris Præfectus est Saphi filius phaz, filii Esau fratris Jacob filii Isaac, filii Abraham: & Turri quidem nomen est Bayeh; sed Turri huic proximæ nomen est Pharab.* And this inscr tion (saith *Fazellus*) was found intire in the Castle *Bayeh*, in the year 1 Now whether these inscriptions were truly as ancient, as these men lieve they were, I leave every man to his own faith. But that the City of aged times, it appears by *Thucydides*, who affirmeth; when the *Greeks* first into *Sicil*, that then the *Phœnicians* inhabited *Panormus*: which tain it is they did in the first *Punick* war; to wit, the *Carthaginians* were *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Romans* (*A. Aquilius*, and *C. Corn* commanding this Army) took it; And when *Marcellus* besieged *Syra* sent him in aid 3000 Souldiers. But it was rather confederate, than ject to the *Romans*. For *Cicero* against *Verres*, names it among the free ties of *Sicil*. After *Syracuse* destroyed, it became the first City, and R Seat, as well of the *Gothes* and *Saracens* in that Island, as of the Empe of *Constantinople*; of the *Normans*, *French*, and *Arragonians*, which nour it holds this day, and is much frequented, for the excellen which grows about it.

normus

normus was beſieged; where, when the *Romans* had ſought in vain to draw the *Carthaginians* into the field; being unable to force that great City, becauſe of the ſtrong Garriſon therein beſtowed: they then departed from thence, and took certain Inland Towns, as *Myciſtratum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, between *Panormus* and *Meſſana*.

The year following, *C. Atilius* the Conſul who commanded the *Roman* fleet, diſcovered a company of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, ranging the coaſt: and, not ſtaying for his whole number purſued them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the haſte he made, and loſt all, ſave the Gally which tranſported him: wherein himſelf eſcaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the reſt of *Atilius* his fleet was gotten up: who renewing the fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which the Victory remaining doubtful, both challenge it. Now to try at once, which of theſe two Nations ſhould command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a fleet of three hundred and thirty *Gallies*; the *Carthaginians*, of three hundred and fifty, * *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, and *Quinqueremes*.

The *Romans* reſolve to tranſport the War into *Africk*; the *Carthaginians*, to arreſt them on the coaſt of *Sicil*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their fleet, was (perhaps) the greateſt that ever fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his eſtimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and forty thouſand men; and in thoſe of *Carthage*, an hundred and fifty thouſand: Reckoning one hundred and twenty Souldiers, and three hundred Rowors to every Gally, one with the other. The *Roman* fleet was divided into four parts, of which the three firſt made the form of a Wedge or Triangle; the two firſt ſquadrons making the Flanks, and the third ſquadron, the Baſe: the point thereof (wherein were the two Conſuls as Admirals) looking toward the enemy, and the middle ſpace lying empty. Their Veſſels of carriage were towed by the third ſquadron. After all came up the fourth, in form of a *Creſcent*; very well manned, but exceeding thin: ſo that the horns of it incloſed all the third ſquadron, together with the corner of the firſt and ſecond. The order of the *Carthaginian* Fleet I cannot receive by relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I conjecture, that the front of their Fleet was thin, and ſtretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en haye*, a long front of horſe, and thin: which form, ſince the Piſtol prevailed over the Lance, they have changed. Behind this firſt out-ſtretched front, their Battalions were more ſolid: for *Amilcar*, Admiral of the *Carthaginians* had thus ordered them, of purpoſe, his Gallies having the ſpeed of the *Romans*) that, when the firſt Fleet of the *Romans* haſted to break through the firſt Gallies, they ſhould all turn tail, and the *Romans* purſuing them (as after a victory) diſorder themſelves, and, for eagerneſs of taking the Run-awayes, leave their own three ſquadrons far behind them. For ſo it muſt needs fall out; ſeeing that the third ſquadron towed their horſe-boats and victuallers; and the fourth had the Rearward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it ſucceeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken the thin front of the *Carthaginian* firſt Fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gave after them with all ſpeed poſſible, not ſo much as looking behind them for the ſecond ſquadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawn near unto the body of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the firſt) received a great loſs, until their ſecond ſquadron came up, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oars. *Hanno* alſo who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, invaded the *Roman* Rearward, and prevailed againſt them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Atilius* fell back to their ſuccour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heels; as not able to ſuſtain both ſquadrons. The Rear being relieved, the Conſuls came to the aid of their third Battalion, which towed their victuallers, which were alſo in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: but the Conſuls, joyning their ſquadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part alſo to running.

This victory fell unto the *Romans*, partly by the hardineſs of their Souldiers; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being firſt beaten, could never after joyn himſelf unto any of his other ſquadons, that remained, as yet in a fair likelihood of prevailing, ſo long as they fought upon equal terms, and but ſquadron to quadron. But *Amilcar* forſaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Roman* Fleet uningaged, and ready to give ſuccour to any of the other parts that were oppreſt. So as in concluſion, the

* The Quinqueremes are ſaid to draw it: the *Quadriremes* had four to an Oar: and the *Triremes* three. Some have thought, that the *Quinqueremes* had five ranks of Oars, one over another; and the other Gallies (rateably) fewer. But had this been ſo, they muſt then have had five decks each over other: which hath ſeldome been ſeen in ſhips of a thouſand tuns; neither could the third, fourth, and fifth ranks, have reached unto the water with the Oars.

the *Romans* got the honour of the day: for they loſt but four and twenty of theirs; whereas the *Africans* loſt thirty that were ſunk, and threeſcore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar* who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had alſo divided his Fleet into four ſquadrons, (beſides thoſe that he ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them) and that whilſt he himſelf fought with one ſquadron that charged him, all the reſt of the enemies Fleet had been at the ſame time entertained, he had prevailed: but the ſecond ſquadron, being free, came to the reſcue of the firſt, by which *Amilcar* was oppreſt: and *Amilcar*, being oppreſt and ſcattered, the Conſuls had good leiſure to relieve both the third and the fourth ſquadron, and got the victory.

Charls the fifth, among other the Precepts to *Philip* the ſecond his Son, where he adviſed him concerning War againſt the *Turks*, tells him, that in all battels between them and the *Chriſtians*, he ſhould never fail to charge the *Janiſars* in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the reſt. For (ſaith he) the *Janiſars*, who are alwayes reſerved intire in the Rear of the battel, and in whom the *Turk* repoſeth his greateſt confidence; come up in a goſs body, when all the troops on both ſides are diſbanded and in confuſion; whereby they carry the Victory before them without reſiſtance. By the ſame order of fight, and reſervation, did the *Romans* alſo prevail againſt other Nations. For they kept their *Triarii* in ſtore (who were the choice of their Army) for the up-ſhot and laſt blow. A great and victorious advantage it hath even been found, to keep ſome one or two good troops to look on, when all elſe are diſbanded and ingaged.

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§. VIII.

The Romans *prevail in* Africk. Atilius *the Conſul, propoundeth intolerable conditions of Peace to the* Carthaginians. *He is utterly beaten and made priſoner.*

NOW the *Romans*, according to their former reſolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their Fleet, ſet ſail for *Africa*, and arrived at the *Promontory* of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, ſomewhat to the Eaſt of the Port of *Carthage*, and ſome forty leagues from *Heraclia* in *Sicil*, where *Amilcar* himſelf as yet ſtaid. From this Head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coaſted the Eaſt-ſide of the *Promontory*, till they came to *Clypea*, a Town about fifty *Engliſh* mile from it. There they diſ-embarked and prepared to beſiege *Clypea*; which to eaſe them of labour, was yielded unto them. Now had they a Port of their own on *Africa* ſide; without which all invaſions are fooliſh. By this time were the *Africans* alſo arrived at their own *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* Fleet and Army had directed themſelves thither: but being advertiſed that they had taken *Clypea*, they made proviſions of all ſorts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* ſend to *Rome* for directions, and in the mean while waſt all round about them. The order given for the Senate, was, That one of the Conſuls ſhould remain with the Army, and that the other ſhould return with the Fleet into *Italy*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Conſul is ſent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him twenty thouſand *African* Captains, with all the *Roman* Fleet and Army; except forty ſhips, fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, that were left with *Atilius*.

With theſe forces, *Regulus* eaſily wan ſome Towns and places that were unwalled, and laid ſiege to others. But he performed no great matter before he came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that near unto the River of *Bragada*, he encountred with a Serpent of one hundred and twenty foot long, which he ſlew, not without loſs of many Souldiers, being driven to uſe againſt it ſuch engines of War, as ſerved properly for the aſſaulting of Towns. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Army, whereof the Captains were *Hanno* and *Boſtar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought over out of *Sicil* five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe to ſuccour his Country. Theſe (belike) had an intent, rather to weary him out of *Africk*, by wary protraction of time, than to undergo the hazard of a main fight. They were careful to hold themſelves free from neceſſity of coming to blows: yet had they a great deſire to ſave the Town of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their general purpoſe, and yet to diſturb him in the ſiege of *Adis*, they incamp near unto him, and ſtrongly (as they think) on the top of an hill: but thereby they loſe the ſervices both of their *Elephants*, and of their horſe-men. This diſadvantage of theirs, *Regulus* diſcovers, and makes uſe of it. He aſſails them in their ſtrength, which they defend a while, but in fine the *Romans* prevail, and force them from the place, taking the ſpoil of their Camp. Following this their good fortune at the heels, they

they proceed to * *Tunis* a City within ſixteen miles of *Carthage*, which they aſſault and take.

* This City was taken from the Turks by Charls the fifth in the year 1536. and was one of the three Keyes, which he gave in charge to *Philip* the ſecond his ſon to keep ſafe; to wit, this *Tunis*, the Key of *Africa*: *Flushing*, the Key of the *Netherlands*: and *Spain*, the Key of *Spain*. But two of theſe *Philip* ſo loſt, that he never recovered them again; the third our *English* were bold, in the time of the renowned Queen *Elizabeth*, to wring out of his hand: where we ſtayed not to pick any lock, but brake open the doors, and having rifled all, caſt it into the fire.

By the loſs of this battail at *Adis*, and more eſpecially by the loſs of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly diſmayed. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the Weſt, inſult upon their misfortunes; invade, and ſpoil their Territory, and force thoſe that inhabite abroad, to forſake their villages and fields, and to hide themſelves within the walls of *Carthage*. By reaſon hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* finds his own advantage, and aſſures himſelf that the City could not long hold out: yet he feared leſt he might defend it ſelf, untill his time of Office, that was near expired, ſhould be quite run out, whereby the new Conſuls were like to reap the honour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no reſpect but to it ſelf, perſwades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded unto them ſo unworthy and baſe conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly poſſeſſed with fear, became now ſo couragious and diſdainful, that they reſolved, either to defend their liberty, or die to the laſt man. To ſtrengthen this their reſolution, there arrived at the ſame time a great troop of *Greeks*, whom they had formerly ſent to entertain. Among theſe was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had paſſed, and of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* received neer unto *Adis*, gave it out publickly; that the ſame was occaſioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit, ran till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is ſent for; gives the reaſon of his opinion; and in concluſion, being made General of the *African* forces, he puts himſelf into the field. The Army which he led, conſiſted of no more than twelve thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Libertyes, Lives, Goods, Wives, and Children: which might well make it ſuſpected, that the Armies by Sea, before ſpoken of, were miſ-numbered; the one conſiſting of an hundred and forty thouſand, and the other of an hundred and fifty thouſand, were it not commonly found that they which uſe the ſervice of mercenary Souldiers, are ſtronger abroad, than at their own doors.

Xantippus, taking the field with his Army, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his troops upon fair and level ground, fitteſt both for his Elephants and Horſe, preſented them battel. The *Romans* wondred much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were, that it ſhould ſoon be abated. Their chief care was, how to reſiſt the violence of the Elephants. Againſt them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a *forlorn hope*; that theſe might either with darts and other caſting-weapons, drive back the beaſts upon the enemies, or at leaſt break their violence, and hinder them from ruſhing freely upon the Legions. To the ſame end, they made their battails deeper in file, than they had been accuſtomed to do. By which means, as they were the leſs ſubject unto the impreſſion of the Elephants; ſo were they ſo much the more expoſed unto the violence of the horſe, wherein the enemy did far exceed them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one rank, before his Army; which followed them at a reaſonable diſtance: his horſemen, and ſome light-armed foot, of the *Carthaginians Auxiliaries*, were in the wings. The firſt onſet was given by the Elephants, againſt which the *Velites* were ſo unable to make reſiſtance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into ſome diſorder. In this caſe, the depth of the *Roman* battail was helpfull. For when the beaſts had ſpent their force, in piercing through a few of the firſt ranks; the ſquadrons nevertheleſs perſiſted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horſe, haveing at the firſt encounter, by reaſon of their advantage in number, driven thoſe of *Atilius* out of the field, began to charge the *Roman* battalions in flank, and put them in great diſtreſs; who being forced to turn face every way, could neither paſs forward nor yet retire; but had very much ado to make good the ground whereon they ſtood. In the mean while, ſuch of the *Romans*, as had eſcaped the fury of the Elephants, and left them at their backs, fell upon the *Carthaginian* Army, that met them in very good array. It was no even match. The one were a diſordered Company, wearied with labour and hurt; the other, freſh, and well prepared, to have dealt with the enemy upon equal terms. Here was

therefore a great ſlaughter with little fight; the *Romans* haſtily recoiled to the body of their Army, which being ſurrounded with the enemy, and ſpent with travail, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of theſe troops, that open the way to a general overthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full victory; deſtroying the whole *Roman* Army, ſave two thouſand, and taking five hundred priſoners, together with *Atilius* the Conſul. Of their own they loſt no more than eight hundred Mercenaries, which were ſlain when the fight began, by two thouſand of the *Romans:* that wheeling about to avoid the Elephants, bare down all before them: and made way even to the *Carthaginian* trenches. Theſe were the two thouſand that eſcaped, when the whole Army behind them was routed. All the reſt were either taken or ſlain. Hereby fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no leſs her vaſſals, than were the *Carthaginians*: how inſolent ſoever they had been in their propoſition of peace, as if they had purchaſed from her the inheritance of their proſperity, which ſhe never gave nor ſold to any mortal man. With what joy theſe newes were welcomed, when they came to *Carthage*, we may eaſily conjecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to paſs in the world, there are many examples to prove, no leſs than this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that ſentence of *Eurypedes*, *Mens una ſapiens, plurium vincit manus*; *Many mens hands equal not one wiſe mind.*

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blown up with many former victories, would hearken to no compoſition; ſave the yielding of their City and State to his diſcretion. Hereupon the *Venetians*, being filled with diſdain, thruſt out to Sea with all their remaining power, and aſſail *Doria* with ſuch deſperate fury, that they break his fleet, kill *Doria* himſelf, take nineteen of his *Gallies*, fourſcore boats of *Padoa*, and four thouſand priſoners, recover *Chiozza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their victory, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genowaies* baſely to beg peace, to their extream diſhonour and diſadvantage, being beaten; which, being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greateſt honour and advantage. The like hapned to the Earl of *Flanders*, in the year 1380. when having taken a notable, and withal an over-cruel revenge upon the *Gantois*, he refuſed mercy to the reſt, who in all humility, ſubmitting themſelves to his obedience, offered their City, goods, and eſtates, to be diſpoſed at his pleaſure. This when he had unadviſedly refuſed, and was reſolved to extinguiſh them utterly; they iſſue out of their City with five thouſand choſen men, and armed with a deſperate reſolution, they charge the Earl, break his Army, enter *Bruges* (*pell-mell*) with his vanquiſhed followers; and enforce him to hide himſelf under an heap of ſtraw, in a poor cottage; out of which with great difficulty he eſcaped, and ſaved himſelf. Such are the fruits of Inſolency.

§. IX.

How the affairs of Carthage *proſpered after the victory againſt* Atilius: *How the* Romans, *having loſt their fleet by tempeſt, reſolve to forſake the Seas: The great advantages of a good fleet in war, between Nations divided by the Sea.*

BY the reputation of this late victory, all places that had been loſt in *Africk*, return to the obedience of *Carthage*. Only *Clypea* ſtands out; before which the *Carthaginians* ſit down, and aſſail it, but in vain: For the *Romans*, hearing of the loſs of *Atilius*, with their forces in *Africk*, and withal, that *Clypea* was beſieged, make ready a groſs Army, and tranſport it in a fleet of three hundred and fifty Gallies, commanded by *M. Emilius*, and *Ser. Fulvius*, their Conſuls. At the *Promontory* of *Mercury*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, ſet out of purpoſe, upon the bruit of their coming, encounter them: but greatly to their coſt. For the *Romans* took by force an hundred and fourteen of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they ſtaid no longer, than to take in their own men that had been beſieged: and this done, they made amain toward *Sicil*, in hope to recover all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this haſty voyage they deſpiſe the advice of the Pilots, who pray them to find harbour in time, for that the ſeaſon threatned ſome violent ſtorms, which ever hapned between the riſing of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-ſtarr*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* fleet had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withal, that the South coaſt of *Sicil* had no good Ports, wherein to ſave themſelves upon ſuch an accident: yet this victorious Nation was perſwaded, that the wind and ſeas feared them no leſs, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer Elements themſelves. So refuſing to ſtay within ſome Port, as they were adviſed, they would needs put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this victory againſt the *Carthaginian* fleet, to take a few worthleſs Towns upon the coaſt. The mercileſs winds in the mean while overtake them, and near unto *Camerina*, overturn and thruſt headlong on the rocks, all but fourſcore of three hundred and forty ſhips, ſo as their former great victory was devoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recovered *Rome*.

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The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repair all their warlike veſſels hoping once again to command the Seas: they are alſo as confident of their land-forces ſince the overthrow of *Atilius*. They ſend *Aſdrubal* into *Sicil* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and forty Elephants imbarked in two hundred Gallies. With this Army and fleet he arrives at *Lilybæum*; where he begins to vex the *Partiſans* of *Rome*. But adverſity doth not diſcourage the *Romans*: They build in 3. moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twenty ſhips; with which, and the remainder of their late ſhipwrack, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chief City of the *Africans* in *Sicil*, and ſurround it by Land and Water: after a

while they take it, and leaving a Garriſon therein, return to *Rome*.

Very deſirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africk*: to which purpoſe they imployed *C. Servilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Conſuls. But theſe wrought no wonders. Some ſpoil they made upon the coaſts of *Africk*: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their return, they were firſt ſet upon the ſands, and like to have periſhed, near unto the leſſer *Syrtes*, where they were fain to heave all over-boord, that ſo they might get off: then, having with much ado doubled the Cape of *Lilybæum*, in their paſſage from *Panormus* towards *Italy*, they loſt an hundred and fifty of their ſhips by foul weather. A greater diſcouragement never Nation had; the god of the wars favoured them no more, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enricht them with upon the *Land*, *Neptune* robbed them upon the Seas. For they had now loſt, beſides what they loſt in fight, four hundred and ſix Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers tranſported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perſwaded them to give over their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to ſend only a Land-army into *Sicil*, under *L. Cæcilius*, and *P. Furius*, their Conſuls. Theſe they tranſport in ſome threeſcore ordinary paſſage boats, by the ſtraights of *Meſſana*, that are not above a mile and a half broad from land to land. In like ſort, the overthrow which *Atilius* received in *Africa*, occaſioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them leſs cholerick againſt the *Carthaginians*, than before; ſo that for two years after, they kept the high and woody grounds, not daring to fight in the fair and champion Countreys. But this late reſolution of forſaking the Seas laſted not long. For it was impoſſible for them to ſuccour thoſe places which they held in *Sicil*, without a Navy, much leſs to maintain the War in *Africa*. For, whereas the *Romans* were to ſend forces from *Meſſana* to *Egeſta*, to *Lilybæum*, and to other places in the extream Weſt parts of *Sicil*, making ſometime a march of above an hundred and forty *Engliſh* mile by land, which could not be performed without an Army, and the proviſions that follow it, in leſs than 14. dayes; the *Carthaginians* would paſs it with their Gallies, in eight and forty hours.

An old example we have, of that great advantage of tranſporting Armies by water, between *Canutus*, and *Edmund Ironſide*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Navy and Army, and could not prevail againſt *London*, ſuddenly imbarqued; and ſailing to the Weſt, landed in *Dorſet-ſhire*, ſo drawing *Edmund* and his Army thither. There finding ill entertainment, he again ſhipt his men, and entred the *Severn*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the ſuccour of *Worceſter-ſhire*, by him greatly ſpoiled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he ſailed back again to *London*: by means whereof, he both wearied the King, and ſpoiled where he pleaſed, ere ſuccour could arrive. And this was not the leaſt help, which the *Netherlands* have had againſt the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their liberty, that being Maſters of the Sea, they could paſs their Army from place to place, unwearied, and entire, with all the Munition and Artillery belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies have been able to do it. Of this an inſtance or two. The Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, now living, one of the greateſt Captains, and of the worthieſt Princes, that either the preſent or preceding Ages have brought forth, in the year 1590. carryed his Army by Sea, with forty Canons to *Breda*: making countenance either to beſiege *Boiſleduc*, or *Gertreviden Berg*; which the enemy (in prevention) filled with Souldiers, and victuals. But as ſoon as the wind ſerved, he ſuddenly ſet ſail, arriving in the mouth of the *Meuze*, turned up the *Rhine*, and thence to *Yſſel*, and ſate down before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could march over land round about *Holland*, above fourſcore mile, and over many great Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. Again, when the *Spaniſh* Army had overcome this wearifome march, and were now far from home, Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to ſail up the *Rhine*, changed his courſe in the night, and ſailing down the ſtream, he was ſet down before *Hulſt* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Town he alſo took, before the *Spaniſh* Army could return. Laſtly, the *Spaniſh* Army was no ſooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified *Hulſt*, ſet ſail again, and preſented himſelf before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a City of notable importance, and maſtered it.

And to ſay the truth; it is impoſſible for any maritime Countrey, not having the coaſts admirably fortified, to defend it ſelf againſt a powerful enemy, that is maſter of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spain* than *England* ſhould be an example. Let it therefore be ſuppoſed, that King *Philip* the ſecond had fully reſolved to hinder Sir *John Norris*

Norris in the year 1589. from preſenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugal*, before the gates of *Lysborn*; and that he would have kept off the *Engliſh*, by power of his land-forces; as being too weak at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty *Armado*, by the fleet of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the year foregoing. Surely, it had not been hard for him, to prepare an Army, that ſhould be able to reſiſt our eleven thouſand. But where ſhould this his Army have been beſtowed? If about *Lisborn*; then would it have been eaſie unto the *Engliſh*, to take, ranſack, and burn the Town of *Croin*, and to waſte the Country round about it. For the great and threatning preparations of the Earl of *Altemira*, the Marqueſs of *Seralba*, and others did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the haſty levy of eight thouſand under the Earl of *Andrada*, ſerve to more effect, than the increaſe of honour to Sir *John Norris*, and his Aſſociates: conſidering that the *Engliſh* charged theſe, at *Puente de Burgos*, and paſſing the great Bridge, behind which they lay, that was flanked with ſhot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, took their camp; took their General ſtandard with the Kings Arms, and purſued them over all the Country, which they fired. If a Royal Army, and not (as this was) a Company of private adventurers, had thus begun the war in *Galicia*; I think it would have made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugal*, and make haſte to the defence of their St. *Jago*, whoſe Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their firſt reſolution, as knowing, that Sir *John Norris* his main intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Army into his Kingdom, whither coming ſtrong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed: could they have hindred his landing in *Portugal*? Did not he land at *Penicha*, and march over the Country to *Lisborn*, ſix dayes journey? Did not he (when all *Don Antonio* his promiſes failed) paſs along by the River of *Lysborn* to *Caſcaliz*, and there, having won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But theſe, though no more than an handful, yet were they *Engliſhmen*. Let us conſider of the matter it ſelf; what another Nation might do, even againſt *England*, in landing an Army, by advantage of a fleet, if we had none. This queſtion, *Whether an invading Army may be reſiſted at their landing upon the coaſt of* England, *were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it*; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his obſervations upon *Cæſars* Commentaries, that maintains the affirmative. This he holds only upon ſuppoſition; *in abſence of our ſhipping*: and comparatively, as that it is a more ſafe and eaſie courſe, to defend all the coaſt of *England*, than to ſuffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the beſt way, to keep our enemies from treading upon our ground; wherein, if we fail, then muſt we ſeek to make him wiſh, that he had ſtayed at his own home. In ſuch a caſe, if it ſhould happen, our judgements are to weigh many particular circumſtances, that belongs not unto this diſcourſe. But making the queſtion general, and poſitive. *Whether* England, *without the help of her fleet, be able to debarr an enemy from landing*; I hold that it is unable ſo to do: and therefore I think it moſt dangerous to make the adventure. For the incouragement of a firſt victory to an enemy, and the diſcouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a moſt perilous conſequence.

It is true, that the Marſhal *Monluc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complain, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of *Guyenne*, they of the *Proteſtant* Religion, after the battel of *Moncontour*, entred that Country, and gathered great ſtrength and relief thence; for if the King (ſaith he) would have given me but reaſonable means, *j'euſſe bien gardé à Monſieur l'Admiral de faire boire ſes Chevaux en la Garonne*; *I would have kept the Admiral from watering his horſes in the River of* Garonne. *Monſieur de Langey*, on the contrary ſide, prefers the not fighting upon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay; which courſe the Conſtable of *France* held againſt the Emperour *Charles*, when he invaded *Provence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diverſe conſideration to be had, between ſuch a country as *France* is, ſtrengthened with many fortified places: and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of invaſions upon firm land, that theſe great Captains ſpake: whoſe entrances cannot be uncertain. But our queſtion is of an Army to be tranſported over Sea, and to be landed again in an enemies countrey, and the place left to the choice of the invader. Hereunto I ſay, That ſuch an Army cannot be reſiſted on the coaſt of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coaſt of *France*, or any other Countrey: except every Creek, Port, or ſandy Bay, had a powerful Army, in each of them, to make oppoſition. For let his whole ſuppoſition be granted;

granted; That *Kent* is able to furnish twelve thousand foot, and that those twelve thousand be layed in the three best landing places within that Country, to wit, three thousand at *Margat*, three thousand at the *Nesse*, and 6000. at *Foulkston*, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troops (unless some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this provision, if the enemy, setting sail from the Isle of *Wight*, in the first watch of the night, and towing their long boats at their sterns, shall arrive by dawn of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their Army on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at *Margat*, (twenty and four long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the *Nesse*. Nay, how shall they at *Foulkstone* be able to do it, who are nearer by more than half the way? seeing that the enemy, at his first arrival, will either make his entrance by force, with three or four hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to run; or else give them so much to do, that they shall be glad to send for help to *Foulkston*, and perhaps to *Margat*: whereby those places will be left bare. Now let us suppose, that all the twelve thousand *Kentish* Souldiers arrive at the *Nesse*, ere the enemy can be ready to dis-embarque his Army, so that he will find it unsafe, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him; yet must we believe, that he will play the best of his own game; (having liberty to go which way he list) under covert of the night, set sail towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to do it. Yea, the like may be said of *Waymouth*, *Purbeck*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily out-run the Souldiers that coast them. *Les armees ne volent point en poste*; *Armies neither flye, nor run post*, saith a Marshal of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of ships may be seen at Sun-set, and after it, at the *Lizard*; yet by the next morning they may recover *Portland*, whereas an Army of foot shall not be able to march it in six dayes. Again, when those troops lodged on the Sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vain, after a fleet of ships; they will at length sit down in the mid-way; and leave all at adventure. But say it were otherwise; that the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Army of ours ready to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our Trained Bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilbury* in the year 1588.) to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the City of *London*: they that remain to guard the coast can be of no such force, as to encounter an Army like unto that wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* should have landed in *England*.

The Isle of *Tercera* hath taught us by experience, what to think in such a case. There are not many Islands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthned by art: it being every where hard of access; having no good harbour wherein to shelter a Navy of friends, and upon every cove or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylva*, and *Monsieur de Chattes*, that held it to the use of *Don Antonio*, with five or six thousand men, thought to have kept the *Marquess* of *Santa Cruz*, from setting foot on ground therein; the Marquess having shewed himself in the Road of *Angra*, did set sail, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, far distant from thence; where he wan a Fort, and landed ere *Monsieur de Chattes*, running thither in vain, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Strosse*, slain the year before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred *French* prisoners murdered in cold blood; had instructed *de Chattes*, and his followers, what they might expect at that Marquess his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying in relief to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *English* would be perswaded to make such diligent haste, from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and back again, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whereof the *French-men* had not measured the one half when they found themselvs prevented by the more nimble Ships of *Spain*.

This may suffice to prove, that a strong Army, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse is able to follow, cannot be denyed to land where it list, in *England*, *France*, or elsewhere, unless it be hindred, encountred, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equal or answerable strength.

The

The difficult landing of our *Engliſh*, at *Fayal*, in the year 1597. is alledged againſt this: which example moves me no way to think, that a large Coaſt may be defended againſt a ſtrong Fleet. I landed thoſe *Engliſh* in *Fayal* my ſelf, and therefore ought to take notice of this inſtance. For whereas I find an Action of mine cited, with omiſſion of my name; I may, by a civil interpretation, think, that there was no purpoſe to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprize was ſuch, or ſo ill managed, as that no honour could be due unto it. There were indeed ſome which were in that voyage, who adviſed me not to undertake it: and I hearkned unto them ſomewhat longer than was requiſite, eſpecially, whilſt they deſired me to reſerve the title of ſuch an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater perſon. But when they began to tell me of difficulty; I gave them to underſtand, the ſame which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a coaſt, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more eaſe than I did; yea without finding any reſiſtance, if I would have rowed to another place; yea even there where I landed, if I would have taken more company to help me. But, without fearing any imputation of raſhneſs, I may ſay, that I had more regard of reputation in that buſineſs, than of ſafety. For I thought it to belong unto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Iſlanders ſhould not think any advantage great enough, againſt a Fleet ſet forth by *Q. Elizabeth:* and further, I was unwilling, that ſome *Low-Country* Captains, and others, not of mine own ſquadron, whoſe aſſiſtance I had refuſed, ſhould pleaſe themſelves with a ſweet conceit (though it would have been ſhort, when I had landed in ſome other place) *That for want of their help I was driven to turn tail.* Therefore I took with me none, but men aſſured, Commanders of mine own ſquadron, with ſome of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuſe; as, Sir *William Brook*, Sir *William Harvey*, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, Sir *John Skot*, Sir *Thomas Ridgeway*, Sir *Henry Tinnes*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Captain *Laurence Kemis*, Captain *William Morgan*, and others ſuch as well underſtood themſelves and the enemy: by whoſe help, with Gods favour, I made good the enterprize I undertook. As for the *working of the Sea, the ſteepneſs of the Cliffs*, and other troubles that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And theſe (notwithſtanding) made five or ſix companies of the enemies, that ſought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their Muſketiers lay on the Reſt for us, and won the place of them without any great loſs. This I could have done with leſs danger, ſo that it ſhould not have ſerved for example of a Rule, that failed even in this example: but the reaſons before alledged, (together with other reaſons well known to ſome of the Gentlemen abovenamed, though more private than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the ſhorter courſe; having it ſtill in mine own power to fall off when I ſhould think it meet. It is eaſily ſaid, that *the Enemy was more than a Coward*; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie ſuch a ſmall piece of ſervice, by ſeeking to prove him better: whom had I thought equal to mine own followers, I would otherwiſe have dealt with. But for ſo much as concerns the propoſition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember that the ſame enemy troubled us more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the ſhore; that he ſought how to ſtop us in place of his advantage, that many of our men were ſlain or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was ſhot in that march; and that ſuch, as (thinking all danger to be paſt, when he had won good footing) would needs follow us to the Town, were driven by him, to forſake the pace of a man of war, and betake themſelves to an haſty trot.

For end of this Digreſſion, I hope that this queſtion ſhall never come to tryal; his Majeſties many movable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *Engliſh* will no leſs diſdain, than any Nation under Heaven can do, to be beaten upon their own ground, or elſewhere by a forain enemy; yet to entertain thoſe that ſhall aſſail us, with their own Bief in their bellies, and before they eat of our *Kentiſh* Capons, I take it to be the wiſeſt way. To do which, his Majeſty after God, will imploy his good ſhips on the Sea, and not truſt to any intrenchment upon the ſhore.

§. X.

§. X.

How the Romans *attempt again to get the Maſtery of the Seas. The Victory of* Cæcilius *the* Roman *Conſul at* Panormus: *The ſiege of* Lilybæum. *How a* Rhodian *Gally entred* Lilybæum *at pleaſure, in deſpight of the* Roman *Fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to ſtop the paſſage of good ſhips. The* Romans, *by reaſon of grievous loſſes received under* Claudius and Junius *their Conſuls, abandon the Seas again.*

WHen, without a ſtrong Navy, the *Romans* found it altogether impoſſible, either to keep what they had already gotten in *Sicil*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa*, or elſewhere; they reſolved once again, notwithſtanding their late miſadventures, to ſtrengthen their Fleet and Ships of war. So cauſing fifty new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certain Legions of Souldiers) to the new Conſuls, *C. Atilius*, and *L. Manlius*. On the other ſide, *Aſdrubal* perceiving that the *Romans*, partly by reaſon of the ſhipwrack which they had lately ſuffered, partly by reaſon of the overthrow which they received by *Xantippus* in *Africa*, were leſs daring than they had been in the beginning of the war: and withall, that one of the Conſuls was returned into *Italy*, with the one half of the Army, and that *Cæcilius*, with only the other half, remained at *Panormus*; he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to provoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Conſul was better adviſed. For when *Aſdrubal* had made his approaches ſomewhat near the Town, *Cæcilius* cauſed a deep trench to be cut, a good diſtance without the ditch of the City: between which and his trench he left ground ſufficient, to embattel a Legion of his Souldiers. To theſe he gave order that they ſhould advance themſelves, and paſs over the new trench, till ſuch time as the *African* Elephants were thruſt upon them. From thoſe beaſts he commanded them to retire by ſlow degrees till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brink of the new trench, which they could by no means paſs. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a ſtand, they were ſo gawled and beaten, both by thoſe Souldiers that were on the inſide of the trench, and by thoſe that lay in the trench it ſelf, that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiouſly upon their own foot-men, and utterly diſordered them. *Cæcilius* eſpying his advantage; ſallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troops, that ſtood embattailed, he utterly brake them, and put them to their heels; making a great ſlaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this Victory being brought to *Rome*; the whole State filled with courage, prepared a new Fleet of two hundred ſail, which they ſent into *Sicil*, to give end to that war, that had now laſted fourteen years. With this Fleet and Army the *Romans* reſolved to attempt *Lilybæum*, the only place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*; and all (indeed) ſave *Drepanum*, that was near adjoyning. They ſet down before it, and poſſeſs themſelves of all the places of advantage near unto it, eſpecially of ſuch as command the Haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They alſo beat to the ground ſix Towers of defence; and by forcible engines weaken ſo many other parts of the City, as the defendants begin to deſpair. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of War. All that is broken he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious ſallies, and giveth to the *Romans* all the affronts that poſſibly could be made. He hath in Garriſon (beſides the Citizens) ten thouſand Souldiers; among which there are certain Lieutenants, and other petty officers, that conſpire to render and betray the Town. But the matter is revealed by an *Achæan*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly in danger of the like treaſon, ſaved *Agrigentum*. *Himilco* uſeth the help of *Alexon*, to aſſure the hired Souldiers, and imploys *Hannibal* to appeaſe the troops of the *Gaules*, which did waver, and had ſent their agents to the enemy. All, promiſe conſtancy and truth; ſo that the Traitors, being unable to perform what they had undertaken, are fain to live in the *Roman* Camp as fugitives, that had wrought no good whereby to deſerve their bread. In the mean while, a ſupply of ten thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to their relief, having *Hannibal* the Son of *Amilcar* for their Conductor: who, in deſpight of all reſiſtance, entred the Port and City, to the incredible joy of the beſieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perſwaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) reſolved to ſet upon the *Romans* in their trenches, and either force them to abandon the ſiege, or (at leaſt) to take from them, or ſet on fire their engines of battery. The attempt is preſently made, and purſued to the uttermoſt, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. But the *Romans*, being more in number, and having the

the advantage of the ground, hold ſtill their places, and with extreme difficulty defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* deſire greatly to underſtand the ſtate of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to ſend into the Town. A certain *Rhodian* undertakes the ſervice; and having received his diſpatch, ſails with one Gally to *Æguſa*, a little Iſland near *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time he ſteered directly with the Port; and having a paſſing ſwift Gally, he paſt through the beſt of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate ere any of thoſe which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thruſt from the ſhores on either ſide.

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§. X.

How the Romans *attempt again to get the Mastery of the Seas. The Victory of* Cæcilius *the* Roman *Consul at* Panormus: *The siege of* Lilybæum. *How a* Rhodian *Gally entred* Lilybæum *at pleasure, in despight of the* Roman *Fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to stop the passage of good hops. The* Romans, *by reason of grievous losses received under* Claudius and Junius *their Consuls, abandon the Seas again.*

WHen, without a strong Navy, the *Romans* found it altogether impossible, either to keep what they had already gotten in *Sicil*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa*, or elsewhere; they resolved once again, notwithstanding their late misadventures, to strengthen their Fleet and Ships of war. So causing fifty new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certain Legions of Souldiers) to the new Consuls, *C. Aurunc.* and *L. Manlius*. On the other side *Asdrubal* perceiving that the *Romans*, partly by reason of the shipwrack which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the overthrow which they received by *Xantippus* in *Africa*, were less daring than they had been in the beginning of the war: and withall, that one of the Consuls was returned into *Italy* with the one half of the Army, and that *Cæcilius*, with only the other half, remained at *Panormus*; he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to provoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Consul was better advised. For when *Asdrubal* had made his approaches somewhat near the Town, *Cæcilius* caused a deep trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the City: between which and his trench he left ground sufficient, to embattel a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gave order that they should advance themselves, and pass over the new trench, till such time as the *African* Elephants were thrust upon them. From those beasts he commanded them to retire by slow degrees till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brink of the new trench, which they could by no means pass. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were so galled and beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, and by those that lay in the trench it self that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiously upon their own foot-men, and utterly disordered them. *Cæcilius* espying his advantage; sallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troops, that stood embattailed, he utterly brake them, and put them to their heels; making a great slaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this Victory being brought to *Rome*; the whole State filled with courage, prepared a new Fleet of two hundred sail, which they sent into *Sicil*, to give end to that war, that had now lasted fourteen years. With this Fleet and Army the *Romans* resolved to attempt *Lilybæum*, the only place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*; and all (indeed) save *Drepanum*, that was near adjoyning. They set down before it, and possess themselves of all the places of advantage near unto it, especially of such as command the Haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground six Towers of defence; and by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the City, as the defendants begin to despair. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of War. All that is broken he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious sallies, and giveth to the *Romans* all the affronts that possibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certain Lieutenants, and other petty officers, that conspire to render and betray the Town. But the matter is revealed by an *Achæan*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly in danger of the like treason, saved *Agrigentum*. *Himilco* useth the help of *Alexon*, to assure the hired Souldiers, and imploys *Hannibal* to appease the troops of the *Gaules*, which did waver, and had sent their agents to the enemy. All, promise constancy and truth; so that the Traitors, being unable to perform what they had undertaken, are fain to live in the *Roman* Camp as fugitives, that had wrought no good whereby to deserve their bread. In the mean while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to their relief, having *Hannibal* the Son of *Amilcar* for their Conductor: who, in despight of all resistance, entred the Port and City, to the incredible joy of the besieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) resolved to set upon the *Romans* in their trenches, and either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, or set on fire their engines of battery. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the uttermost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the *Romans*, being more in number, and having the

the advantage of the ground, hold ſtill their places, and with extreme difficulty defend their engines.

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was taken. Now comes that brave *Rhodian*, thinking to enter, as he had done before: but this *Carthaginian* Gally, a little before taken, gave him chase, and gathered upon him, he finds what she is, both by her form, and by her swiftness: and being not able to run from her, resolved to fight with her. But she is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybæum, after this, is greatly distressed, the Souldiers being worn with labour and watching. But in this despair there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the *Romans* Wooden-Towers, by which they over-topt the walls of *Lilybæum*, were over-turned. A *Greek* Souldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blown unto by the bellows of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistless, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brazen heads of the battering Ramms. Hereupon, despair and wearines hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: so that they resolve, by a long siege, to starve the defendants.

Upon relation of what had past, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Rome*, under *M. Claudius*, the Consul. He arrives at *Messana*, and marcheth over Land to *Lilybæum*: where having re-inforced the Army, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprise of *Drepanum*, a City on the other side of the Bay of *Lilybæum*. This service the Captains and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consul embarques his troops, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Governour of the Town, a valiant and prudent man of war, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at *Lilybæum*, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but having recovered his spirits, he perswades the Souldiers rather to fight abroad, than to be encloſed. Herewithall he promiseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserve them; offering to lead them himself, and to fight in the head of his Fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrust into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Consul, deceived of his expectation, calls back the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. *Adherbal* finds and follows his advantage, and forceth the Consul into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himself, having the Land on his back: hoping thereby to keep himself from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-room, so straightned as he could not turn himself any way from his enemies, nor range himself in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, he thrust out of the Bay with thirty Gallies, besides his own, and so fled away: all the rest of his Fleet, to the number of ninety and four ships, were taken or sunk by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this service is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiscretion and flight, as much disgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this great loss, arm threescore Gallies, with which they send away *L. Junius*, their Consul, to take charge of their business in *Sicil*. *Junius* arrives at *Messana*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* Fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybæum*. One hundred and twenty Gallies he had; and besides these, he had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessary provisions for the Army. With this great Fleet he arrives at *Syracuse*, where he stayes a while; partly to take in Corn, partly to wait for some that were too slow of sail to keep company with him along from *Messana*. In the mean time he dispatcheth away towards *Lilybæum* his Questors or Treasurers; to whom he commits the one half of his victuallers, with some Gallies for their Convoy.

Adherbal was not careless after his late victory: but studied how to use it to the best advantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to *Carthage*. Of his own Gallies he delivered thirty to *Carthalo*, who had threescore and ten more under his own charge; and sent him to try what good might be done against the *Roman* Fleet in the Haven of *Lilybæum*. According to his direction, *Carthalo* suddenly enters the mouth of that Haven, where he finds the *Romans* more attentive to the keeping in of the besieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their own against another Fleet. So he chargeth them, boords, and takes some, and fires the rest. The *Roman* Camp takes alarm, and hastens to the rescue. But *Himilco*, Governour of the Town, is not behind hand; who sallies out at the same time, and putting the *Romans* to great distress, gives *Carthalo* good leisure to go through with his enterprise.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ran all along the South coast of *Sicil*, devising how to work mischief to the enemy; wherein Fortune presented him with a fair occasion, which he wisely managed. He was advertised

tiſed by his Scouts, that they had diſcryed, near at hand, a great fleet, conſiſting of all manner of Veſſels. Theſe were the victuallers, which the Conſul *Junius*, more haſtily than providently, had ſent before him towards *Lilybæum*. *Carthalo* was glad to hear of their coming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reaſon of their late victories. Accounting therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulks, approaching, to be rather a prey than a fleet likely to make ſtrong oppoſition, he haſtens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no mind to fight: but were glad to ſeek ſhelter in an open Road, full of Rocks under the covert of a poor Town, belonging to their party; that could help to ſave them only from the preſent danger, by lending them engines and other aid, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that aſſailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, having taken a few of them, lay waiting for the reſt, that could not long ride under thoſe Rocks, but would be forced by any great change of wind, either to put out into the deep, or to ſave their men how they could, by taking land, with the loſs of all their ſhipping. Whilſt he was buſie in this care, the Conſul *Junius* drew near, and was diſcovered. Againſt him *Carthalo* makes out, and finds him altogether unprepared to fight as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Conſul had neither means to fly, nor ability to fight. Therefore he likewiſe ran into a very dangerous Creek; thinking no danger ſo great as that of the enemy. The *Carthaginian* ſeeing this, betakes himſelf to a ſtation between the two *Roman* fleets; where he watcheth, to ſee which of them would firſt ſtir, with a reſolution to aſſault that, which ſhould firſt dare to put it ſelf into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coaſt of *Sicil*, between the Promontory of *Pachinus* and *Lilybæum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the wind ſtormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempeſt, and their ſignes, finding (belike) ſome ſwelling billow (for ſo we do in the Weſt of *England*, before a Southernly ſtorm) haſted to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to cover themſelves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight than how to Navigate, and never found any foul weather in the entrails of their beaſts, their South-ſayers being all land-Prophets, were ſuddenly overtaken with a boiſterous South-wind, and all the Gallies forced againſt the rocks, and utterly wrackt.

This calamity ſo diſcouraged the *Romans*, that they reſolved again to forſake the Seas, and truſt only to the ſervice of their Legions upon firm ground. But ſuch a reſolution cannot long hold. Either they muſt be ſtrong at Sea, or elſe they muſt not make war in an Iſland, againſt thoſe that have a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excuſed, in regard of the many great calamities which they had ſuffered through their want of ſkill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient vertue of the *Spaniards*. We ſeldom or never find, that any Nation hath endured ſo many miſadventures and miſeries, as the *Spaniards* have done, in their *Indian Diſcoveries*. Yet perſiſting in their enterpriſes with an invincible conſtancy, they have annexed to their Kingdom ſo many goodly Provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers paſt. Tempeſts and ſhipwracks, famine, overthows, mutinies, heat and cold, peſtilence, and all manner of diſeaſes both old and new, together with extream poverty, and want of all things needful, have been the enemies wherewith every one of their moſt noble diſcoverers, at one time or other, hath incountred. Many years have paſſed over ſome of their heads in the ſearch of not ſo many leagues: yea more than one or two have ſpent their labour, their wealth, and their lives, in ſearch of a golden Kingdom, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their firſt ſetting forth. All which notwithſtanding, the third, fourth, and fifth undertakers, have not been diſheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with thoſe Treaſuries and Paradiſes which they enjoy; and well they deſerve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertues in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

§. XI.

The City of Eryx *is ſurpriſed by the* Romans, *and recovered by* Amilcar, *who ſtoutly holds war with them five years. The* Romans, *having emptied their common treaſury, build a new fleet at the charges of private men. The great victory at Sea of* Lucſatius *the Conſul; whereby the* Carthaginians *are forced to crave peace. The conditions of the peace between* Rome *and* Carthage.

THE *Romans* were careful to ſupply with all induſtry, by land, the want of ſtrength at Sea. Therefore they continue the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, and ſeek to make ſure to themſelves all places, whither the enemies ſhips could not bring relief. The Conſul *Junius*, to cure the wound of

diſhonour, which he had received, bethought him what enterpriſes to undertake. In the end he reſolved to attempt the Mountain and City of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the faireſt and richeſt of all the Iſland; and of theſe, by cunning or treaſon, he got poſſeſſion. *Eryx* was commodiouſly ſeated between *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; ſo that it ſeemed a fit place for a Garriſon, that ſhould reſtrain the *Carthaginians* from making roads into the Country. Wherefore *Junius* fortified both the top of the Mountain, and the firſt entrance of the paſſage from the bottom, (both of which places were very defenſible) with a good ſtrength of men. But ſhortly after, in the eighteenth year of this war, the *Carthaginians* ſet forth *Amilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a Fleet and Army, who ſailing to the coaſts of *Italy*, did throughly repay the ſpoils which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For he firſt of all waſted and deſtroyed the Territories of the *Locrians*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred he into *Sicil*, and finding there no walled City in the *Carthaginians* power, that ſerved fitly to infeſt the *Romans*, he occupied a piece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Army thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as thoſe that kept about *Eryx*, putting himſelf between both Armies with admirable reſolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had ſeized upon, was not only very ſtrong by ſituation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gave him opportunity to ſcour all the coaſt of *Italy* with his Fleet, waſting all along as far as to *Cuma*. In the Iſle of *Sicil* he held the *Romans* to hard work, lying near unto *Panormus*: where in three years abode, he did many notable acts, though not of much conſequence, for that the enemy could never be drawn to hazard the main chance. Having wearied himſelf and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, he undertook a ſtrange piece of work at *Eryx*. The *Roman* Garriſons, placed there by *Junius*, on the top, and at the bottom of the Mountain, were very ſtrongly lodged. Nevertheleſs *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-ſide, by which he conveighed his men into the City of *Eryx*, that was about the midſt of the aſcent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to paſs, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the mountain, were ſtraightly held (as it were) beſieged. And no leſs was *Amilcar* himſelf reſtrained, by both of theſe Garriſons, and ſuch as came to relieve them. There he found them paſtime about two years more, hoping ſtill to weary out thoſe that lay over his head, as they on the contrary did their beſt, to thruſt him out of thoſe quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent unto the proſecuting of this buſineſs at *Eryx*. Wherein it ſeems true (as *Hanibal* in *Livie*, ſpake unto *Scipio*) that the affairs of *Carthage* never ſtood in better terms, ſince the beginning of the war, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans* had utterly forſaken the Seas, partly by reaſon of their great loſſes; partly upon confidence of their land-forces, which they held reſiſtleſs; *Amilcar*, with a ſmall Army, had ſo well acquitted himſelf, to the honour of his Country, that by the tryal of five years war, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was judged equal, if not ſuperior to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had been deviſed and done, for the diſlodging of this obſtinate Warriour: no way ſeemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once again to build a fleet; whereby, if the maſtery of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lack of ſupply, ſhould not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extream difficulty was found. The common treaſury was exhauſted: and the coſt was not little, that was requiſite unto ſuch an enterpriſe. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden upon private purſes. Divers of the principal Citizens undertook to build (each at his own charges) one *Quinquereme*, which example wrought ſo well, that they, whoſe ability would not ſerve to do the like, joyned with ſome others, and laying their mony together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repayed, when the war was finiſhed. By this voluntary contribution, they made and finiſhed two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their pattern, that excellent ſhift rowing Gally which they had gotten from the *Rhodian*, in the Port of *Lilybæum*, as was ſhewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Lutatius Catulus*; who paſt with the ſame into *Sicil* the Spring following, and entred the Port of *Drepanum*; indeavouring by all means to have forced the City. But being advertiſed that the *Carthaginian* fleet was at hand, and being mindful of the late loſſes which his Predeceſſors had received; he was carefull to put himſelf in order, againſt their arrival.

Hanno was Admiral of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wiſe

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in picture, exceedingly formal, and ſkilful in the art of ſeeming reverend. How his reputation was firſt bred, I do not find; but it was upheld by a factious contradiction, of things undertaken by men more worthy than himſelf. This quality procured unto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the antient ſort, whoſe cold temper is averſe from new enterpriſes; and therewithall an opinion of great foreſight, confirmed by every loſs received. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the moſt grievous oppreſſors of their ſubject Provinces; whereby he procured unto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithall ſuch hatred, as turned it all to their great loſs. He had ere this been imployed againſt the *Numidians* and wild *Africans*, that were more like to Rovers than to Souldiers, in making War. Of thoſe fugitive Nations he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his own great diſhonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which loſt not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counſel, when, having ſhewed himſelf an unworthy Captain, he betook himſelf to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* Hiſtories, as a temperate man, and one that ſtudied how to preſerve the League between *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well he deſerved of his own Country, it will appear hereafter: how beneficial he was to the *Romans*, it will appear, both hereafter, and in his preſent voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miſerable neceſſity of accepting, upon hard conditions, that peace which he thenceforth commended.

Hanno had very well furniſhed his Navy, with all needful proviſions for the Souldiers at *Eryx* (for dexterity in making preparation was the beſt of his qualities): but he had neither been careful in training his Marriners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with ſtout fellows. He thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough, to make the unexpert *Romans* give way: forgetting, that rather the reſiſtleſs force of tempeſts, than any other ſtrength of oppoſition, had made them to forſake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceived aright, or elſe was ſent forth well inſtructed. It was his purpoſe, firſt of all to ſail to *Eryx*, and there to diſcharge his ſhips of their lading: and having thus lightned himſelf, he meant to take aboard ſome part of the Land-army, together with *Amilcar* himſelf, by whoſe help he doubted not, but that he ſhould be able to make his enemy repent of his new adventure to Sea. This was a good courſe, if it could have been performed. But *Catulus* uſed all poſſible diligence, to prevent the execution of this deſign: not becauſe he was informed of the enemies purpoſe, but that he knew it to be the beſt for them, and for that he feared no danger ſo greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* fleet was deſcried; yet he rather choſe to fight with the enemy, that had the wind of him, than to ſuffer his convoy to paſs along to *Eryx*, upon unlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* ſhould have done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exerciſed his men in Rowing; he had lightned his Gallies of all unneceſſary burthens; and he had taken aboard the choiſe men of the *Roman* Land-Souldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the firſt encounter were utterly broken and defeated, having fifty of their Gallies ſtemmed and ſunk, and ſeventy taken, wherein were few leſs than ten thouſand men, that were all made priſoners: the reſt, by a ſudden change of wind, eſcaping to the Ile of *Hieroneſus*.

The ſtate of *Carthage*, utterly diſcouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to reſolve. Means to repair their fleet in any time, there were none left; their beſt men of war by Sea were conſumed; and *Amilcar*, upon whoſe valour and judgement the honour and ſafety of the Common-weal reſted, was now ſurrounded by his enemies in *Sicil*, where he could not be relieved. In this extremity, they make diſpatch unto *Amilcar* himſelf, and authorized him to take what courſe ſhould ſeem beſt unto his excellent wiſdom, leaving all concluſions to his election and ſole counſel.

Amilcar, whom no adverſity, accompanied with the leaſt hope or poſſibility of recovery, had ever vanquiſhed, looking over every promiſe, true or falſe, that the preſent time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) reſolved to make trial, whether his neceſſity might be compounded upon any reaſonable terms. He therefore ſent to *Lutatius* the Conſul an overture of peace: who conſidering it well, gathered ſo many arguments from the preſent poverty of the *Roman* State, waſted beyond expectation in the former war, that he formerly harkened unto it. So, in concluſion, an accord was made, but with proviſion, That it ſhould hold none otherwiſe, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

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The conditions were: First, that the *Carthaginians* should clearly abandon the Isle of *Sicil*. Secondly, that they should never undertake upon *Hieron* King of *Syracuse*, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at liberty, and send back into *Italy*, all the *Romans*, whom they held prisoners, without ransome. Lastly, that they should pay unto the *Romans* two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the talent, thirteen hundred and twenty thousand crowns: the same to be delivered within twenty years next following.

These Articles were sent to *Rome*, where they were not throughly approved: but ten Commissioners were sent into *Sicil*, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former sum; and required a shorter time of payment. Further also they took order, that the *Carthaginians* should not only depart out of *Sicil* it self, but should also withdraw their Companies out of all other Islands between it and *Italy*, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first *Punick War*, that had lasted about twenty four years without intermission; in which time the *Romans* had lost, by fight or shipwrack, about seven hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the *Carthaginians* about five hundred: the greatness of which losses, doth serve to prove the greatness both of these two Cities, and of the War it self: wherein I hold good the judgement of *Polybius*. That the *Romans*, in general, did shew themselves the braver Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most worthy Captain.

CHAP. II.

Of divers actions passing between the first and second Punick Warrs.

§. I.

Of the cruel War begun between the Carthaginians *and their own Mercenaries.*

THE *Romans* having partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicil*, and all the little Islands thereunto adjacent, gave them rather means and leisure to help themselves in a following war, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quòd leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis*; *That laws are given by the Conquerors, and received of the conquered.* But the *Romans* had either forgotten the answer that was made unto them, by one of the *Privernates*; or else had forgotten to follow it in this weighty business. For when one of *Privernum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his City, was demanded by a Senator, *What peace the Romans might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present advantage over them*; he answered in those words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam*; *If the peace be good and faithful that you give us, it will be perpetual, if it be ill, then of little continuance.* To this answer the Senate, at that time gave such approbation, that it was said, *Viri & liberi vocem auditam*; *An credi posset, ullum populum, aut hominem deniq; in ea conditione, cujus eum pœnitcat, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum? That it was the speech of a manly, and free man*; *for who could believe, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an over-burdened estate, than meer necessity did enforce?* Now, if the *Romans* themselves could make this judgement of those Nations, who had little else besides their manly resolution, to defend their liberty; surely, they grosly flattered themselves, in presuming that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour unto themselves, would sit down any longer by the loss and dishonour received, than untill they could recover their legs, and the strength which had a while failed them to take revenge. But occasion, by which (while well entertained) not only private men, but Kings and publick States, have more prevailed, than by any proper prowess or vertue, with-held the tempest from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it most fearfully upon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themselves.

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For after the firſt *Punick* war was ended, *Amilcar*, leaving *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence moſt conveniently the Army might be tranſported into *Africk*: the care of which buſineſs he committed unto *Geſco*, to whom, as to a man of approved ſufficiency, he delivered over his charge. *Geſco* had an eſpecial conſideration of the great ſumms, wherein *Carthage* was indepted unto theſe Mercenaries; and withall, of the great diſability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wiſeſt way, to ſend them over (as it were) by handfuls a few at a time; that ſo the firſt might have their diſpatch, and be gone, ere the ſecond or third Companies arrived. Herein he dealt providently. For it had not been hard to perſwade any ſmall number, lodged within ſo great a City as *Carthage*, unto ſome ſuch reaſonable compoſition, as the preſent emptineſs of the common Treaſury did require: ſo that the firſt might have been friendly diſcharged, and a good preſident left unto the ſecond and third, whilſt their diſ-junction had made them unable to recover their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrary opinion. They thought to find, in the whole Army, ſome that would be contented to gratifie the Publick State, by remitting a great part of their own due: and hoped, by ſuch an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the firſt and ſecond commers; telling them, that they would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increaſed, and many diſorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much diſquieted the City, not accuſtomed unto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to ſome other place, where they might be leſs troubleſome. This muſt be done by ſome colourable words of perſwaſion: for their number was already ſo great, that it was not ſafe to offend them too far. Wherefore it is deviſed, that they ſhould all attend the coming of their fellows, at *Sicca*: receiving every one a piece of gold, to bear his charges in the mean while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to diſ-lodge; leaving behind them their wives, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning ſhortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* have no fancy to their returning into the Town; and therefore compel them to truſs up their fardels, that they might have none occaſion left to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods: and there lay waiting for news of their fellows arrival, and their own pay. Buſineſs they had none to do, and therefore might eaſily be drawn to mutiny: the whole argument of their diſcourſe inclining them to nothing elſe. Their daily talk was, how rich they ſhould be, when all their mony came in: how much would fall to every ſingle ſhare: and for how long time the City was behind hand with them in reckoning. They were all grown Arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, that could find moſt reaſon to increaſe their demands, to the very higheſt, even beyond their due. No part of their long ſervice was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promiſes of their Captains, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to mind, and ſo many obligations, not to be cancelled without ſatisfying their expectation by ſome unordinary largeſs.

Thus the time paſſeth away, untill the whole Army being arrived, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to clear the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they ſhall all be made rich; eſpecially if they can hold together, in maintaining ſtoutly the common cauſe. So think they all; and aſſemble themſelves to hear what good news this meſſenger had brought: with a full reſolution to help his memory, in caſe he ſhould happen to forget any part of the many promiſes made to them; all which were to be conſidered in their Donative. *Hanno* begins a very formal Oration; wherein he bewails the poverty of *Carthage*, tells them how great a ſumm of mony is to be paid unto the *Romans*; reckons up the exceſſive charges whereat the Common-wealth had been in the late War; and finally deſires them to hold themſelves contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bare unto the City, to remit the reſt. Few of them underſtood his diſcourſe: for the *Carthaginian* Army was compoſed of ſundry Nations, as *Greeks*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others; all of different languages. Yet they ſtared upon him, and were (as I think) little pleaſed with his very geſture. But when ſuch as conceived the whole tenour of his ſpeech, had informed the reſt what cold comfort he brought; they were all inraged, and fared like mad-men, ſo that nothing would ſerve to appeaſe them.

Hanno would fain have aſſwaged their fury, but he knew not how: for he leſs underſtood their diſſonant loud noiſes, than they did his Oration. An Army collected out of ſo many Countries, that have no one language common to all, or to the greater part

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of them, is neither easily stirred up to mutiny, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into out-rage. The best that *Hanno* can do, is to use the help of Interpreters and Messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning; some for want of skill; others of set purpose; and such as deliver his errands in the worst sense, are best believed. Finally, they think themselves much abused by the *Carthaginians*, and resolve to demand their own in peremptory terms, at a nearer distance. In this mood they leave *Sicca*, and march as far as *Tunis*, that is within a very little of *Carthage*, and there they encamp.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to find their own errour. It is a good Rule,

Curandum inprimis, ne magna injuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris.

Have special care, that valiant poverty
Be not oppresst with too great injury.

But this proud City, having neglected the Rule, hath also been careless in providing to secure her self against the inconvenience that might follow. She had suffered the whole multitude, whereupon she was like to give cause of discontent, to joyn it self into one body, when the several troops might easily have been dispersed: she hath turned out of her gates the wives, children, and goods of these poor men, which, had she retained in shew of kindness, she might have used them as Hostages for her own safety; and by imploying a miserable penny-father, in her negotiation with men of War, she hath weakned the reputation of her bravest Captains, that might best have served to free her from the threatning danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no desire to be used as an instrument in defrauding his own Souldiers of their wages: especially considering, that as he best could bear witness of their merits, so was he not ignorant, that means to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had been willing thereunto. Hereupon may be added a probable conjecture that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldness to impose the blame of his own wretched counsel upon the liberal promises made by the Captains. *Amilcar* therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him, to have the managing of their own plot, and to deal the cards which themselves had shuffled. This they continue to do as foolishly as they had at first begun. They furnish a market at *Tunis*, for the Souldiers; whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send ever and anon some of their Senatours into the Camp; who promise to satisfie all demands, as far forth as it should be possible. And thus by shifting from one extreme to another, they make the Souldiers understand into what fear the City was driven; which cannot chuse but add much insolency to the passions already stirred up.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon grows wise, and finding the season fit, labours to make a great harvest. Mony must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have lost their horses in publick service of the State. The State shall pay for them. They had lived some years by making hard shift, without receiving their allowance of victuals from *Carthage*. If they had lived, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in provision, or their Captains direct them where to fetch it? But this would not serve. They said that they had been sometimes driven to buy; and that (since they could not remember how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their provision during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that Wheat had born, whilst the War lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiners; who might easily have been satisfied with far less charges, and far more honour, by receiving their due at the first. But now they make no end of craving. For whilst the *Carthaginians* are perplexed about this Corn-mony; the Souldiers have devised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater summ of mony, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could be found of these controversies which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicil*, should be chosen by the Souldiers to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Army condescended, and made choice of *Gesco*: partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himself at all times, a friendly man to them, and carefull of their good, especially when they were to be transported into *Africk*: partly out of a dislike which they had conceived of *Amilcar*; for that he had not visited them in all this busie time. So *Gesco* comes among them; and to please them the better, comes not without mony: which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. He calls unto him first of all the

the Captains, and then the ſeveral Nations apart, rebuking them gently for that which had paſſed; adviſing them temperately concerning the preſent; and exhorting them to continue their love unto the State, which had long entertained them, and would needs alwaies be mindful of their good ſervices. After this he began to put hand to his purſe, offering to give them their whole pay in hand; and then after to conſider of other reckonings at a more convenient time. This had been well accepted, and might have ſerved to bring all to a quiet paſs, if two ſeditious Ring-leaders of the multitude had not ſtood againſt it.

There was in the Camp one *Spendius*, a ſturdy fellow, and audacious, but a ſlave; that in the late war had fled from a *Roman*, whom he ſerved, and therefore ſtood in fear, leſt he ſhould be delivered back to his Maſter; at whoſe hands he could expect no leſs, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could find no better way to prolong his own life, than by raiſing ſuch troubles as might ſerve to withdraw men from care of private matters, and make his own reſtitution impoſſible, were his Maſter never ſo importunate. With *Spendius* there aſſociated himſelf one *Matho*, an hot-headed man, that had been ſo forward in ſtirring up the tumult, as he could not chooſe but fear, leſt his own death ſhould be made an example, to deterr others from the like ſeditious behaviour. This *Matho* deals with his Countrymen the *Africans*; telling them, that they were in far worſe condition, than either the *Gaules*, the *Greeks*, the *Spaniards*, or any foraign Mercenaries. For (ſaith he) *Theſe our companions have no more to do, than to receive their wages, and ſo get them gone: but we that are to ſtay behind in* Africa, *ſhall be called to another manner of accompt, when we are left alone; ſo that we ſhall have cauſe to wiſh that we had returned home beggars, rather than loaden with the money, which (little though it be) ſhall break our backs. Ye are not ignorant, how tyrannically thoſe our haughty Maſters of* Carthage *do reign over us. They think it reaſonable, that our lives and goods ſhould be at their diſpoſition; which they have at other times been accuſtomed to take from us even without apparent cauſe, as it were to declare their ſoveraignty: What will they now do, ſeeing that we have demeaned our ſelves as free-men, and been bold to ſet a good face on the matter, demanding our own, as others have done? Ye all do know, that it were a very ſhame for us, if having been as forward in every danger of war, as any other men, we ſhould now ſtand quaking like ſlaves, and not dare to open our mouths, when others take liberty to require their due. This notwithſtanding ye may aſſure your ſelves, that we are like to be taught better manners, as ſoon as our fellows are gone: in regard of whom they are content to ſhadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let us therefore be wiſe, and conſider that they hate and fear us: their hatred will ſhew it ſelf when their fear is once paſt: unleſs we now take our time, and whileſt we are the ſtronger, enfeeble them ſo greatly, that their hatred ſhall not be able to do us wrong. All their ſtrength conſiſteth in money, wherewithall they have hired others againſt us, and us againſt others. At the preſent they have neither money nor friends. The beſt Army that ever ſerved them, whereof we are no ſmall part, lyes at their gates, ready to help us if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected; for were our ſwords once drawn, all* Africk *would riſe on our ſide. As for the* Carthaginians, *Whither can they ſend for help? The caſe it ſelf is plain. But we muſt quickly reſolve. Either we muſt prevent the diligence of* Geſco, *by incenſing theſe* Gaules *and* Spaniards, *and procuring them to draw blood; or elſe it behoveth us to pleaſe our good Maſters, by joyning with them againſt our fellows, yea by offering to forgive unto them all our wages, if ſo (peradventure) they may be won to forgive us, or not over-cruelly to puniſh our faults committed. He is moſt worthily a wretched ſlave, that neither hath care to win his Maſters love, nor the courage to attempt his own liberty.*

By ſuch perſwaſions *Matho* wins the *African* Souldiers to his own purpoſe. They are not now ſo greedy of money, as of quarrel, which he that ſeeketh will not miſs to find. When *Geſco* therefore offered to pay them their whole ſtipend preſently, but referred their other demands, for horſes and victuals, to ſome other more convenient time; they brake into great outrage, and ſay, that they will have all, even all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Army flock together about *Matho* and *Spendius*; whoſe diligence is not wanting to add more fuel to the fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the only men to whom the Souldiers will hearken: if any other ſtand up to make a ſpeech, a ſhowre of ſtones, flying about his ears, puts him to ſilence, that he ſhall never afterwards ſpeak word more. Neither ſtay they to conſider what it is that any man would ſay: enough hath been ſaid already by thoſe good ſpokes-men; ſo that no other word (though perhaps to the ſame purpoſe) can be heard, ſave only *Throw, throw.*

Now the rebellion begins to take form. *Matho* and *Spendius* are choſen Captains; who, followed by a deſperate crue of Ruffians, will ſuffer no man to make his own peace, but purſue their own ends, under fair pretence of the common cauſe. All which notwithſtanding, *Geſco* is not wanting to the good of his Country, but adventures himſelf upon their fury. One while he deals with the Captains, and other principal men; taking them by the hand, and giving gentle words: another while, he works with the ſeveral Nations; putting them all in hope of their own hearts deſire, if any reaſon would content them. None of them are ſo ſullen as the *Africans*: indeed none of them had ſo good cauſe. They require him peremptorily to give them their own, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not ſo covetous as they ſeem: but will be more glad of an ill anſwer, than of a good payment. This is more than *Geſco* knows: he ſees not that *Matho* hath any more than bare words to beſtow upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconſiderate heat, he tells them, That they may do well, if they ſtand in want of money, to ſeek it of their Captain *Matho*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They ſtay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the treaſure that he had brought; yea upon him alſo, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the reſt, to take another courſe. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleaſed them to ſee their fellows begin to grow calm, by his fair language: wherefore they caſt into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can find; that ſo the Army may be freed from danger of good *admonition*, which they call Treaſon. After this follows open war. *Matho* ſolicites all *Africk*, and his Embaſſadors are every where well entertained. Neither is it needful to uſe perſwaſion: the very fame of this rebellion ſufficeth to draw the whole Country into it. Now muſt the *Carthaginians* be plagued for thoſe oppreſſions, with which they have plagued others. It is true that adverſity hath never been untold of her errours: and as ſhe is ever aſſured to hear her own, ſo commonly with her own ſhe undergoes thoſe of other men. The *Africans* finding the *Carthaginians* hang under the wheel, tell them boldly, that their Impoſitions were mercileſs; that they took from them the one half of their Corn; that they doubled their tributes in all things elſe; and that they inflicted upon their vaſſals the greateſt puniſhment for the leaſt offences. Theſe cruelties the *Carthaginians* themſelves have forgotten: but the people, that have ſuffered ſo much, retain all in perfect memory. Wherefore not only ſuch as can bear arms, are ready to do ſervice in this great commotion; but the very women bring forth their Jewels, and other ornaments, offering all to ſail for the maintenance of ſo juſt a quarrel. By this great forwardneſs, and liberal contribution, *Matho* and *Spendius* are ſupplyed with a ſtrong aid of threeſcore and ten thouſand *Africans*: and are moreover furniſhed with money, not only to ſatisfie the preſent appetite of their men; but ſufficient to continue the war begun, though it ſhould be of long endurance.

§. II.

Divers Obſervations upon this War with the Mercenaries.

I.

Of Tyranny, and how Tyrants are fain to uſe the help of Mercenaries.

HEre let us reſt a while, as in a convenient place, whence we may take a proſpect of the ſubject, over which we travel. Behold a tyrannical City, perſecuted by her own Mercenaries with a deadly war. It is a common thing, as being almoſt neceſſary, that a tyranny ſhould be upheld by Mercenary forces: it is common that Mercenaries ſhould be falſe: and it is common that all war made againſt Tyrants, ſhould be exceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we ſeldome hear, that ever the ruine of a tyranny is procured or ſought by thoſe that were hired to maintaint the power of it: and ſeldome or never do we read of any war that hath been proſecuted with ſuch inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyranny, is, *A violent form of Government, not reſpecting the good of the ſubject, but only the pleaſure of the Commander*. I purpoſely forbear to ſay that it is, the unjuſt rule of one over many: for very truly doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the *Athenians*, that their dominion over their ſubjects, was none other, than a meer tyranny; though it were ſo, that they themſelves were a great City, and a popular eſtate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needful, that I ſhould call this form of commanding, *violent*: ſince it may well and eaſily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience to one regardleſs of his life and welfare; unleſs himſelf be either a mad man,

man, or (which is little better) wholly poſſeſſed with ſome extreme paſſion of love. The practice of tyranny is not alwayes of a like extremity: for ſome Lords are more gentle than others, to their very ſlaves; and he that is moſt cruel to ſome, is mild enough towards others, though it be but for his own advantage. Nevertheleſs, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers diſcretion cannot extend it ſelf unto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of ſeveral men, it is commonly ſeen, that the taſte of ſweetneſs drawn out of oppreſſion, hath ſo good a reliſh, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not ſuffer it to be reſtrained with any limits of reſpect. Why ſhould he ſeek out bounds to preſcribe unto his deſires, who cannot endure the face of one ſo honeſt, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten by extorting from ſome few: by ſparing none, he ſhould have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deal from every one: but every one could have ſpared more. He hath wrung all their Purſes, and now he hath enough: but (as Covetouſneſs is never ſatisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a ſtock, though it were indeed a good yearly Income. Therefore he deviſeth new tricks of robbery, and is not better pleaſed with the gains, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knows it well: but he thinks by cruelty to change hatred into fear. So he makes it his exerciſe, to torment and murder all whom he ſuſpecteth: in which courſe, if he ſuſpect none unjuſtly, he may be ſaid to deal craftily; but if Innocency be not ſafe, how can all this make any Conſpirator to ſtand in fear, ſince the Traitor is no worſe rewarded than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other ſecurity, than to diſarm all his Subjects; to fortifie himſelf within ſome ſtrong place; and, for defence of his Perſon and State, to hire as many luſty Souldiers as ſhall be thought ſufficient. Theſe muſt not be of his own Country: for if not every one, yet ſome one or other may chance to have a feeling of the publick miſery. This conſidered, he allures unto him a deſperate rabble of ſtrangers, the moſt unhoneſt that can be found; ſuch as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be carefull to ſupport him, by whoſe only favour they are maintained. Now, leſt any of theſe, either by deteſtation of his wickedneſs, or (which in wicked men is moſt likely) by promiſe of greater reward than he doth give, ſhould be drawn to turn his ſword againſt the Tyrant himſelf: they ſhall all be permitted to do as he doth; to rob, to raviſh, to murder, and to ſatisfie their own appetites, in moſt outragious manner, being thought ſo much the more aſſured to their Maſter, by how much the more he ſees them grow hatefull to all men elſe. Conſidering in what age, and in what language I write; I muſt be fain to ſay, that theſe are not dreams: though ſome *Engliſh-man* perhaps that were unacquainted with Hiſtory, lighting upon this leaf, might ſuppoſe this diſcourſe to be but little better. This is to ſhew, both how tyranny grows to ſtand in need of mercenary Souldiers, and how thoſe mercenaries are, by mutual obligation, firmly aſſured unto the Tyrant.

§. II.

That the Tyranny of a City over her Subjects is worſe than the tyranny of one man: and that a tyrannical City muſt likewiſe uſe mercenary Souldiers.

NOW concerning the tyranny wherewith a City or State oppreſſeth her ſubjects; it may appear ſome wayes to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A City is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearful of her life: the leſs need hath ſhe therefore to ſecure her ſelf by cruelty. A City is not luxurious in conſuming her treaſures, and therefore needs the leſs to pluck from her Subjects. If War, or any other great occaſion drive her to neceſſity of taking from her Subjects more than ordinary ſumms of money; the ſame neceſſity makes either the contribution eaſie, or the taking excuſable. Indeed no wrongs are ſo grievous and hatefull, as thoſe that are inſolent. *Remember* (ſaith *Caligula* the Emperour, to his Grand-mother *Antonia*) *that I may do what I liſt, and to whom I liſt:* theſe words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harm. And *Juvenal* reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel *Roman* Dame upon her ſlaves, that whileſt ſhe was whipping them, ſhe painted her face, talked with her Goſſips, and uſed all ſigns of neglecting what thoſe wretches felt. Now ſeeing that the greateſt grievances wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all ſenſe of indignity; likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although deſire of liberty make them weary of her Empire. In theſe reſpects it is not needfull that ſhe ſhould keep a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintain them in all villany, as a *Dionyſius* or

Agathocles must do: her own Citizens are able to terrifie and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serve to prove, That a City is scarce able to deserve the name of a Tyranness, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appear, that the miseries wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not so heavy, as the burdens imposed by a cruel City. Not without some appearance of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other private passions, are no way incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, we shall have need to use the help of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* lascivious, when *Cato* was fain to rise and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his gravity might not hinder the people from calling for a shew of naked Courtisans, that were to be brought upon the open stage? By common practice, and general approved custom, we are to censure the quality of a whole State; not by the private vertue or vice of any one man, nor by metaphysical abstraction of *the universal* from *the singular*; or of *the Corporation*, from *those of whom it is compounded*: I say therefore, (as I have said elsewhere) That it were better to live under one pernicious Tyrant, than under many thousands. The reasons proving this, are too many to set down, but a few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soever, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and soothed; age or good advice, yea, or some unexpected accident may reform him: all which failing; yet is there hope, that his successour may prove better.

Many Tyrants have been changed into worthy Kings: and many have ill used their ill-gotten Dominion, which, becoming hereditary to their posterity, hath grown into the most excellent form of Government, even a lawful Monarchy. But they that live under a tyrannical City, have no such hope: their Mistress is immortal, and will not slacken the reins, untill they be pulled out of her hands, and her own mouth receive the bridle of a more mightier Chariotter. This is wofull: yet their present sufferings make them less mindfull of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the same sore, out of which others had already sucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poor kindred and friends, who mean not to return home empty to their hives, without a good lading of wax and honey. These fly into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with every mans wealth, or whatsoever else, in all the Province, is worthy to be desired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his fears: becoming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endless labour, (yet it must be undergone) and such as every one hath not means to go about: but were this effected, what availeth it? The love of our Governour is purchased with gifts: the Successour of this man, he is more loving than could be wished in respect of a fair Wife or Daughter, then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goers, who seeks the ruine of all that have been inward with them. So the miseries of this tyranny are not simple, but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of civil War. The *Romans* had a Law *De Repetundis*, or, *Of Recovery*, against extorting-Magistrates: yet we find, that it served not wholly to restrain their Provincial Governours; who presuming on the favour of their own Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Provinces, to work all these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for fear of judgement. If the Subjects of *Rome* groaned under such oppressions, what must we think of those that were Vassals unto *Carthage*? The *Romans* imposed no burthensome tributes; they loved not to hear, that their Empire was grievous; they condemned many noble Citizens for having been ill Governours. At *Carthage* all went quite contrary: the rapines newly devised by one Magistrate, served as presidents to instruct another; every man resolved to do the like, when it should fall to his turn; and he was held a notable States-man, whose robberies had been such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practice are not extant: the Government of *Verres* the *Roman* in *Sicil*, that it is lively set out by *Tully*, may serve to inform us, what was the demeanour of these *Punick* Rulers, who stood in fear of no such condemnation, as *Verres* underwent. By prosecuting this discourse, I might inferr a more general proposition; That a City cannot govern her subject Provinces so mildly as a King: but it is enough to have shewed, That the tyranny of a City is far more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

Suitable

Sutable to the cruelty of ſuch Lords, is the hatred of their ſubjects: and again, ſutable to the hatred of the ſubjects, is the jealouſie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in wars abroad, the *Carthaginians* durſt uſe the ſervice of *African* Souldiers; in *Africk* it ſelf they had rather be beholding to others, that were farther fetcht. For the ſame purpoſe did *Hannibal*, in the ſecond *Punick war*, ſhift his Mercenaries out of their own Countries; *Ut Afri in Hiſpania, Hiſpani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterq; miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati ſtipendia facerent*; *that the Africans might ſerve in* Spain, *the Spaniards in* Africk, *being each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutual pledges.* It is diſputable, I confeſs, whether theſe *African* and *Spaniſh* hirelings could properly be termed *Mercenaries:* for they were ſubject unto *Carthage*, and carried into the field, not only by reward, but by duty. Yet ſeeing their duty was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer deſire of gain, that made them fight; I will not nicely ſtand upon propriety of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* alſo doth, no better than Mercenaries.

Lib. Dec. 3.

†. III.

The dangers growing from the uſe of mercenary Souldiers, and forrain Auxiliaries.

THE extream danger, growing from the imployment of ſuch Souldiers, is well obſerved by *Machiael*: who ſheweth, that they are more terrible to thoſe whom they ſerve, than to thoſe againſt whom they ſerve. They are ſeditious, unfaithfull, diſobedient, devourers, and deſtroyers of all places and Countries, whereinto they are drawn; as being held by no other bond, than their own commodity. Yea, that which is moſt fearful among ſuch hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greateſt extremity, not only refuſed to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them, but revolted unto the contrary part; to the utter ruine of thoſe Princes and States that have truſted them. Thoſe mercenaries (ſaith *Machiavel*) which filled all *Italy* when *Charls* the eighth of *France* did paſs the *Alpes*, were the cauſe that the ſaid *French* King won the Realm of *Naples* with his Buckler without a Sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza* the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by Queen *Joan* of *Naples*, abandoned her ſervice on the ſudden, and forced her to put her ſelf into the hands of the King of *Aragon*. Like unto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the firſt of that race, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by the *Millanois*, forced them to become his ſlaves, even with the very ſame army which themſelves had levied for their own defence. But *Lodowick Sforza*, the ſon of this *Francis* by the juſt judgement of God, was made a memorable example unto poſterity, in loſing his whole eſtate by the treachery of ſuch faithleſs Mercenaries, as his own Father had been. For having waged an army of *Switzers*, and committed his Dutchy, together with his perſon, into their hands, he was by them delivered up unto his enemy the *French* King, by whom he was incloſed in the Caſtle of *Loches* unto his dying day.

The like inconvenience is found, in uſing the help of forrain Auxiliaries. We ſee, that when the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* had hired ten thouſand *Turks* againſt his neighbour Princes; he could never, either by perſwaſion or force, ſet them again over the Sea upon *Aſia* ſide; which gave beginning to the Chriſtian ſervitude, that ſoon after followed. *Alexander* the Son of *Caſſander*, ſought aid of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdom, ſlew the ſame *Alexander*, who had invited him, and made himſelf King of *Macedon*. *Syracon* the *Turk* was called into *Egypt* by *Sanar Soldan*, againſt his oppoſite: but this *Turk* did ſettle himſelf ſo ſurely in *Egypt*, that *Saladine* his ſucceſſor became Lord thereof; and of all the *holy Land*, ſoon after. What need we look about for examples of this kind? Every Kingdom, in effect, can furniſh us. The *Britains* drew the *Saxons* into this our Countrey; and *Mac Murrough* drew the *Engliſh* into *Ireland*; but the one and the other ſoon became Lords of thoſe two kingdoms.

Againſt all this, may be alledged the good ſucceſs of the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, uſing none other than ſuch kind of Souldiers, in their late war. Indeed theſe *Low-Countreys* have many goodly and ſtrong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthy, induſtrious, and valiant in their kind. They are ſtout Sea-men, and therein is their excellency; neither are they bad at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they have ſeldom been able to ſtand againſt the *Spaniard*. Neceſſity therefore compelled them to ſeek help abroad: and the like neceſſity made them forbear to arm any great numbers of their own. For, with money raiſed by their Trade, they maintained the War: and therefore could,

ill ſpare unto the Pike and Musket, thoſe hands, that were of more uſe in helping to fill the common purſe. Yet what of this? they ſped well. Surely they ſped as ill as might be, whileſt they had none other than mercenary Souldiers. Many fruitleſs attempts, made by the Prince of *Orenge*, can witneſs it: and that brave Commander Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, felt, to his grief, in his retrait from *Græningham*; when, in the very inſtant that required their ſervice in fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and ſo ran away. This was not the only time, when the hired Souldiers of the States, have either ſought to hide their cowardize under a ſhew of greedineſs; or at leaſt, by meer covetouſneſs, have ruined in one hour, the labour of many moneths. I will not ſtand to prove this by many examples: for they themſelves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monſieur* the Duke of *Anjou*, brother to the *French* King; ſave that it is folly to conceal what all the world knows. He that would lay open the danger of forraign Auxiliaries, needeth no better pattern. It is commonly found, that ſuch Aiders make themſelves Lords over thoſe, to whom they lend their ſuccour: but where ſhall we meet with ſuch another as this *Monſieur*, who, for his protection promiſed, being rewarded with the Lordſhip of the Countrey, made it his firſt work, to thruſt by violence a galling yoak upon the peoples neck? Well, he lived to repent it, with grief enough. Even whileſt he was counterfeiting unto thoſe about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginary ſorrow for the poor Burghers of *Antwerpe*, as verily believing the Town to be ſurpriſed and wone; the death of the Count St. *Aignan*, who fell over the wall, and the Cannon of the City, diſcharged againſt his own troops, informed him better what had hapned; ſhewing, that they were his own *French* who ſtood in need of the pity. Then was his feigned paſſion changed into a very bitter anguiſh of mind, wherein, ſmiting his breaſt, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Helas, mon dieu, que veux tu faire de moy? Alas, my God, what wilt thou do with me?* So, the affairs of the *Netherlands* will not ſerve to prove, that there is little danger in uſing Mercenary Souldiers, or the help of forraign Auxiliaries. This notwithſtanding, they were obedient unto neceſſity, and ſought help of the *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *French*: wherein they did wiſely, and proſpered. For when there was in *France* a King, partaker with them in the ſame danger; when the Queen of *England* refuſed to accept the Soveraignty of their Country, which they offered, yet being provoked by the *Spaniard* their enemy, purſued him with continual war; when the heir of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a King too juſt and wiſe (though not ingaged in any quarrel) either to make profit of his neighbours miſeries, or to help thoſe that had attempted the conqueſt of his own inheritance: then might the *Netherlanders* very ſafely repoſe confidence in the forces of theſe their Neighbour Countries. The Souldiers that came unto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendations) not only regardfull of the pay that they ſhould receive, but well affected unto the cauſe that they took in hand: or, if any were cold in his devotion, unto the ſide whereon he fought, yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his own home, where the *Engliſh* would have rewarded him with death, if that his faith had been corrupted by the *Spaniard*. They were therefore truſted with the cuſtody of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the neceſſity of the poorer ſort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helps, as well as the ability of the States could permit. When three ſuch Princes, reigning at one time, ſhall agree ſo well, to maintain againſt the power of a fourth, injurious (or at the leaſt ſo ſeeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Country of the ſame Religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected: then may ſuch a Country be ſecure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other buſineſs, in hope of like ſucceſs. But theſe circumſtances meet ſo ſeldom, as it may well hold true in general: That *mercenary and forraign auxiliary forces are no leſs dangerous, than the enemy againſt whom they are entertained.*

†. IIII.

That the moderate government of the Romans, *gave them aſſurance to uſe the ſervice of their own ſubjects in their Wars. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyranny, which hindereth the uſe and benefit of the like moderation.*

HEre it may be demanded, whether alſo the *Romans* were not compelled to uſe the ſervice of other Souldiers in their many great wars, but performed all by their own Citizens? for if it were their manner to arm their own ſubjects, how hapned it, that they feared no rebellion? if ſtrangers, how then could they avoid the inconveniences above rehearſed? The anſwer is, that their Armies were compounded uſually of their

their own Citizens, and of the *Latines* in equal number: to which they added, as occaſion required, ſome companies of *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their ſubjects, as were either intereſſed in the quarrel, or might beſt be truſted. They had, about theſe times, (though ſeldom they did imploy ſo many) ten *Roman* Legions; a good ſtrength, if all other help had been wanting; which ſerved to keep in good order their ſubjects, that were alwaies fewer in the army than themſelves. As for the *Latines*, if conſanguinity were not a ſufficient obligation; yet many priviledges and immunities, which they injoyed, made them aſſured unto the State of *Rome*: under which they lived almoſt at liberty, as being bound to little elſe, than to ſerve it in war. It is true, that a yoke how eaſie ſoever, ſeems troubleſome to the neck that hath been accuſtomed to freedom. Therefore many people of *Italy* have taken occaſion of ſeveral advantages, to deliver themſelves from the *Roman* ſubjection. But ſtill they have been reclaimed by war, the Authors of rebellion have ſharply been puniſhed, and the people by degrees have obtained ſuch liberty, as made them eſteem none otherwiſe of *Rome*, than as the common City of all *Italy*. Yea, in proceſs of time it was granted unto many Cities, and thoſe far off removed, even to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, where St. *Paul* was born, that all the Burgeſſes ſhould be free of *Rome* it ſelf. This favour was conferred abſolutely upon ſome; upon ſome, with reſtraint of giving voice in election of Magiſtrates, or with other ſuch limitation as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conqueſt, to releaſe unto their new ſubjects half of their tribute which they had been wont to pay to their former Lords, which was a ready way to bring the multitude into good liking of their preſent condition; when the review of harder times paſt, ſhould rather teach them to fear a relapſe, than to hope for better in the future, by ſeeking innovation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a ſpecial note of the *Romans* good Government, That when ſome, for their well-deſerving, have had the offer to
Li. Dec. 1. n. 3. be made Citizens of *Rome*, they have refuſed it, and held themſelves better contented with their own preſent eſtate. Wherefore
De. ibid. it is no marvel, that *Petellia*, a City of the *Brutians* in *Italy*, choſe rather to endure all extremity of war, than, upon any condition, to forſake the *Romans*; even when the *Romans* themſelves had confeſſed, that they were unable to help theſe their ſubjects, and therefore willed them to look to their own good, as having been faithful to the utmoſt. Such love purchaſed theſe mild Governours, without impairing their Majeſty thereby. The ſum of all is; they had, of their own, a ſtrong army; they doubled it by adjoyning thereunto the *Latines*; and they further increaſed it, as need required, with other help of their own ſubjects: all, or the moſt of their followers, accounting the proſperity of *Rome* to be the common good.

The moderate uſe of ſoveraign power being ſo effectual, in aſſuring the people unto their Lords, and conſequently in the eſtabliſhment or inlargement of Dominion: it may ſeem ſtrange, that the practice of Tyranny, whoſe effects are contrary, hath been ſo common in all ages. The like, I know, may be ſaid of all Vice and Irregularity, whatſoever. For it is leſs difficult, (whoſoever think otherwiſe) and more ſafe, to keep the way of Juſtice and Honeſty, than to turn aſide from it; yet commonly our paſſions do lead us into by-paths. But where Luſt, Anger, Fear, or any the like Affection, ſeduceth our reaſon; the ſame unruly appetite, either bringeth with it an excuſe, or, at leaſt-wiſe, taketh away all cauſe of wonder. In tyranny it is not ſo: for as much as we can hardly deſcry the paſſion, that is of force to inſinuate it ſelf into the whole tenour of a Government. It muſt be confeſſed, that lawleſs deſires have bred many Tyrants: yet ſo that theſe deſires have ſeldome been hereditary, or long-laſting; but have ended commonly with the Tyrants life, ſometimes before his death; by which means the government hath been reduced to a better form. In ſuch caſes, the ſaying of *Ariſtotle* holds, *That tyrannies are of a ſhort continuance*. But this doth not ſatisfie the queſtion in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exerciſe tyranny? Why did the *Athenians*? Why have many other Cities done the like? If in reſpect of their general good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill courſe for the ſafety of the Weal publick? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection wherein ſo many thouſand Citizens, divided and ſubdivided within themſelves by factions, did all concurr, notwithſtanding the much diverſity of temper, and the vehemency of private hatred among them? Doubtleſs, we muſt be fain to ſay, That Tyranny is, by it ſelf, a vice diſtinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt even by Nature, to command or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other deſires of Mankind, are common likewiſe unto brute beaſts; and

Ariſt. pol. l. 5. c. 12.

and ſome of them, to bodies wanting ſenſe: but the deſire of rule belongeth unto the nobler part of reaſon; whereunto is alſo anſwerable an aptneſs to yield obedience. Now as hunger and thirſt are given by nature not only to Man and Beaſt, but unto all ſorts of Vegetables, for the ſuſtentation of their life: as Fear, Anger, Luſt, and other affections are likewiſe natural, in convenient meaſure, both unto Mankind, and to all Creatures that have ſenſe, for the ſhunning or repelling of harm, and ſeeking after that which is requiſite: even ſo is this deſire of ruling or obeying, ingraffed by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man only as a reaſonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a civil form of Juſtice. All theſe in-bred qualities are good and uſeful. Nevertheleſs, Hunger and Thirſt are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, which, in reproach, are called beaſtly, by an unproper term: ſince they grow from appetites, found in leſs worthy creatures than beaſts, and are yet not ſo common in beaſts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of ſuch other Paſſions as deſcend no lower than unto brute beaſts, are held leſs vile; and perhaps not without good reaſon: yet are the more pernicious. But as no corruption is worſe by ſharper Laws, as being in general more horrible, and puniſhed more grievouſly, than of that which is beſt; there is not any paſſion, that nouriſheth a vice more hurtful unto Mankind, than that which iſſueth from the moſt noble root, even the depraved Affection of Ruling. Hence ariſe thoſe two great miſchiefs, of which hath been an old queſtion in diſpute, whether be the worſe; That all things, or that nothing ſhould be lawful. Of theſe, a dull ſpirit and overloaden by fortune with power, whereof it is not capable, occaſioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary diſtemper, whoſe vehemency the bounds of Reaſon cannot limit. Under the extremity of either, no Country is able to ſubſiſt, yet the defective dulneſs, that permitteth any thing, will alſo permit the execution of Law, to which meer neceſſity doth enforce the ordinary Magiſtrate; whereas Tyranny is more active, and pleaſeth it ſelf in the exceſs, with a falſe colour of Juſtice. Examples of ſtupidity, and unaptneſs to rule, are not very frequent, though ſuch natures are every where to be found: for this quality troubles not it ſelf in ſeeking Empire; or if by ſome errour of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himſelf in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome*) ſome friend, or elſe a wife, is not wanting to ſupply the defect, which alſo cruelty doth help to ſhadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing unknown, is without a name. Tyranny is more bold, and feareth not to be known, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *proſperum & fœlix ſcelus*, *a fortunate miſchief*, as long as it can ſubſiſt. *There is no reward or honour* (ſaith *Peter Charron*) *aſſigned unto thoſe, that know how to increaſe, or preſerve humane nature: all honours, greatneſs, riches, dignities, Empires, triumphs, trophees, are appointed for thoſe, that know how to afflict, trouble, or deſtroy it.* *Cæſar* and *Alexander*, have un-made and ſlain, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behind them. Such is the errour of Mans judgement in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true name of Tyranny, when it grows to ripeneſs, is none other than *Feritie*: the ſame that *Ariſtotle* ſaith to be worſe than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, iſſuing from the paſſions incident both to Man and Beaſt; no leſs, than Perjury, Murder, Treaſon, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villany, the faults of Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof *Sciron*, *Procruſtes*, and *Pityocamptes*, that uſed their bodily force to the deſtruction of Mankind, are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionyſius*, and *Agathocles*, whoſe miſchievous heads were aſſiſted by the hands of deteſtable Ruffians. The ſame barbarous deſire of Lordſhip, tranſported thoſe old examples of *Feritie*, and theſe latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reaſon: neither of them knew the uſe of Rule, nor the difference between Freemen and ſlaves.

The rule of the husband over the wife, and of Parents over their children, is natural, and appointed by God himſelf; ſo that it is alwayes, and ſimply, allowable and good. The former of theſe, is as the dominion of Reaſon over Appetite; the latter is the whole authority, which one Freeman can have over another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father over his whole Country: which he that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. But there is a greater and more Maſterly rule, which God gave unto *Adam*, when he ſaid; *Have dominion over the fiſh of the ſea,* Gen.1.28. *and over the fowl of the air, and every living thing that moveth upon the earth:* which alſo he continued unto *Noah* and his children, ſaying, *The fear of you, and the dread of you,* Gen.9.2. *ſhall be upon every beaſt of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth*

upon

upon the earth, and upon all the fiſhes of the Sea: into your hands are they delivered. He who gave this dominion unto Man, did give alſo an aptitude to uſe it. The execution of this power hath ſince extended it ſelf, over a very great part of Mankind. There are indeed no ſmall numbers of men, whoſe diſability to govern themſelves, proves them, according to *Ariſtotles* doctrine, to be naturally ſlaves.

Arist. pol. l. c. 3.

Yet find I not in Scripture any warrant to oppreſs men with bondage: unleſs the lawfulneſs thereof be ſufficiently intimated, where it is ſaid, That a man ſhall not be puniſhed for the death of a ſervant; whom he hath ſlain by correction, if the ſervant live a day or two, becauſe *he is his money:* or elſe by the captivity of the *Midianitiſh* girls, which were made bond-ſlaves, and the Sanctuary had a part of them for the *Lords tribute*. Doubtleſs the cuſtom hath been very ancient: for *Noah* laid this curſe upon *Canaan*, that he ſhould be *a ſervant of ſervants*; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *men-ſervants and maid-ſervants*, which were none other than ſlaves. Chriſtian Religion is ſaid to have abrogated this old kind of ſervility: but ſurely they are deceived that think ſo. Saint *Paul* deſired the liberty of *Oneſimus*, whom he had won unto Chriſt: yet wrote for this unto *Philemon* by way of requeſt, craving it as a benefit, not urging it as a duty. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the ſame Saint *Paul* giveth unto ſervants: *Let every man abide in the ſame calling wherein he was called: art thou called, being a ſervant? care not for it, but if thou maiſt be made free, uſe it rather.* It is true, that Chriſtan Religion hath procured liberty unto many; not only in regard of piety, but for that the Chriſtian Maſters ſtood in fear of being diſcovered by their ſlaves, unto the perſecutors of Religion. *Mahomet* likewiſe, by giving liberty to his followers, drew many unto his impiety: but whether he forbade it, as unlawful, unto his ſectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; ſave that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moors*, it ſeems he did not. In *England* we had many bond-ſervants, untill the time of our laſt civil wars; and I think that the Laws concerning Villenage are ſtill in force, of which the lateſt are the ſharpeſt. And now, ſince ſlaves were made free, which were of great uſe and ſervice, there are grown up a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurſes, and other the like trades; ſlaves in Nature, though not in Law.

Exod. 21. 21. Num. 30. 40. Gen. 9. 25. Gen. 12. 16. Epiſt. to Phil. v. 14. 1 Cor. 7. 20, 21.

But whether this kind of dominion be lawful, or not; *Ariſtotle* hath well proved, that it is natural. And certainly, we find not ſuch a latitude of difference in any creature, as in the nature of man; wherein (to omit the infinite diſtance in eſtate of the Elect and Reprobate) the wiſeſt excel the moſt fooliſh, by far greater degree, than the moſt fooliſh of men doth ſurpaſs the wiſeſt of beaſts. Therefore when Commiſeration hath given way to reaſon, we ſhall find, that nature is the ground even of Maſterly power, and of ſervile obedience, which is thereto correſpondent. But it may be truly ſaid, that ſome Countries have ſubſiſted long without the uſe of any ſervility; as alſo it is true, that ſome Countries have not the uſe of any tame Cattel. Indeed the affections which uphold civil rule, are (though more noble) not ſo ſimply needful, unto the ſuſtentation either of our kind, as are Luſt, and the like; or of every one, as are Hunger and thirſt; which notwithſtanding are the loweſt in degree. But where moſt vile and ſervile diſpoſitions have liberty to ſhew themſelves begging in the ſtreets, there may we more juſtly wonder, how the dangerous toil of Sea-faring men can find enough to undertake them, than how the ſwarm of idle vagabonds ſhould increaſe, by acceſs of thoſe, that are weary of their own more painful condition. This may ſuffice to prove, that in Mankind there is found, ingraffed even by Nature, a deſire of abſolute dominion: whereunto the general cuſtom of Nations doth ſubſcribe; together with the pleaſure which moſt men take in flatterers, that are the baſeſt of ſlaves.

This being ſo, we find no cauſe to marvel, how Tyranny hath been ſo rife in all ages, and practiſed, not only in the ſingle rule of ſome vicious Prince, but ever by conſent of whole Cities and Eſtates: ſince other vices have likewiſe gotten head, and born a general ſway, notwithſtanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have uſed well the inferiour Paſſions: how then can we expect, that the moſt noble affections ſhould not be diſordered? in the government of wife and children, ſome are utterly careleſs, and corrupt all by their dull connivency: others, by maſterly rigour, hold their own blood under condition of ſlavery. To be a good Governour is a rare commendation: and to prefer the Weal publick above all reſpects whatſoever, is the Vertue juſtly termed *Heroical*. Of this Vertue many ages afford not many examples. *Hector* is named by *Ariſtotle* as one of them; and deſervedly, if this praiſe

be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, used in defence of a mans own Country. But if we consider, that a love of the general good cannot be perfect, without reference unto *the fountain of all goodness*: we shall find, that no moral vertue, how great soever, can by it self, deserve the commendation of *more than Vertue*, as the *Heroical* doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures, for patterns hereof; such as *David*, *Josaphat*, and *Josias* were. Of Christian Kings, if there were many such, the world would soon be happy. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due, or by preferring a less excellent. But he that can find a King religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement, either of adversity, or of some regard of State; a procurer of general peace and quiet; who not only useth his authority, but adds the travel of his eloquence, in admonishing his Judges to do justice; by the vigorous influence of whose Government, civility is infused, even into those places, that have been the dens of savage Robbers and Cut-throat; one that hath quite abolished a slavish *Brehon* Law, by which a whole Nation of his subjects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher vertue and wisdom doth make the praise not only of Nobility and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the blood, the wives, and the goods of those that are under his power, together with a world of chief commendations belonging unto some good Princes, to appear less regardable: he, I say, that can find such a King, findeth an example, worthy to add unto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Under such a King, it is likely, by Gods blessing, that a Land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in Countries before unknown; that Civility and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen Countries; and that the happiness of his subjects, shall cause the Nations far off removed, to wish him their Soveraign. I need not add hereunto, that all the actions of such a King, even his bodily exercises, do pertake of vertue; since all things tending to the perservation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who fixing his contemplation upon God, seeketh how to imitate the unspeakable goodness, rather than the inaccessible majesty, with both of which himself is indued, as far as humane nature is capable) do also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which he procureth. Lest any man should think me transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bonds of reason; I add hereunto, that such a King is nevertheless a man, must dye, and may err: yet wisdome and fame shall set him free, from *error*, and from death, both with and without the help of time. One thing I may not omit, as a singular benefit (though there be many other besides redounding unto this King, as the fruit of his goodness,) The people that live under a pleasant yoke, are not only loving to their Soveraign Lord, but free of courage; and no greater in muster of men, than of stout fighters, if need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as over slaves, shall be attended in time of necessity, by slavish minds, neither loving his person, nor regarding his or their own honour. Cowards may be furious, and slaves outragious, for a time: but among spirits that have once yielded unto slavery, universally it is found true, what *Homer* saith, *God bereaveth a man of half his vertue, that day when he casteth him into bondage.* Hom. Od. l. 17.

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonably have spoken, in the general discourse of Government: but where so lively an example of the calamity following a tyrannical rule, and the use of Mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it self, as is this present business of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectual, than being barely delivered, as out of a common place.

§. III.

How the war against the Mercenaries was diversly managed by Hanno *and* Amilcar, *with variable success. The bloody councels of the Mercenaries; and their final destruction.*

BEing now to return unto those Mercenaries, from whom I have thus far digressed, I cannot readily find, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they seek their wages already due; so that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all been subjects unto *Carthage*, then might they justly have been termed Rebels: but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principal part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endeavoured to subvert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* also doth.

These, using the advantage of their present strength,

strength, besieged * *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being seated upon the western Haven of *Carthage*, where it is divided by a neck of land; *Hippagreta* standing towards upon the great Lake, *Utica* further out upon the Sea. Neither was the Camp at *Tunis* abandoned, which lay fitly to hinder the *Carthaginians* from passing up into the Countrey: for *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men to follow the war in all parts at once.

* *Utica* is seated in the great bay that enters towards *Carthage*, not far within the promontory of *Apollo*. At this time it is called *Porto Farina*, or *Biserta*, and by the *Africans* themselves, *Geral Melha*. *Niger* saith, that the Town it self is ruined, and the place whereon it stood, now called *Marghacces*. It was very ancient, and built before *Carthage*, saith *Silius*. As it flourished before *Carthage* was set up, so did it after *Carthage* was thrown down by the *Romans* in the third *Punick* war. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the younger, who held it against *Cæsar*. *Victor* that worthy Divine, was Bishop thereof in the time of *Genserick* the *Arrian*, who lived all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the story of his cruelties.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this unexpected peril, any man may conceive. But the business it self awakes them hastily. They are hardly prest on all sides; and therefore travelled their brains the uttermost, how to shake off these furious dogs from their shoulders, who sometimes by night, sometimes by day, came unto the very wals of their City. In this exigent, *Hanno* was made their General: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatsoever was needfull, as well to relieve a Town besieged, as to batter and assail any place defended against him. With these provisions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to *Utica*, so suddenly, that the enemies as men surprised, forsook their Trenches, and retired themselves unto a rising piece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of his beasts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to do with *Numidians*, whose custome was after any loss, to flie two or three whole daies journey off; presently entred the Town; to shew himself after this his victory. But these good fellows, against whom he was to war, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight again, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as soon as they perceived, that he knew not how to use a victory; they assailed their own Camp, and with great slaughter, drave the *Carthaginians* out of it, forced them to hide themselves within *Utica*; and got possession of all the store that *Hanno* had brought for the relief of the Town. This bad beginning *Hanno* followed with sutable indiscretion; losing the benefit of many fair opportunities, and suffering the enemies to take possession of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firm land.

The *Carthaginians* perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their shete-anchor; sending to the field their great Captain *Amilcar*, whom they furnished with ten thousand foot of supply, and seventy Elephants. *Amilcar* had work enough to do, before he should be able to meet with the enemy upon equal ground. For, besides other places of advantage that the Mercenaries had occupied. *Hanno* had suffered them to win the only bridge, by which the River *Macra*, or *Bagradas*, was passable unto these, that were to travel into the Continent. This River had not many foords, nor those easie for a single man to get over: but upon them all was kept such guard, as gave to *Amilcar* little hope of prevailing in seeking way by force. As for the Bridge it self, *Matho* and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a Town, wherein to lye commodiously, intentive only to the custody thereof. But *Amilcar* had observed, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* used to be sometimes cloyed with sand and gravel, that was driven in by certain customary winds, and could not be driven out again, by force of that slow River, till the wind failing, or changing suffered the weight of the waters, to disburden their channel. Hereof he made use; and taking his opportunity passed the River, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his own Citizens.

There was no need to bid *Spendius* look about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come over *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the news; knowing that they were no longer to deal with the improvident gravity of *Hanno*, but with an able spirit, even with their own Master in the Art of War, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this fear was soon changed into presumption; when more than fifteen thousand of their own society, were come from *Utica*, and other ten thousand from the guard of the Bridge. Their Army was far greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were in their own judgement, the better men; upon which confidence, they resolved to charge him on all sides, and beat him down, in despight of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attend upon him, watching for some advantage; and still exhorting one another to play the men, and give the onset. Especially they that followed him in the Rear, had a great mind to begin the fight; whereunto their promptness was such, as took from them their former circumspection. *Amilcar* held his way toward the Bridge, keeping himself on plain grounds, that were fit-

test for the service of his Elephants, which he placed in front of his Army. Neither made he shew of any desire to fight, but suffered the rashness of his enemies to encrease, till it should break into some disorder. At length perceiving, that with more boldness than good heed, they followed him so near, as would be little for their good, if he should turn unto them, he hasted his march, even to such a pace, as made a shew little differing from plain flight. The Mercenaries presently fell upon his skirts; believing, that for fear of them he was ready to run away. But whilst they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victory, were driven at the heels of those that had the Rear; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order, so that amazed, with the apprehension of unexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this overthrow there were six thousand of the Mercenaries slain, and about two thousand taken, the rest fled, some to the Camp at *Utica*, others to the Town at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast, that he wan the place easily; the enemies being thence also fled unto *Tunis*, as not having recollected their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in pursuing it, caused many Towns revolted, partly by fear, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himself in this dangerous time. He sent about *Numidia* and *Africk*, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or never, to do their best, for the recovery of their freedom: he perswaded *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, that was a Captain of the *Gaules*, to wait upon *Amilcar*, and always to keep the higher grounds, or at least, the foot of some hill, where they might be free from the Elephants; and he himself continued to press the Town of *Hippagreta* with an hard siege. It was necessary for *Amilcar*, in passing from place to place, as his business required, to take such wayes as there were: for all the Country lay not level. Therefore *Spendius*, who still coasted him, had once gotten a notable advantage of ground; the *Carthaginians* lying in a plain, surrounded with hills, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their *Numidian* and *African* succours. In this difficulty, the fame of *Amilcar* his personal worth did greatly benefit his Countrey. For *Naravasus*, a young Gentleman commanding over the *Numidians*, was glad of this occasion, serving to get the acquaintance and love of so brave a man, which he much desired: and therefore came unto *Amilcar* signifying his good affection to him, with offer to do him all service. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend, promised unto him his own daughter in marriage; and so wan from the enemies 2000. horse, that following *Naravasus* turned unto the *Carthaginians* side. With this help he gave battel unto *Spendius*: wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approve his own valour to his new friend. So the victory was great: for there were slain ten thousand of *Spendius* his fellows, and four thousand taken prisoners; but *Spendius* himself, with *Autarius* the *Gaul*, escaped to do more mischief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many as were unwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should never more bear arms against the *Carthaginians*; threatning to take sharp revenge upon all that should break this Covenant.

This humanity was vehemently suspected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, as tending to win from them the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they resolved to take such order, that no man among them should dare to trust in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any safety whilst *Carthage* was able to do him hurt. They counterfeited letters of advertisment, wherein was contained, that some of their company, respective only of their private benefit, and careless of the general good, had a purpose to betray them all unto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needfull to look well unto *Gesco*, and his companions, whom these traitors had a purpose to inlarge. Upon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the Souldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanity of *Amilcar*, toward some, was none other than a bait, wherewith to intrap them all at once together; as also telling them what a dangerous enemy *Gesco* would prove, if he might escape their hands. Whilest he is yet in the midst of his tale, were letters come to the same purpose. Then steps forth *Autarius*, and speaks his mind plainly: saying, that it were the best, yea, the only way, for the common safety, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if some were devising to make their own peace, it would go hard with those that had a care of the war; that it were better to make an end of *Gesco* his life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his custody; that by such a course every one should be ingaged in the present Action, as having none other hope left, than

in

in victory alone; finally, that ſuch as would ſpeak here-againſt, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Autarius* was in great credit with the Souldiers, and could ſpeak ſundry languages, in ſuch ſort, that he was underſtood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Geſco*, and all the other priſoners, ſhould forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Nevertheleſs there were ſome, that for love of *Geſco* ſought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith ſtoned to death, as a Document unto others; and ſo the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they therewithall contented, but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* priſoners which they took, ſhould be ſerved in like ſort: and that the ſubjects or friends of *Carthage*, ſhould loſe their hands, and ſo be ſent home, which rule they obſerved ever afterwards.

Of this cruelty I need ſay no more, than that it was moſt execrable ferity. As for the councel of uſing it, it was like unto the councel of *Achitophel*; *All* Iſrael *ſhall hear, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then ſhall the hands of all that are with thee be ſtrong.* Such are the fruits of deſperation. He that is paſt all hope of pardon, is afraid of his own fellows, if they be more innocent; and to avoid the puniſhment of leſs offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the revengeful ſpirits of thoſe that have been wronged, are breeders of this deſperation: to which may be added ſome deficiency of Laws, in diſtinguiſhing the puniſhments of malefactors, according to the degree of their ſeveral crimes. A coward thinks all proviſion too little for his own ſecurity. *If* Phocas *be a coward* (ſaid the Emperour *Mauritius*) *then is he murderous.* To be ſteadfaſt and ſure, in taking revenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defenſative againſt new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is oppoſite to the rule of Chriſtianity; and ſuch a quality diſcovered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwiſe would have repented, and ſought to make amends, for the wrong done in paſſion. This was it which wrought ſo much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matho*, and his *Africans*, to ſuſpect even their gentleneſs, as the introduction to extream rigour. Like unto the errours of Princes and Governours, are the errours of Laws. Where one and the ſame puniſhment is awarded unto the leſs offence, and unto the greater, he that hath adventured to rob a man, is eaſily tempted to kill him, for his own ſecurity.

Againſt theſe inconveniences, Mercy and Severity, uſed with due reſpect are the beſt remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as theſe his old Souldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed by gentle courſes, his humanity was ready to invite them. But when they were tranſported with beaſtly outrage, beyond all regard of honeſty and ſhame, he rewarded their villany with anſwerable vengeance, caſting them unto wild beaſts to be devoured.

Untill this time *Hanno*, with the Army under his command, had kept himſelf apart from *Amilcar*, and done little as may ſeem, for that nothing is remembered of him ſince his late loſſes. Neither was *Amilcar* ſorry to want his help; as being able to do better without him. But when the war grew to ſuch extremity, as threatened utter ruine to the one or the other ſide: then was *Hanno* ſent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he joyned his forces. By this acceſs of ſtrength *Amilcar* was not enabled to do more than in former times; rather he could now perform nothing: ſuch was the hatred between him and his unworthy Colleague. The Towns of *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, that had ſtood alwayes firm to the *Carthaginian* party, did now revolt unto the enemy, murdering all the Souldiers that they had in Garriſon, and caſting their bodies forth, without ſuffering them to be buried. The proviſions brought by ſea, for maintenance of the Army, were loſt in foul weather; and *Carthage* it ſelf ſtood in danger of being beſieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* conſulted, whileſt one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) bind the others hands.

It hath in all Ages been uſed as the ſafeſt courſe, to ſend forth, in great Expeditions, two generals of one Army. This was the common practice of thoſe two mighty Cities *Athens* and *Rome*, which other States and Princes have often imitated; perſwading themſelves, that great Armies are not ſo well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will uſe the greater diligence. They have alſo joyned two chief Commanders in equal commiſſion, upon this further conſideration; the better to reſtrain the ambition of any one, that ſhould be truſted with ſo great a ſtrength. For hereof all Common-weals have been jealous, having been taught by their examples that have made themſelves Tyrants over thoſe Cities and States that have imployed them. In this point the *Venetians* having been ſo circumſpect, as they have, for the moſt part, truſted ſtrangers, and not their own in all the wars which they have made. It is true,

that

that the equal authority of two commanding in chief, serveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them trust: but in managing the war it self, it is commonly the cause of ill success. In wars made near unto *Rome* it self, when two good friends were Consuls, or such two at least, as concurred in one desire of *Triumph*, which honour (the greatest of any that *Rome* could give) was to be obtained by that one years service; it is no marvel, though each of the Consuls did his best, and inferred all his thoughts unto none other end than victory. Yet in all dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise than was desired, one Dictator was appointed, whose power was neither hindred by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to send forth both the Consuls to one war; but each went whither his lot called him, to his own Province; unless one business seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be joyned in the administration. Now although it was so, That the *Romans* did many times prevail with their joynt-Generals: yet was this never so seldom, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modesty hath often been such, that the less able Captain, though of equal authority, hath willingly submitted himself to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they have many times by ordaining two Commanders of one Army, received great and most dangerous overthrows; wherefore in the second *Punick* War we shall find examples. On the contrary side, in their wars most remote, that were alwayes managed by one, they seldom failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appear. Now of those ten Generals, which served the *Athenians* at the battel of *Marathon*, it may be truly said, that had not their temper been better than the judgment of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affairs had found the same success which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicil*: the one being so over-wary, and the other so hasty, as all came to nought that they undertook: whereas *Cimon* alone, as also *Aristides*, and others, having sole charge of all, did their Country and Common-weal most remarkable service. For it is hard to find two great Captains of equal discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of fury than of judgment, and so the contrary, by which the best occasions are as often overslipt, as at other times many actions are unseasonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Conde* was slain after the Battle of *Jarnac*, (which Prince, together with the admiral *Chastillan*, had the conduct of the *Protestant* Army) the *Protestants* did greatly bewail the loss of the said Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hinderance to their affairs. For so much did the Valour of the one out-reach the advisedness of the other, as whatsoever the Admiral intended to win by attending the advantage, the Prince adventured to lose, by being over-confident in his own courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this present business: who, though they were still sick of their ill-grounded love to *Hanno*, and were unwilling to disgrace him; yet seeing that all ran towards ruine, through the discord of the Generals, committed the decision of their Controversies, unto the Army that served under them. The judgment of the Army was, that *Hanno* should depart the Camp: which he did, and *Hannibal* was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*, and that was enough.

After this, the affairs of *Carthage* began to prosper somewhat better. *Matho* and *Spendius* had brought their Army near unto the City; and lay before it, as in a siege. They might well be bold to hope and adventure much, having in their Camp above fifty thousand, besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Nevertheless, the City was too strong for them to win by assault: and the entrance of victuals they could not hinder, if any should be sent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron King of *Syracuse*, though during the wars in *Sicil* he assisted the *Romans*, and still continued in their alliance, yet now sent succours to the *Carthaginians*: fearing their fall, and consequently his own; because if no other State gave the *Romans* somewhat to trouble their digestion, the Principality of *Syracuse* would soon be devoured by them. The *Romans* also gave them some slender assistance, and, for the present, refused good offers made unto them by the Mercenaries, This they did to shew a noble kind of disposition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the sequel manifestly proved.

Whilst *Matho* and his followers were busily pressing the City, *Amilcar* was as diligent in waiting at their backs, and cutting off

off all that come to their ſupply: ſo that finding themſelves more ſtraightly beſieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purpoſed to deſiſt from their vain attempt, and try ſome other courſe. Hereupon they iſſued into the field: when *Spendius*, and one *Zarcas* an *African* Captain aſſiſting the rebellion, take upon them to find *Amilcar* work; leaving *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a general care of the buſineſs. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and horſe of *Naravaſus*, made *Spendius* fearful to deſcend into the Plains. Wherefore he betook himſelf to his former method of war, keeping the mountains, and rough grounds, or occupying the ſtraighteſt paſſages, wherein the deſperate courage of his men might ſhew it ſelf, with little diſadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more ſkill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*. He drew the enemy to many ſkirmiſhes; in all which the ſucceſs was ſuch, as added courage to his own men, and abated the ſtrength and ſpirit of the Rebells. Thus he continued, provoking them night and day: ſtill intrapping ſome of them, and ſometimes giving them the overthrow in plain battel: untill at length he got them into a ſtraight, whence ere they ſhould get out, he ment to take of them a good account. Their judgment was enough to perceive their own diſadvantage; and therefore they had the leſs ſtomach to fight; but awaiting for help from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreſeeing, that neceſſity might teach them to dare impoſſibilities, uſeth the benefit of their preſent fear, and ſhut them cloſe up with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miſerably, for ſuccour thrt came not: and having ſpent all their victuals, were ſo pinched with hunger, that they fed upon the bodies of their priſoners. This they ſuffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deſerved any favour from *Carthage*: and hoping that their friends at *Tunis* would not be unmindful of them. But when they were driven to ſuch extremity, that they were fain to devour their own companions, and yet ſaw none appearance or likelihood of relief: their obſtinacy was broken, and they threatned their Captains with what they deſerved, unleſs they would go forth to *Amilcar*, and ſeek ſuch peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarxas*, and *Autarius*, fell to conſultation, wherein it was reſolved to obey the multitude, and yield themſelves, if it were ſo required, unto the death, rather than periſh by the hands of their own companions. Hereupon they ſend to crave parlie, which is granted; and theſe three come forth to talk with *Amilcar* in perſon. What they could ſay unto him it is hard to conjecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it ſeems that they took the blame upon themſelves, and craved pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould chuſe, out of the whole number of theſe enemies, any ten whom they pleaſed, to remain at their diſcretion; and that the reſt ſhould all be diſmiſſed, each in his ſhirt, or in one ſingle coat. When the peace was thus concluded, *Amilcar* told theſe Ring-leaders, that he choſe them preſently, as part of the ten, and ſo commanded to lay hands on them: the reſt he forthwith went to fetch with his whole Army in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded upon ſo gentle Articles, thought themſelves betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to Arms. But they wanted Captains to order them; and the ſame aſtoniſhment that made them break the Covenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gave unto *Amilcar* both colour of Juſtice, in accompliſhing revenge and eaſe in doing the execution. They were all ſlain: being forty thouſand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the news thereof exceeding welcome to *Carthage*; and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africk*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Naravaſus*, and *Hannibal*, carried the war from Town to Town, and found all places ready to yield: *Utica* & *Hippagreta* only ſtanding out, upon fear of deſerved vengeance; and *Tunis*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Army. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chief ſtrength of the enemy. Coming before this Town, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellows, in view of the defendants, and crucified them under the walls; to terrifie thoſe of his old companions, that were ſtill in Arms. With this rigour the ſiege began; as if ſpeedy victory had been aſſured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay toward *Carthage*. *Amilcar* on the oppoſite ſide: too far aſunder to help one another in ſudden accidents: and therefore it behoved each to be the more circumſpect.

Matho from the walls beheld his own deſtiny, in the miſery of his companion, and knew not how to avoid it otherwiſe than by a caſt at dice with fortune. So he brake out upon that part of the *Carthaginian* Army, that lay ſecure, as if all danger were paſt, under the command of *Hannibal*; and with ſo great and unexpected fury he ſallied, that after an exceeding ſlaughter, he took *Hannibal* priſoner:

priſoner; on whom, and thirty the moſt noble of the *Carthaginian* priſoners, he preſently revenged the death of *Spendius*, by the ſame torture. Of this, *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had he ſtrength enough remaining, after this great loſs, to continue the ſiege; but was fain to break it up, and remove unto the mouth of the River *Bagradis*, where he incamped.

The terrour was no leſs within *Carthage*, upon the ſame of this loſs, than had been the joy of the late great victory. All that could bear arms, were ſent into the field, under *Hanno*; whom, it ſeems, they thought the moſt able of their Captains ſurviving the late accidents of War. If there were any Law among them forbidding the imployment of one ſole General near unto their City (for they are known to have truſted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this haſty exigent, to deviſe about repealing it. But thirty principal men are choſen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcars* Camp, and by all good perſwaſions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It nearly touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the careleſneſs of *Hannibal* ſeemed to be imputed unto him, by ſending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Nevertheleſs after many conferences, the authority of the Senators prevailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilſt this war laſted, *Hanno* took warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the mean ſeaſon *Matho* was come abroad, as meaning to uſe the reputation of his late ſucceſs, whilſt it gave ſome life unto his buſineſs. He had reaſon to do as he did: but he wanted ſkill to deal with *Amilcar*. The ſkirmiſhes, and light exerciſes of war, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did ſo far abate the ſtrength, and withall diminiſh the credit of *Matho*; that he reſolved to try the fortune of one battel: wherein either his own deſire ſhould be accompliſhed, or his cares ended. To this concluſion the *Carthaginians* were no leſs prone, than *Matho*: as being weary of theſe long troubles, and inſupportable expences; confident in the valour of their own men, which had approved it ſelf in many tryals; and well aſſured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the enemy hath not what to oppoſe. According to his determination, each part was diligent in making proviſion: inviting their friends to help; and drawing forth into the field, all that lay in Garriſon.

The iſſue of this battel might have been foretold, without help of witchcraft. *Matho*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to preſume, ſave their daring ſpirits, which had been well cooled by the many late ſkirmiſhes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reaſon to dare, as having been often victorious: and in all points elſe they had the better of their enemies; eſpecially (which is worth all the reſt) they had ſuch a Commander, as was not eaſily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely that the deſire of liberty ſhould work ſo much, in men accuſtomed to ſervitude; as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whoſe future and preſent good lay all at once ingaged in that adventure. So the *Carthaginians* wan a great victory, wherein moſt of the *Africans* their enemies were ſlain; the reſt fled into a Town, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yielded; and *Matho* himſelf was taken alive. Immediately upon this victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made ſubmiſſion to their old Maſters: *Utica* only, and *Hippagreta* ſtood out, as knowing how little they deſerved of favour. But they were ſoon forced to take what conditions beſt pleaſed the victours. *Matho* and his fellows were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they ſuffered all torments that could be deviſed, in recompence of the miſchiefs which they had wrought in this war. The war had laſted three years, and about four months, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whoſe ſubjects did not love them, ſhould with leſs expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

§. IV.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, *that were in* Sardinia, *rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Ilanders. The faithleſs dealing of the* Romans *with the* Carthaginians, *in taking from them* Sardinia, *contrary to the peace.*

WHilſt *Matho* and *Spendius* were making terrible combuſtion in *Africk*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Boſtar* the Governour, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iſland to their own uſe. Againſt theſe, one *Hanno* was ſent with a ſmall Army (ſuch as could be ſpared in that buſie time) conſiſting likewiſe of Mercenaries, levied on the ſudden. But theſe companies that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their ſafety,

safety, and present profit, to joyn themselves with those that were already revolted, than to endanger themselves by battel, for the good of that Common-weal, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels, offering to run one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore to take away all jealousie and distrust, they resolved to hang up their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath been in all Ages, with those that have undertaken the quarrel of an unjust war, to enjoyn the performance of some notorious and villainous act, to those that come in to them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeed the best pawn, that desperate men can deliver to each other, to perform some such actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By such a kind of cruelty did the ungratefull *Mantinæans* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent unto them for their defence against the *Lacedæmonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when he had formerly possest himself of their City, by right of war, did not only spare the sack and spoil thereof, but gave them equal freedom, with the rest of the Cities united. These revolts are also common in our Court-wars; where, in the Conquests of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of old friends, we cannot be received and trusted by old enemies. *Ceſont les coups de vieille eſcrime. These* (say the *French*) *be the blows of the old Art of fencing.*

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit less violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: only they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Province. The Illanders were no less glad, than the Souldiers, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Country: but they could not agree about the profit of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the souldiers for their pains taken. Contrariwise, the souldiers were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Isle, was devolved unto themselves, by right of Conquest. The same quarrel would (in likelihood) have risen between *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, and their *African* friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: unless the riches of *Carthage* had served to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Country; the matter was not easily taken up. So they fall to blows; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to save themselves in *Italy*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the *Romans* into it; with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicil*. Yet this offer was refused, upon reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieved *Matho* and *Spendius* with Corn: of whom the *Carthaginians* took almost five hundred, and held them in prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent Embassadours to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yielded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbade all their Merchants to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all provisions to *Carthage*. And upon the same reason did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the City of *Utica*, offering it self unto their subjection. This might have served as a notable example of the *Roman* Faith, to all posterity: had not the issue proved, that it was meer regard of greater profit, which kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should have done by open breach of Faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended at that time, upon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who, had he been overthrown by *Spendius* or *Matho*, in one main battel, that mighty City must either have fallen into the barbarous hands of mercilesse villains, or have humbled her self under protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately striven for superiority. That extreme necessity, whereinto *Matho* reduced the City, by the fortune of one sally made out of *Tunis*, is enough to prove, that *Carthage* was not far from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not unwisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindness, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich but sinking ship, to run her self aground upon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africk*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*; then did Ambition put off her goodly vizor. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recovered her feet again; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced war against this enfeebled and

impoverished City, under a shameless pretence, *that the preparations made for* Sardinia, *were made indeed against* Rome *it self.* The *Carthaginians* knew themselves unable to resist, and therefore yielded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing unto them all their right in *Sardinia.* But this was not enough. They would have twelve hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I see not what reason they could alledge) of the great fear which they had endured, of an invasion from *Carthage.* It is indeed plain, that they impudently sought occasion of war. But necessity taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the mony was payed, how hardly soever it was raised. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complain of the *Punick* faith, in breach of Covenants: she her self hath broken the peace already, which *Amilcar* purposeth to make her dearly repent; but what *Amilcar* lives not to perform, shall be accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned Son.

§. V.

How the Affairs of Carthage *went, between the* African *Rebellion, and the second* Punick *War.*

THE injurious dealings of the *Romans*, expressing their desire to pick a quarrel, served to instruct the *Carthaginians* in a necessary lesson; That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolve to be obedient unto those that were more mighty. In a City long accustomed to rule, the braver determination easily took place: and the best means were thought upon for the increase of Puissance and Empire. The strength, and the jealousie of the *Romans*, forbade all attempts upon the Mediterranean Sea; but the riches of *Spain*, that lay upon the *Ocean*, were unknown to *Rome:* wherefore that Province might serve both to exercise the *Carthaginians* in war, and to repair their decayed forces, with all needful supplies. Of the *Spanish* Expedition, the charge and soveraign trust was committed unto *Amilcar:* upon whom his Country did wholly repose it self; in hope to recover strength by his means, that had saved it from ruine.

Hanno, with some other envious men that were of his faction, took little pleasure in the general love and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not deny him to be the most worthy of command in all the City: only they commended peace and quietness; advising men to beware of provoking the *Romans*, in whose amity they said, that the felicity of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the ears of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weal, they got none other reputation, than of singularity: which the ignorant sort suspected to be wisdom.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually upheld and enlarged, by many notable services that he did, to the singular benefit of his Country. He passed the straights of *Hercules*, (now called the straights of *Gibralter*) and landed on the Western coasts of *Spain*; in which Country, during nine years that he lived there, he subjected unto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all those Provinces. But finally in a battel that he fought with a Nation in *Portugal*, called the *Vettones*, (defending himself a long time with an admirable resolution) he was invironed and slain: carrying with him to the grave the same great honour and fame, by which in many signal victories, he had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* his Son-in-law was made General of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain.* This was a good man of war; but far better in practice and cunning than in deeds of arms. By his notable dexterity in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding so many subjects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow jealous again of this hasty increase. He built a goodly City upon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdom of *Granado*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gave it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it nearly retaineth, being called now * *Carthagena.* With this success of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but began to accuse their own negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much pains to beat them out of the Isle of *Sicil*, as suspecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring themselves in a war of far less importance, (whereof I shall speak anon) given them leisure without interruption, to recover upon their own Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding both in the bodies of men, and in revenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to help this, at the present they know not; for they daily expected to be invaded by the *Gaules*, their ancient enemies, and neerest neighbours to the West. But he needeth little help of force, that knoweth himself to be feared: it is enough if he request, since his request,

* The Spaniards have since built a City of the same name in the West-Indies; which being peopled by them in the year 1552. was sacked by the English in the year 1591.

requeſt ſhall have the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* utterly deſtitute of all good colour, that might help them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were then unacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they ſcarce had heard the name: ſo that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other ſuch Rebels, to call in *Roman* ſuccours; but in the enterpriſe of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might alſo ſerve their turn in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spaniſh* affairs had no relation to the peace between theſe two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Aſdrubal* had any purpoſe to extend his victories unto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if ſome ſuch matter had been ſuſpected) they ſent unto him, requiring that he ſhould forbear to proceed any further, than to the River of *Iberus*. In addreſſing their meſſengers, rather to *Aſdrubal*, than to the City of *Carthage*; they ſeem to have hoped, that howſoever the generality of the *Carthaginians* had ſweetly ſwallowed many bitter pills, to avoid all occaſion of war with *Rome*, yet the bravery of one man might prove more faſtidious, and reſenting the injury, return ſuch anſwer, as would intangle his whole Country in the quarrel, that they ſo much deſired; and might embrace at leiſure, when once they had found apparent cauſe. But *Aſdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of diſlike at all: and whereas they would have this inſolent covenant inſerted into the Articles of peace; he took upon him to do it of his own power, with ſuch appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and ſought no further.

If it had been ſo, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto preſſed by the *Romans*, for fear of preſent war, had ratified this new compoſition made by *Aſdrubal*; yet ſhould it not have ſtood bound in honour, to obſerve the ſame carefully, unleſs an oath had alſo been extorted, to make all ſure. But ſince all paſſed quietly, under the bare authority of *Aſdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect than a ſecond breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accuſed more juſtly, than they could accuſe the *Carthaginians* of perjury, (as they after did) for refuſing to ſtand to it.

By this Treaty with *Aſdrubal*, the *Romans* wan ſome reputation in *Spain*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the City which would needs be Miſtreſs over them, ſtood in fear her ſelf of receiving blows from a ſtouter Dame; there were ſoon found ſome, that by offering themſelves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-ſervants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will ſhortly teach them another leſſon. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South-ſide of *Iberus*, entred into confederacy with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawful unto the *Romans* to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither ſubject, nor open enemy in war to the *Carthaginians*) into their ſociety: and unlawful it was unto the *Carthaginians*, to uſe violence towards any that ſhould thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, if we conſider the late agreement made with *Aſdrubal*, we ſhall find that the *Romans* could have none other honeſt colour of requiring it, than an implicit covenant of making the River *Iberus* a bound, over which they themſelves would not paſs, in any Diſcovery or Conqueſt by them intended to be made upon *Spain*: in which regard, they might have ſome honeſt pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome*, as yet, had no foot on the one ſide of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage* on the other ſide of that River, held almoſt all the Country. Howſoever it were, this indignity was not ſo eaſily digeſted, as former injuries had been. For it was a matter of ill conſequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, ſhould behold *Saguntum* reſting ſecurely among them, upon confidence of help from a more mighty City. Wherefore either in this reſpect, or for that the ſenſe is moſt feeling of the lateſt injuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to do themſelves right: war againſt *Saguntum* was generally thought upon, let the *Romans* take it how they liſt. In ſuch terms were the *Carthaginians*, when *Aſdrubal* dyed, after he had commanded in *Spain* eight years (being ſlain by a ſlave, whoſe Maſter he had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, Son of the Great *Amilcar*, was choſen General in his ſtead.

§. VI.

The eſtate of Greece *from the death of* Pyrrhus, *to the reign of* Philip *the Son of* Demetrius *in* Macedon.

IN the long term of the firſt *Punick* war, and the vacation following, between it and the ſecond; the eſtate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was grown ſomewhat like unto that, wherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though far weaker, as the

after-spring. The whole Country had recovered by degrees, a form of liberty: in petty tyrannies (bred of those inferiour Captains, which in the times of general combustion, had seised each upon such towns as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatness, as not only served to defend themselves, but to give protection to others. This conversion to the better, proceeded from the like dissensions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had been in *Greece*, when *Philip* first began to encroach upon it. For after many quarrels and great wars, about the Kingdom of *Macedon*, between *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gaules*: *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning six and thirty years; yet so, that he was divers times thence expelled, not only by the *Gaules*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath been already shewed, but by *Alexander* the Son of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* from whose father he had hardly won it. This happened unto him, by the revolt of his Souldiers, even at such time, as having overthrown with great slaughter an Army of the *Gaules*, he was converting his forces against the *Athenians*, whom he compelled to receive his Garrisons. But his young son *Demetrius* raised an Army, wherewith he chased *Alexander*, not only out of *Macedon*, but out of his own *Epirus*, and restored his Father to the Kingdom.

By the help of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his possession the Citadel of *Corinth*; which was justly termed *the fetter of Greece*. This Citadel called *Acrocorinthus*, stood upon a steep rocky hill on the North side of the Town, and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the Town; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running between the *Ægean* and *Ionique* Seas, joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Main of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle was able to cut off all passage by land, from one half of *Greece* unto the other; besides the commodity of the two Seas, upon both of which, this rich and goodly City had commodious havens. *Alexander*, the son of *Polysperchon*; and after his death, *Cratesipolis* his wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of Provinces and Towns, that was made between *Alexanders* Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, untill it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I find nothing else, than that he was thought to be poisoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his wife *Nicæa* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The device was this: *Antigonus* sent his young son *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicæa*, and seek her marriage. The foolish old widow perceived not how unfit a match she was for the young Prince, but entertained the fancy of marriage; whereto the old King was even as ready to consent, as was his son to desire, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all sorts of games: in the midst of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poor Lady, whose jealousie had been exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not contain himself within the gravity beseeming his old age. But as he had stollen it; so was it again stollen from him: neither lived he to revenge the loss of it, being already spent with age.

Demetrius, the son of this *Antigonus*, succeeding unto his Father, reigned ten years. He made greater proof of his vertue before he was King, than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and *Achæans*, held him continually busied in war; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Græcians* to cast off their yoke.

Philip, the only son of *Demetrius*, was a young child when his Father dyed; and therefore *Antigonus*, his Uncle, had the charge of the Kingdom, during the minority of the Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though he respected *Philip* as his own son, to whom he left the Crown at his death; This *Antigonus*, was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his Protectorship; and was also called *Doson*, that is as much as, *Will-give*, because he was slow in his liberality. He repressed the *Dardanians* and *Thessalians*, which molested his Kingdom, in the beginning of his reign. Upon confidence of this good service, he took state upon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, than only a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutiny; but were soon appeased by fair words, and a seeming unwillingness of his to meddle any more with the Government. The *Achaians* took from him the City of *Athens*, soon after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all, or most that he held in *Greece*, if their own estate had not been endangered by a nearer enemy. But civil dissension, which had

had overthrown the power of *Greece*, when it flouriſhed moſt, overthrew it eaſily now again, when it had ſcarcely recovered ſtrength after a long ſickneſs; and gave to this *Antigonus* no leſs authority therein, than *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

Theſe *Achaians* from ſmall beginnings, had increaſed in ſhort time to great ſtrength and fame: ſo that they grew the moſt redoubted Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equality of their Laws, and by their clemency (notwithſtanding that they were a long time held under by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not only draw all others by their love and alliance, but induced, through their example, the reſt of the Cities of *Peloponneſus*, to be governed by one Law, and to uſe one and the ſame ſort of weights, meaſure, and money.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the firſt that united them again; and gave them courage, after that they had been by the *Macedonian* Captains divided into many Principalities. In elder times they were governed by Kings, as moſt of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kind of rule they firſt ſubjected themſelves, after the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ*, when *Tiſamenus* the ſon of *Oreſtes* poſſeſt the Territory of *Achaia*. In this eſtate they continued to the time of *Gyges*, after whom, when his ſons ſought to change the Legal Government of their Predeceſſors unto Tyranny, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as ſeeming moſt equal. This form of Common-weal had continuance, with ſome ſmall changes according to the diverſity of times, till the reign of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*: who tempeſt-like overturned all things in that part of the world. For thoſe twelve Cities, called *the Cities of Alliance* (whereof, *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten up a little before the Battel of *Leuctres*) were, by diſturbance of the *Macedonians*, divided from each other, and trained into a war, no leſs fooliſh than cruel, among themſelves. But in the one hundred and four and twentieth *Olympiad* (in which, or near it, *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, left the world) two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patrenſes* and the *Dimæi*, united themſelves, and laid the foundation of the general accord, and re-union, which after followed. For having been, ſome of them *Partiſans* with ſundry *Macedonian* Captains, and others having been governed by petty Kings; they began to faſten themſelves in a ſtrong league of amity, partly, in the *Olympiad* before ſpoken of, and partly, at ſuch time as *Pyrrhus* made his firſt voyage into *Italy*. Now after the uniting of the *Patrenſes* and *Dimæi*, to whom alſo the Cities of *Titræa*, and *Phara*, joyned themſelves; *Ægira* chaſed out her Garriſons: and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the ſame Confederacy. Theſe Cities, for twenty and five years, uſed the ſame form of Government with the *Achaians*; who by a Senatory and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Common-weal; and ſoon after by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Carynenſis* was the firſt, and *Aratus* the ſecond.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who, living at *Argos* in exile, whileſt his Country was oppreſſed by Tyrants, found means, through the help of other baniſhed men, to enter their own City by night, with ladders; whence they chaſed the Tyrant, and reſtored the people to liberty. This was in the time of *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more buſie in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wiſe in looking to his own. For fear of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* enter into the *Achaian* league: which though at that time it received more increaſe by their acceſſion than it added ſtrength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction ſerved well enough againſt *Antigonus*, whoſe ſubtlety was ſomewhat greater than his valour. As the induſtry and counſel of *Aratus* delivered his County from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league; ſo further, by his great liberality, with the exceeding great coſt of 150. talents, he pacified the inexplicable controverſies, between the baniſhed *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, and the other Citizens that had poſſeſſion of theſe mens Lands; as alſo with the ſame money he drew many others to aſſiſt him in thoſe enterpriſes following, that redounded to the ſingular good of all *Achaia*. The money he obtained of *Ptolemy Euergetes* King of *Ægypt*; who partly had a deſire to hold ſome ſtrong and ſure friendſhip in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the converſation of *Aratus* himſelf, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Ægypt*, and fed his pleaſure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious pieces, wherein the workmen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The firſt of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the ſurprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadel of *Corinth*; which he wan by night, being thereinto guided by ſome theeves that he had hired for the purpoſe, who living in the place, had practiſed to rob *Antigonus* his

his treasury, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. Yet was he fain to fight for it, ere he could get it: though indeed *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather overcome by their own fear, than by any force of the assailants; as mistrusting lest the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and having lost the advantages of the place already, upon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemy.

In these kinds of night-services, ambushments, surprises, and practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, adventurous, and valiant: in open field, and plain battail, he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might look pale and tremble, when he began battail; and Whether the vertue of Fortitude were diversified, by the sundry natures of men, and in a manner confined unto several sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said, that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a natural inclination standeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplyed with much instruction, use, good success, and other help, yet hardly shall grow absolute in general. Such was *Aratus* in matter of War. In sincere affection to his Country he was unreprovable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will truly testifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and joyned unto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* revolted soon after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the same Corporation. So did the *Trazenians*, and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new erected State grew so powerful, that it adventured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*, and *Argos* and *Megalopolis*, from tyrants that held them. The enterprise upon the *Athenians* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* wasted the Isle of *Salamis*, to shew his strength, and sent home the *Athenian* prisoners, without ransome, to allure the City by shew of love; yet the *Athenians* stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now grown honest slaves to the *Macedonians*. Upon *Argos* the adventure was carryed more strongly. The *Achaians* came sometimes to the gates of the City, but the people stirred not: once they entred it, and might have won it, if the Citizens would have lent any help to the recovery of their own freedom; sundry times, and with divers events, they fought with the Tyrants, (who rose up one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and slew one of them in battail; but all sufficed not: untill at length *Aristomachus* the Tyrant was so terrified, perswaded, and hired by *Aratus*, that he consented to resign his Estate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus*, that had oppressed the *Phliasians*.

Whilest this business with the *Argives* was on foot, *Lysiadas* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis*, was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulsion, he gave liberty to his City, and annexed it to the Council of *Achaia*: whereby he got such credit, that he was chosen General of their forces (which was a yearly Office, and might not be held two years together by one man:) every second year, for a certain while, he and *Aratus* succeeded one another by turns. But those late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lysiadas* and *Aristomachus*, were carried with private passion from care of the general good; in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as shall appear in due time.

The *Achæans* having obtained so much puissance and reputation, that *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) General of their forces by Sea and Land; made open War upon *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus Gonatus*, for the liberty of *Athens*. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrel had lost a battail, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in sign of joy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the victory. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in general of the multitude, *Aut humiliter servit, aut superbe dominatur*; *It is either base in service, or insolent in command*. Nevertheless when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by money, which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captain of the *Macedonian* Garrison, purchased liberty to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Achæans*, loving them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could do: but into their Corporation they entred not, scorning it belike, in regard of their own out-worn glory.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increased within *Peloponnesus*, by justice and honesty; so did the *Ætolians*, in the utter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponnesus* it self, wax very powerful, by sturdiness of body, and rude courage in fight, without help of any other vertue. They had stoutly

ſtoutly defended themſelves againſt *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to do and ſuffer much, partly by the natural ſtrength and faſtneſs of their Country; but eſpecially by the benefit of the time, which called away theſe famous Captains to other buſineſs, as hath been related. They had moleſted *Caſſander*, in favour of *Antigonus*, and were themſelves as much plagued by him, and by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a ſtout Nation, that took his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius*, the Son of the firſt *Antigonus*, and more or leſs with all the Kings of *Macedon* ſucceeding him. They likewiſe held often war with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirots*, and many Cities in *Peloponneſus*: ſo that they were hardened with a perpetual travail; ſeldom putting off their Armour. But their hardineſs ill deſerved the name of valour, ſeeing they had no regard of honeſty or friendſhip, meaſuring all things by their own inſolent wills, and thinking all people baſe-minded, that were not as fierce and outragious as themſelves.

Theſe *Ætolians* had lately made great ſpoils in *Peloponneſus*, and occupied a good part of the Country. They had invaded the friends of the *Achæans*; taken and ſacked *Pallene*; where, although they were ſoundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their deſire of gain made them make a new voyage thither, as to a Country wherein ſomewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to look another way, by *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus Gonatas*: who preſſed them ſo hardly, that they were driven to ſeek help of the *Achæans*; which they obtained. The war which the *Achæans* made upon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponneſus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly unto the *Ætolians*, at whoſe inſtance it was ſet on foot: for thereby were the *Macedonian* forces diverted from them. Neither was this good turn unacknowledged; though very baſely the *Ætolians*, giving thanks in words, deviſed how to requite the benefit with ſome great miſchief. They ſaw that the *Achæans* were deſirous to bring all *Peloponneſus* into their Alliance and Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedæmonians* were very jealous. Wherefore theſe *Ætolians* laboured earneſtly to ſet the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* together by the ears: hoping that if this might come to paſs, they themſelves ſhould be called in to help (it ſkilled not on what ſide) and ſo get no ſmall ſhare, both in booty and Territory. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their device unto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their gain, whom they knew to be offended with the many loſſes, that this Kingdom hath ſuſtained by the *Achæans*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to ſuffer many indignities, rather than to give the *Lacedæmonians* cauſe to take Arms. But this reſolution was taken ſomewhat too late: and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been medling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedæmon*: and thereby had provoked the *Lacedæmonians* to look about them; ſeeing that all *Peloponneſus*, excepting themſelves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their friends (who alſo were attempted) was already become *Achæan*.

The City of *Sparta* was in ill caſe about theſe times; and ſubject to the injuries of any ſtronger neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakned it; The *Ætolians* entring *Liconia* with an Army, had carried away fifty thouſand ſlaves; and, which was worſe, their diſcipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxury reigned among them, the poor was oppreſſed by the rich, and the generoſity of ſpirit, that had ſometime been their general vertue, was hardly now to be found among the beſt of them. There was left in *Sparta* no more than ſeven hundred natural Citizens; of whom not above one hundred had Lands: all the reſt were needy people, and deſirous of innovation. Hereupon followed inteſtine ſedition; which endangered the City moſt of all. *Agis* a good King, who ſought to reform the diſorders of the State, exhorted the people to a ſtrict obſervation of *Lycurgus* his Laws. To which purpoſe he cauſed them to paſs an Act, for the aboliſhing of all debts, and equal diviſion of Lands. All the younger, and poorer ſort were glad of this: but the rich men oppoſed it. Theſe had recourſe unto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part: being himſelf a diſſolute man, as one trained up in the Court of *Syria*, whence alſo he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the City, and a new King choſen in his ſtead. But *Agis* his friends and Counſellors in this enteprize, abuſed his good meaning to their own private commodity. They were haſty to take away all debts, and cancel all bonds, for they themſelves were deeply indebted: but the diviſion of Lands they afterwards hindred, becauſe their own poſſeſſions were great. Hence aroſe a tumult in *Sparta*, which theſe men increaſed by their foul oppreſſion of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and reſtored to his Kingdom, and the two

adverſe

adverſe Kings driven to take Sanctuary; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was diſmiſſed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into priſon, and there by his enemies condemned and ſtrangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-mother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magiſtrates that ſhould have given Patronage to the Laws, uſing their power, and more power than to them belonged, againſt a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City as the Law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; and ſerved to eſtabliſh the impotent rule of a few tyrannical oppreſſors. In which caſe *Aratus* might well hope to adjoyn *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæans* Commonwealth: though it were great injuſtice to take ſuch advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the general good of *Peloponneſus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it ſelf, if it could have been wrought by perſwaſion.

But the ſame man who redreſſed the diſorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did alſo requite the unjuſt attempts of the *Achæans*, even in their own kind: obtruding upon them by force an union of all *Peloponneſus*, though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedæmonians* and their King ſhould have been the principal; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus cauſed *Agis* to be ſlain, took his wife that was very rich and beautiful, and gave her in marriage (perforce) to his own Son *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly inamoured on his wife, and ſought to win her affection, as well as he had her perſon. He diſcourſed much with her about the purpoſe of her former huſband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertain a deſire of accompliſhing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So coming himſelf to be King, whileſt he was very young, he gladly embraced all occaſions of War: for that he hoped by ſtrong hand to effect that, which *Agis* by proceeding formally in ſo corrupt an eſtate of the City, had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gave him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended title, he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but ſought to take by ſurprize *Tegea* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then Confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*: wherein, his intelligence failing, he loſt the labour of a painful night travel, and diſcovered his enmity to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing ſorry. By theſe degrees the war began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had diſcovered the *Ætolian* practice, and therefore would have ſtayed the quarrel from proceeding too far. But *Lyſiadas* and *Ariſtomachus* would needs fight, and he could do none other than be ruled by them; eſpecially ſeeing *Cleomenes* was ſo urgent. *Ariſtomachus* was at that time General of the *Achæans*, (He and *Lyſiadas* being of great account, ſince they had abandoned their tyranny) who ſent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his aſſiſtance in a journey to be made into *Laconia*. No diſſwaſions of *Aratus* would ſerve, therefore he came in perſon, and took part of a buſineſs, little pleaſing him in the preſent, and leſs in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durſt not fight; but oppoſed himſelf againſt *Ariſtomachus*, who deſired to give battel. Yet had the *Achæans* twenty thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, in their Army: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thouſand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedæmonian*, and raiſed an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lyſiadas* helped to make worſe, by accuſing his cowardize. Nevertheleſs the *Achæans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but choſe him their General the year following; againſt *Lyſiadas* his accuſer that ſued for the place. Being General himſelf, it behoved him to confute with deeds, the ſlanderous words of *Lyſiadas*. Therefore he purpoſed to ſet upon the *Eleans*: but was met withall on the way, near unto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquiſhed him in a great battel, and drave him to hide himſelf all night for fear, ſo that he was thought to have been ſlain. This miſadventure *Aratus* recompenced by a trick of his own more natural occupation: performing with his broken Army, that which could hardly have been expected, had he been victorious. For whileſt there was no ſuſpicion of any great matter that he could undertake; he ſuddenly wrought with ſome of the *Mantinæans*, who did let him into their City. Theſe *Mantinæans*, (whom he had thus brought to his purpoſe) had once before joyned themſelves with the *Achaians*; but ſhortly upon fear, or ſome other paſſion, they gave themſelves to the *Ætolians*; and from the *Ætolians*, preſently after this victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their levity they were not puniſhed, but freely admitted now again into the *Achæan* ſociety. As this good

good ſucceſs repaired the credit of *Aratus*; ſo another battel almoſt ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountred near unto *Megalopolis*; where the *Achæans* had ſomewhat the better at the firſt, but their General durſt not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lyſiadas*, of whom we ſpake before, grew ſomewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horſe, brake upon the *Lacedæmonians* whom he routed at the beginning, but purſuing them too far into places of hard paſſage, he was ſlain by them, and his followers driven back upon their own Companions; in ſuch ſort, that finally all the Army was diſordered an put to flight. This was a great loſs, and incenſed the *Achæans* againſt *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refuſed to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of thoſe Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* took patiently, and followed the war nevertheleſs; wherein though *Cleomenes* wan ſome Towns, and *Aratus* got the better in one ſmall fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achæans* being weary, and the *Spartan* King intentive to another buſineſs.

Cleomenes having led into the field all that were like to hinder his purpoſe, and tired them with painfull journeys, forſook the *Achæan* war on a ſudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he ſlew the *Ephori*, and reſtored by force the ancient diſcipline of *Lycurgus*. Then he gave an account of his doings; and ſhewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroached upon the power of Kings, and many diſorders had grown in the City; he juſtified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal diviſion of the Lands, reducing all to the firſt inſtitution. He alſo ſupplied the defect of Citizens, by chuſing new, out of ſuch as were friends to the State, and valiant men: ſo that henceforth his Countrey might not altogether ſtand in need of Mercenary help, as it lately had done, to ſave it ſelf from the *Ætolians*, *Illyrians*, and ſuch other enemies. All this was diſpatched in great haſte; the *Spartans* well ſatisfied, and *Cleomenes* himſelf ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any advantage of theſe his domeſtical troubles.

The *Achæans* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durſt iſſue forth of the City, for fear of ſome rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had waſted all the Countrey of *Megalopolis*; had ranged over all *Arcadia* at his pleaſure; and was admitted into *Mantinæa*; and ready to take other places, even of *Achaia*. Theſe news diſpleaſed them not a little: but they muſt patiently endure to hear worſe. For when *Cleomenes* had ſhaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authority, he proceeded more roundly in his work, being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedæmonians* reſumed their ancient courage; and he himſelf had the heart to demand the Principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend about the poſſeſſion of a few Towns: but adventured to win or loſe all. The *Ætolians*, in favour of his attempt, declared themſelves on his ſide: and whereas he had gotten *Mantinæa*, *Tegea*, and other places; to which they had ſome title, they willingly renounced all their intereſt unto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Countrey, and ſaw that *Antigonus*, with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would ſhortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begun. Therefore he adviſed how to provide againſt the worſt, and either to repair all, or (if it could not be) to ſave all from utter ruine. The office of General, when it was next put upon him, he refuſ'd; fearing to be ſo far preſt, as to hazard in one battel all the force of his Countrey, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance courage, ſo was his manner of warfare otherwiſe. For he commonly attempted by ſurpriſe, and defended upon the advantage of place, after the manner of the *Iriſh*, and of all other Nations, overcharged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forſake the care of the Weal-publick, though in aiming at the general good, it ſeems that private paſſion drew him into an ill courſe. He ſaw that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazard of battel; that *Mantinæa* had not only opened her gates unto *Cleomenes*, but ſlain the *Achæan* Garriſon that lay therein; that other Towns had yielded unto him, without compulſion; and that *Ariſtomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and ſince General of the *Achæans*, was now revolted unto the enemy following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolemy* was too far off to help; and the nearneſs of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be uſefull, if this King would (as *Polybius* ſaith) like others, be friend or enemy, as ſhould beſt agree with his own profit. To make trial hereof, *Aratus* practiſed with ſome of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpoſe; and inſtructed them how to deal with *Antigonus*, and the *Achæans*.

The City of *Megalopolis* had been well

affected to the *Macedonians*, ever ſince the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by ſome ſpecial benefits. At this time it lay neareſt unto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deſerved ſuccour; yet could not well be relieved by the *Achæans*, with their own proper ſtrength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent unto the General Council of *Achaia*, requeſting leave and good allowance, to try the favour of *Antigonus* in their neceſſity. This was granted, for lack of what elſe to anſwer: and the ſame Embaſſadours diſpatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their own errand briefly; telling him of the good will and reſpect which their City had of long time born unto him and his Predeceſſors; of their preſent need; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aid. But when they delivered the more general matter, wherein *Aratus* had given them inſtruction; ſhewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his own great loſs or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himſelf did ſtand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achæans* under the Patronage of *Macedon*: then began *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive ear to their diſcourſe. He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his help ſhould not be wanting, ſo far forth as it might ſtand with the *Achæans* good liking. Particularly he commended himſelf by theſe Meſſengers to *Aratus*, aſſuring them, that he thought himſelf highly bound to this honourable man, whoſe former actions he now perceived not to have been grounded upon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only upon a juſt and worthy love to his own Notion. With this anſwer they returned to *Megalopolis*: and are preſently ſent away to the Council of *Achaia*; there to make ſome ſpeedy concluſion, as the neceſſity of the time required. The *Achæans* were glad to hear, that *Antigonus* was ſo inclinable to their deſire; and therefore were ready to entertain his favour, with all good correſpondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his conſent; and praiſed the wiſdom of the Countrimen, that ſo well diſcerned the beſt and likelieſt means of their common ſafety: adding nevertheleſs, that it were not amiſs, firſt of all to try their own ability; which if it failed, then ſhould they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he ſhewed himſelf moderate; in that which himſelf of all others did moſt wiſh: to the end, that he might not afterward ſuſtain the common reprehenſion, if any thing fell out amiſs; ſince it might appear, that he had not been Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leiſurably, the general conſent.

Nevertheleſs, in true eſtimation, this fineneſs of *Aratus* might have been uſed, with his greater commendation, in a contrary courſe. For it had been more honourable to make an end of the war, by yielding unto *Cleomenes* that power which they gave unto *Antigonus*: ſince thereby he ſhould both have freed his Country from all further trouble; and withall, ſhould have reſtored unto the univerſal ſtate of *Greece*, that honourable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found, (which is great pity) that Vertue, having riſen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it ſelf, (as it were) in the ſeat of principality, by length of time, and ſucceſs of many actions, can ill endure the haſty growth of any others reputation, wherewith it ſees it ſelf likely to be overtopped. Other cauſe to deſpiſe the *Lacedæmonians* there was none, than that they lately had been in dangerous caſe: neither could any reaſon be found, why *Aratus* ſhould prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had ſtood in doubt of the one, when he thought himſelf more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was juſtly plagued, when he ſaw his own honours reverſed by the inſolent *Macedonians*: and inſtead of living as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was deſcended of a long race of Kings, the poſterity of *Hercules*, was fain to do ſacrifice unto *Antigonus*, as unto a god, and was finally poyſoned by *Philip*, whoſe Nobility was but of five deſcents, and whom perhaps he might have ſeen his fellows, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the love of *Ptolemy* was loſt: who forthwith took part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not ſupply him with ſuch liberality, as he had uſed to the *Achæans*; being warned, as may ſeem, by their example, to be more wary both in truſting and diſburſting. *Cleomenes* himſelf, whilſt this buſineſs with *Antigonus* was a-foot, paſſed through *Arcadia* with an Army, and laboured by all means to draw the *Achæans* to battel. At the City of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were aſſembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded to make trial; whether perhaps they might amend their eſtate, without ſeeking help of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where he had ſo great a victory,

that the enemy was no longer able to keep the open field. The calamity was ſuch, that *Aratus* himſelf durſt not take upon him to be their General, when his turn came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achæans* were compelled to ſue for peace; which was granted upon this eaſie condition: That they ſhould not arrogate unto themſelves the command of *Peloponneſus*, but ſuffer the *Lacedæmonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in war. Hereunto if they would condeſcend, he promiſed unto them, that he would preſently reſtore all places taken from them, and all his priſoners ranſom-free: alſo that they ſhould enjoy their own Laws and Liberties without moleſtation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleaſing to the *Achæans*: who deſired him to come to the City of *Lerna*, where a Parliament ſhould be held, for the concluſion of the war.

Now ſeeming the affairs of *Greece* likely to be ſetled in better order, than they had ever been ſince the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* Wars, yea, or ſince the *Perſian* invaſion: when God, who had otherwiſe diſpoſed of theſe matters, hindred all with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in great heat, and thereupon fell extream ſick, and ſo could not be preſent at *Lerna*, but cauſed the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Nevertheleſs he ſent home the chief of his priſoners, to ſhew that he meant none other than good faith. By this fair dealing he confirmed the *Achæans* in their deſire of his friendſhip; who aſſembled again at *Argos*, there to eſtabliſh the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent againſt it, and ſought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Country-men afraid of reſolving. When all would not ſerve turn, he betook himſelf to his cunning; and ſent word to *Cleomenes*, that he ſhould do well to leave his Army behind him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving hoſtages for ſafety of his perſon. *Cleomenes*, was already far on his way, when he met with this advertiſement; and took it in ill part, that he ſhould be thus deluded. For it had been an eaſie matter, to have told him ſo much at the firſt, & not have made him come ſo far with an Army, which afterwards he muſt diſmiſs. Yet that which chiefly ſeems to have troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who ſought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deal only with themſelves and their Meſſengers, or if he would adventure himſelf into the City, then to deprive him of all Royal ſhew, that might breed reſpect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, and for which he ſought to hinder his coming thither in perſon; leſt the people, hearing the promiſes of *Cleomenes* ratified by his own mouth, ſhould preſently be won with his gentle words, and finiſh the bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote unto the whole Councel, bitterly complaining againſt theſe juggling tricks: and *Aratus* was not far behind with him in as bitter an Oration. So between fear of the one, and reverence of the other, the Aſſembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all, as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* took his advantage of their preſent weakneſs, and renewed the War. Many Cities yielded unto him willingly; many he forced; and partly by force, partly by terror, he wan *Argos*, which never King of *Sparta* before him could do. In this caſe *Aratus* ſent his own ſon to *Antigonus*, intreating him to defer no time, but come preſently to relieve the diſtreſſed *Achæans*. *Antigonus* gave good words as could be wiſhed: ſaveing that he utterly refuſed to do any thing, unleſs he might firſt have *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demand was ſomewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promiſed to help the horſe againſt his enemy the Stagg: but with condition, that the horſe ſhould ſuffer him to be ſaddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contented, but wanting all honeſt colour to do it: ſeeing the *Corinthians* had no way deſerved to be thus given away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occaſion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiving what he intended, were minded to arreſt him. So he withdrew himſelf out of their City, and ſent word to *Antigonus*, that their Caſtle ſhould be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other ſide ran to *Cleomenes*; who loſt no time, but made haſt with them to *Corinth*, where he ſought how to get poſſeſſion of their Caſtle, or at leaſt to ſave it from *Antigonus*, by ſurrounding it within Trenches, that none might iſſue nor enter without his leave. Whileſt this was doing, he took ſpecial order, that *Aratus* his houſe and goods, within the Town, ſhould be kept for the Owner; to whom he ſent Meſſenger after Meſſenger, deſiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Illyrians*, to *Peloponneſus*; promiſing, that if he would hearken to theſe perſwaſions, then would he give him double the ſame penſion, which he had been wont to receive of King *Ptolomy*. As for the Caſtle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponneſus*, and without which none could hold aſſured ſoveraignty of the Country; he

desired that it might not be committed unto his own disposition, but be joyntly kept by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*. All this entreaty served to no purpose. For *Aratus*, rejecting utterly the motion, sent his own son as an Hostage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achæans*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* understood, he seised upon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Countrey of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Adversary was native.

Antigonus in the mean time drew near to the *Isthmus*; having passed with his Army through *Eubœa*, because the *Ætolians* held the straights of *Thermopylæ* against him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatness, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attain by the good success of this journey. At his coming thither, he found the *Lacedæmonians* ready to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazard battel, but rather to weary him thence with hunger; against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able so to do: he secretly got into the *Corinthian* Haven; but was violently driven out again, with great loss of men; finally he resolved to turn aside, and seek a passage over the gulfe of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity, news from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no less troubled his enemies. The *Achæans* were gotten into that City; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driven out of the Citadel, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present help. *Argos* had always been enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the King of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbare to chase out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreaty of friends, and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all debters to be discharged from their creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta* was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places, where it would have been tyrannical, he did not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their unjust hopes, began to turn good Common-wealthmen; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not do the like abroad. So they took their time, invited the *Achæans*, assailed his Garrison, cut in pieces the rescue that he sent, and compelled him at length to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and look unto the enemies that were behind his back. For when he understood by continual messengers, that his men which held the Citadel at *Argos* were almost lost: he began to fear lest his labour in guarding the entry should grow frivolous; the *Achæans* in the mean while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forsook his custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if he could save, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so far he prevailed at his coming to *Argos*, that both *Argives* and *Achæans* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the streets; when the horsemen of *Antigonus* were discovered afar off, hasting to relieve the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himself (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soon as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the body of his Army. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, then to make a safe retreat. This he did, and got him home into *Laconia*: losing in short space all, or most of that which he had been long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himself at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where he wan such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he took his way to *Ægium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achæans*; to whom he declared the cause of his coming, and spake brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Achæans* were not behind with him; but made him Captain-General over them and their Confederates: and further entered into covenant with him, That they would not deal with any Prince or State, either by writing, or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while & somewhat longer *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon* his own Town, (for Winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if in stead of *Cleomenes* that would have been a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this god was poor, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed

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the burthen upon the *Achæans*. This was hardly taken: yet worſe muſt be indured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himſelf over-carefully reſpected; when the ſtatues of thoſe Tyrants, which he had thrown down in *Argos*, were again erected by *Antigonus*; or when the ſtatues which he had erected, of thoſe that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all thrown down by the ſame King, and one only left unto himſelf at his earneſt intreaty. It might therefore appear, that this god was alſo ſpightful. Nevertheleſs in taking revenge upon thoſe that offended him, *Aratus* did ſatisfie his own paſſion by the aid of theſe *Macedonians*. For with extreme torments he did put *Ariſtomachus* to death, who had been once Tyrant of *Argos*, afterwards General of the *Achæans*, and from them revolting unto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like ſort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantinæans*, for their ingratitude and cruelty ſhewed to the *Achæans*. For he ſlew all the principal Citizens, and ſold the reſt, men, women and children, all for bond-ſlaves: dividing the ſpoil; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achæans*. The Town it ſelf was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*, who peopled it with a Colony of their own; and *Aratus* having charge of this buſineſs, cauſed it be new named *Antigonia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuſe, than even the flattery which *Aratus* was driven to uſe to *Antigonus*: foraſmuch as it was a token of ſervility, whereinto they had urged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to ſpeak of this change, which the coming in of the *Macedonian* wrought in the Civil State of the *Achæans*; let us return unto this war againſt the *Lacedæmonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wan *Tegea*, *Mantinæa*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, and *Telphuſſa*: *Mantinæa* he diſ-peopled, as was ſaid before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garriſon of his *Macedonians*; the reſt he reſtored to the *Achæans*, with whom he wintered at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his own Territory. The reaſon why he ſtirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantinæa*, & to thoſe other Towns that he wan, was this: He had few Souldiers, and had not money enough to wage more. *Ptolemy* the *Egyptian* promiſed much, but would perform nothing, unleſs he might have *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his children in pledge. Theſe were ſent unto *Egypt*, yet the aid came not. For *Ptolemy* was ſlow; as dealing in the buſineſs of *Greece*, rather for his minds ſake, than upon any apprehenſion of neceſſity. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himſelf, as well as his own ability would ſerve. He manumiſed all the *Heilotes* which were the *Lacedæmonian* ſlaves: taking money for their liberty, and arming two thouſand of them after the *Macedonian* faſhion. Having thus increaſed his forces, he came on the ſudden to *Megalopolis*, that lay ſecure, as having defended it ſelf in more dangerous times, and having now *Antigonus* near at hand in *Ægium*. The Town he wan: but after he was entred, all that were fit to bear Arms roſe haſtily againſt him; and though they could not drive him out, yet ſaved the multitude, to whom they gave a Port free for their eſcape. He ſent after the Citizens, offering their Town and goods to them again, if they would be of his party. But they bravely refuſed his offer: wherefore he ſacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great booty that he found therein. Theſe news aſtoniſhed the *Achæans* at *Ægium*: who thereupon brake up their Parliament. *Antigonus* ſent haſtily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering-places: but they were ſo long in coming, that *Cleomenes* was ſafely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himſelf to *Argos*, there to paſs the reſt of his unlucky winter, ſomewhat further from the eyes of the grieved *Achæans*. When he had layn a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argives* perceiving that their Country would be ſpoiled, if *Antigonus* did not iſſue into the field, were very earneſt with him to go forth and fight. But he was wiſer than to be moved with their clamors, and ſuffered them to ſee their villages burnt; to bid him reſign his Office of Protector unto ſome that were more valiant; and to ſatisfie their paſſions with fooliſh words, rather than he would be overcome in fight, and thereby loſe more honour than could eaſily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his deſire, in weakning the reputation of his enemy: though he hereby added neither followers, nor other ſtrength unto *Lacedæmon*.

Afterwards, when the ſeaſon was more fit for war, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troops; meaning to requite theſe bravadoes of his enemy, with the conqueſt of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes*, on the other ſide laboured to keep the war from his own gates; and therefore entred upon the Country of *Argos*, where

where he made such a havock, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended invasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was fain to endure, in coasting of the *Spartan* King; that ranging over the Country of the *Argives*, *Phliasians*, and *Orchomenians*, drave a Garrison of his out of *Oligyrtis*; and did sacrifice, as it were before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Juno*, that was shut up; sending unto him in scorn, to borrow the keys. These were light things; yet served to dis-hearten the *Achæan* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therfore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazard; by setting up his rest, without any more delay, upon *Sparta* it self. He had in his Army eight and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gaules*, *Epirots*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achæans*; and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts twenty thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seek entrance. *Antigonus* coming unto *Selasia*, found his enemy so strongly encamped, upon and between the hills of *Eva* and *Olimpus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blows, which he greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Army, in assailing their well defenced Camp. But at length (as it happens, when men are weary both of their hopes and fears) both Kings being resolved to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attemped with his *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the hill *Eva*. But his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achæan* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, and light-armed foot, incamped in the straight valley between those hills, issuing forth, fell upon their skirts, and not only disordered them, but were like to have endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himself had stood in that part of the battel, he would have made great use of such a fair beginning. But *Eucydas*, his Brother, a more valiant than skilfull Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this advantage, nor took such benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopœmen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proved a famous Captain, served then on horse, as a private young man, among the *Achæans*. He seeing that all was like to go to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driven to fall back upon the Army following them; perswaded the Captains of the *Achæan* horse, to break upon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had given order, that they should keep their places, untill they received a sign from him, which was not as yet. *Philopœmen* perceiving them to be more orderly than well advised, intreated some of his own Country-men to follow him, gave a charge on the *Spartans*, and forced them, not only to leave the *Illyrians*, but seek how to save themselves. Being so far advanced, he found the place which the *Illyrians* had attemped, like enough to be won, through the unskilfulness of him that held it. Wherefore he alighted, and perswaded the men at Arms his Companions to do the like: the folly of *Eucydas* being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plain, where they might fight upon even terms. So he recovered the Hill-top; where, though he was sore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, until the whole Army came up to him; by which the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This overthrow, and death of *Eucydas*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: who fighting bravely on the other side, upon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himself, was like to have been surrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawn himself with an extraordinary speed. In this battel ended the glory of *Lacedæmon*, which, as a light ready to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

Cleomenes fled unto *Sparta*; where he had no desire to stay; finding only two hundred left, of six thousand *Spartans* that he had led unto this battel, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yield themselves unto *Antigonus*; and promising to do all that should at any time lye in his own power, for their good, he hasted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before provided against all that might happen) and imbarked himself for *Egypt*. He was lovingly entertained by *Ptolemy Euergetes*; who undertook to restore him to his Kingdom, and (perhaps) meant no less, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour, and qualities. In the mean season, he had a Pension allowed him, of four and twenty Talents, yearly. But this *Ptolemy* died; and his Son *Ptolemy Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious young Prince,

Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women, and baſe Men, unmindful of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was deſirous to return into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponneſus* did ſeem to invite him; *Ptolomy* and his Minions, would neither give him aid; nor yet dared to diſmiſs him (as he deſired) to try his own friends in *Greece*, becauſe he was too well acquainted with the weakneſs of *Egypt*: nor well knew how to detain him againſt his will. At length they deviſed matter againſt him, and made him priſoner, the laſt act of him was, that with thirty of his Country-men, he undertook a deſperate enterprize: breaking out of the priſon, and provoking the *Alexandrians* to rebell and ſeek their liberty. In which attempt he ſlew ſome enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the ſtreets without reſiſtance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very ſtrang, to fight againſt him on the Kings behalf) he, and his Companions, agreed together to be miniſters of their own death. Upon his dead body *Ptolemy* was bold to ſhew his indignation: and ſlew his Mother and Children, that had been ſent thither, as Hoſtages, together with the Wives of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending upon the old Queen. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*, a generous Prince, but Son of *Leonidas*, who had cauſed *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to ſuch a bloody end, as now befell his own Wife, Son, and Grand-children.

After the victory at *Sellaſia*: *Antigonus* without reſiſtance entred *Sparta*: wherein to never the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. He kindly intreated the Citizens, and left them to their own Laws and Government: tarryiug there no longer than two or three daies: after which he haſtned out of *Peloponneſus*, and never returned. The cauſe of his ſpeedy departure was an advertiſment that he received out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* over-ran and deſtroyed the Country. Had theſe news come a little ſooner, or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few daies longer, or at leaſt-wiſe tarried a few daies after the fight, in *Sparta*; the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon* would have ſtood, and perhaps have extended it ſelf over all *Greece*. But God had otherwiſe determined.

Antigonus fought a great battel with the *Illyrians*, and overcame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by over-ſtraining his voice; wherewith he brake a vein that bled inwardly, and in ſhort ſpace finiſhed his life, who was troubled before with a conſumption of the lungs. His Kingdom deſcended unto *Philip* the Son of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as alſo about the ſame time it was, that *Antiochus*, ſurnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolomy Philopater*, began to reign in *Aſia* and *Egypt*; Boyes all. Of theſe, *Ptolomey*, though old enough to love Harlots, when he firſt was King, yet continued a Boy all the ſeventeen years of his reign. The unripe age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*; bred ſuch inteſtine inconvenience to their Kingdoms, as is uſual in the minority of Princes: but their elder years brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; upon which occaſion, when it comes, we ſhall more ſeaſonably ſpeak of them, and of their Kingdoms, more at large.

§. VII.

How the Illyrians *infeſted the Coaſt of* Greece; *and how they were ſubdued by the* Romans

WHilſt things thus paſſed in *Greece*, and whilſt the *Carthaginians* were buſie in their conqueſt of *Spain*; the *Romans* had found themſelves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corſicans*, that were eaſily ſubdued at firſt, and eaſily vanquiſhed again, when they rebelled. They made alſo war with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little pain. With the *Gaules* they had much ado, that laſted not long; being rather, as *Livy* ſaith, a tumult than a war. So that by all theſe light exerciſes their valour was hardly kept from ruſt. How they got the Iſlands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, it hath been ſhewed before: of their dealings with the *Illyrians* and *Gaules*, it is not meet to be utterly ſilent. *Liv. lib. 21.*

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slavonia*; a troubleſome Nation, impatient of reſt, and continually making war for gain, without either regard of friend or foe. They were invited by *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, to help the *Mydionians* his friends, that were beſieged by the *Ætolians*, for that they refuſed to be of their ſociety. Before the *Illyrians* ſuccours came, the *Mydionians* were ſo far ſpent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the booty: the old Prætor, or chief Magiſtrate of their Nation, who was going out of his office, claiming to have the honour of the victory, and the diviſion of the ſpoyl to be referred unto him; for that he had in a manner brought the ſiege to an end, and won the Town: others, that were in hope to be choſen into the Office, contradicting this.

this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a petty strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in latter ages, who thought upon dividing the prey, before they had won the victories, which anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus, That the old and the new Prætor should be joyntly intituled in the victory, and have equal authority in distributing of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived and landed ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the *Ætolians*, and though good resistance was made, yet got the victory, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their own business, but stoutly sallied out of the Town. Many of the *Ætolians* were slain, more were taken, their Camp and all their baggage was lost: the *Illyrians* took the spoil, and went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophie, inscribing the names both of their old and new Magistrates (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The success of this voyage highly pleased *Agron* King of the *Illyrians*: not only in regard of the money, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance; or of the booty that was gotten; but for that having vanquished the stoutest of the *Greeks*, he found it not uneasie to enrich himself by setting upon the less warlike. For joy of this he feasted, and drank so immoderately, that he fell into a *Pleurisie*, which in few daies ended his life. His Kingdom, together with his great hopes, he left unto *Teuta* his wife.

Teuta gave her people free liberty to rob all sorts at Sea, making no difference between friend and foe; as if she had been sole Mistress of the salt Waters. She armed a fleet and sent it into *Greece*; willing her Captains to make war where they found advantage, without any further respect. These fell on the western coast of *Peloponnesus*; where they invaded the *Eleans*, and *Messanians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and stayed at the City of *Phœnice*, to take in victuals and other necessaries. There lay in *Phœnice* eight hundred *Gaules*, that having been Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Agrigentum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to do either, they nevertheless revolted, and were for their misdeeds disarmed and sent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by these *Epirots*, and trusted to lye in Garrison within their Town. The *Gaules* were soon grown acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phœnice*; which deserved none other, in trusting them. All *Epirus* was presently in arms, and hastned to drive out these unwelcome guests. But whilst the *Epirots* lay before the Town, there came news into their Camp, of another *Illyrian* Army, that was marching thitherward by Land, under one *Scerdilaidas*, whom Queen *Teuta* had sent to help his fellows. Upon this advertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonia*, to make good that Town, and the straights adjoyning, by which these new comers must enter into their Countrey; another part of them remains at *Phœnice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one nor the other speed well in their business. For *Scerdilaidas* found means to joyn with his fellows; and they that were besieged within *Phœnice*, sallied out of the Town, and gave such an overthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them despair of saving their Country, without great and speedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embassadours were sent to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*: craving their help, with very pitifull terms of intreaty. They obtained their suit; neither was it long, before an Army, sent by these two Nations, was ready in *Epirus* to present battel unto *Scerdilaidas*. But *Scerdilaidas* was called home by letters from *Teuta* the Queen, that signified a rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: so that he had no mind to put his forces to hazard, but offered composition, which was accepted. The agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ransome their Town, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart with all their booty and slaves. Having made this profitable and honourable bargain, the *Illyrians* returned into their own Country by Land, sending their booty away by Sea.

At their coming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voyage. For, in fulfilling the commandment of their Queen, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whiles they lay at *Phœnice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints made unto the *Roman* Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadours were sent to require of *Teuta*, that she should abstain from doing such injuries. These Embassadours found her very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that she had, in short

space

ſpace, tamed her rebells, and brought all to good order, ſave only the Town *Iſſa*, which her forces held ſtraightly beſieged. Swelling with this poſperity, ſhe could hardly afford a good look to the *Romans*, that found fault with her doings, and, calling them by a true name, *Piracy*, required amends. Yet when their ſpeech was ended, ſhe vouchſafed to tell them, That injury in publick ſhe would do them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their ſubjects to get commodity, how they beſt could by Sea. But (ſaid the younger of the two Embaſſadours) we *Romans* have a manner, and a very laudable one, to take revenge in publick, of thoſe private wrongs that are born out by publick authority: therefore we ſhall teach you, God willing, to reform your Kingly manners, and learn better of us. Theſe words the Queen took ſo impatiently, that no revenge could ſatisfie her, but the death of him that had ſpoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, ſhe cauſed him to be ſlain: as if that had been the way to ſet her heart at reſt; which was indeed the mean to diſquiet and afflict it ever after.

The *Romans*, provoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, conſiſting of two hundred ſail, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Poſthumus*. They trouble not themſelves any more with requiring ſatisfaction: for this injury is of ſuch nature, as muſt be requited with mortal war. It is indeed contrary to all humane Law, to uſe violence towards Embaſſadours: the reaſon and ground whereof, ſeems to be this; that ſince without mediation, there would never be an end of war and deſtruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a leſſon taught by Nature, that Embaſſadours ſhould paſs freely, and in ſafety, between enemies. Nevertheleſs, as I take it, this general Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State lay hold upon Embaſſadours ſent by their enemies, not unto themſelves, but unto ſome third, whom they ſhould draw into the quarrel; then it is as lawful to uſe violence to thoſe Embaſſadours (thus employed to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, and ſubjects of an enemy. And ſo might the *Athenians* have anſwered it when they ſlew the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadours, that were ſent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a war upon the *Athenians*. Neither are thoſe Embaſſadours, which practiſe againſt the perſon of that Prince, in whoſe Countries they reſide, warranted by any law whatſoever. For whereas the true office of an Embaſſadour reſiding, is the maintenance of amity; if it be not lawfull for one Prince to practice againſt the life of another; much leſs may an Embaſſadour do it without incurring juſtly the ſame danger to puniſhment, with other Traitors; in which caſe, his place gives him no priviledge at all. But we will leave this diſpute to the *Civilians*; and go on with the revenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the ſlaughter of their Embaſſadour *Coruncanus*.

The *Illyrian* Queen was ſecure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to ſtir againſt her. She was indeed in an errour, that hath undone many of all ſorts, greater and leſs than ſhe, both before and ſince: *Having more regard unto fame, than unto the ſubſtance of things*. The *Greeks* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the moſt warlike people in *Greece*; theſe had ſhe eaſily vanquiſhed, and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* ſhe ſhould be little troubled. Had ſhe conſidered that her whole Army, which wrought ſuch wonders in *Greece*; was not much greater than of ten thouſand men; and that nevertheleſs, it prevailed as much by odds of number, as by valour, or ſkill in arms; ſhe would have continued to uſe her advantage againſt thoſe that were of more fame than ſtrength, with ſuch good caution, that ſhe ſhould not have needed to oppoſe her late-gotten reputation, againſt thoſe that were more mighty than her ſelf. But ſhe was a woman, and did what ſhe liſted. She ſent forth a greater fleet than before, under *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commiſſion to take all that could be gotten. This fleet divided it ſelf, & one part of it fell with (a) *Dyrrachium*, the other with *Corcyra*. *Dyrrachium* was almoſt ſurpriſed by the *Illyrians*; yet was it reſcued by the ſtout Citizens. In (b) *Corcyra* the *Illyrians* landed, waſted the Iſle, and beſieged the Town. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Achæans* were called in to help; who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea: loſing, beſides others of leſs note, *Marcus Caryncnſis*, the firſt Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* ſucceeded. The Town of *Corcyra*, diſmayed with this overthrow, opened the gates unto *Demetrius Pharius*, who took poſſeſſion of it with an *Illyrian* Garriſon: ſending the reſt of his forces to beſiege *Dyrrachium*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Teuta* was angry with her Captain *Demetrius*: I know not why; but ſo as he reſolved to try any other courſe, rather than to truſt her.

(a) *Dyrrachium*, ſometime called *Epidamnus*, and now *Durazzo*, ſeated upon the *Adriatick* ſea, between the Iſlands of *Phoros* and *Corfu*.

(b) *Corcyra*, an Iſland of the *Adriatick* ſea, not far from *Durazzo*, called now *Corfu*, and in the poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*.

The *Romans* were even ready to put to

Sea, though uncertain which way to take, when advertisement was brought to *C. Fulvius* the Consul, of *Demetrius* his fear and discontent. Likely it was that such an occasion might greatly help to advance the business in hand. Wherefore the Consul sailed thither; where he found the Town of *Corcyra* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and submitted it self unto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the Consul sailed along the coast to (c) *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he used thenceforth as his Councellor and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Posthumus*, the other Consul, with the Land-Army, numbred at twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hastened towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but upon news of the *Roman* army they disperse themselves. From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by sea, take twenty of their ships, and enforce the Queen *Teuta* to forsake the coast, and to cover her self in *Rison* far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haste them homeward, and leave the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part staies behind, and prosecutes the war, in such sort, that *Teuta* was forced to beg peace; which she obtained upon miserable conditions; to wit, That she should quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth never send any of her ships of war towards the coasts of *Greece*, beyond the Island of *Lissa*: except it were some one or two vessels unarmed, and by way of Trade.

(c) *Apollonia*, a City near *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, upon the Sea coast. *Teuta* called in *Virgil*.

After this *Illyrian* war, the *Romans* sent Embassadours into divers parts of *Greece*, signifying their love to their Country, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made war with good success upon *Teuta*, and her people. They hoped, belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wise enough to play their own games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadours were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Isthmian* pastimes. This was an idle courtesie, but well meant by the vain *Greeks*, and therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* expedition got nothing in *Greece*, save a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

§. VIII.

Of the War between the Romans *and* Gauls, *somewhat before the coming of* Hannibal *into* Italy.

THe *Gaules* that dwelt in *Lombardy* were the next, against whom the *Romans* took Arms. These were a populous Nation, and often molested *Rome*; sometimes with their own forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good, when they took *Rome* and burnt it: though the issue of that war proved not answerable to the beginning, if we may give credit unto *Roman* Historians. In following times their success was variable, and commonly bad. Many overthrows they received; and if they got any victory, it yielded them no profit, but was soon extorted out of their hands. They were indeed more fierce than well advised: lightly stirred up to war, and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that was past, less than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: yet gave alwayes careful heed to their approach, were it only bruited. For the danger of them was sudden, and uncertain; by reason of their neighbourhood and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts upon *Rome* were called wars, but *tumultus Gallici*, *tumults of the Gaules*: and rightly. For they gave many alarums to *Italy*, and used to rise with great Armies, but after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion served to disperse them. Having received an overthrow, they would rest ten or twelve years, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they were stirred up again, by younger heads, unacquainted with the danger. Whilst they rested, the State of *Rome*, that against these made only defensive war, had leisure to grow, by setting upon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchy, which he intended to raise: that the *Gaules* never fell upon *Italy* with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous war. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilst *Pyrrhus* was travelling in the same enterprize: or in either of the two former *Punick* wars: it may be doubled what would have become of this Imperious City. But it seems that the *Gaules* had no better intelligence in the affairs of *Italy*, than strangers had in *Gaule*. At least, they knew not how to use their times: and were therefore like to smart, when-

whensoever the enemies, whom they had much provoked, and little hurt, should find leisure to visit them at their own home: which was now after the first *Punick* War. Once before this, the *Romans* had been bold to set upon the *Gauls* in their own Countrey: and that was three years before the coming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gauls*, invading *Hetruria*, and besieging *Arretium*, had won a great battel, and slain *L. Cælius*, with the most of his Army. *Mannius Curius* the new Consul, sent Embassadours to them, to treat about ransom of prisoners. But these Embassadours they slew. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it so well, that they expelled their *Senones* out of their Countrey, and sent a colony of their own to inhabit it. This caused the (*a*) *Boji*, another people of *Gaul*, to fear the like measure: who thereupon took arms, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their side. But the *Romans* overthrew them in two great battels; and thereby made them sue for peace, which lasted untill the end of this *Illyrian* war.

(*a*) There were divers Nations of the *Boji*, as in *Pannonia*, *Italy* in *Germany*, in *Bohemia*, in *France*, and in *Aquitaine*; but these *Boji* were of *French* race, and dwelt at this time about the mouth of the River *Po*.

It vexed the *Gauls* to see a *Roman* colony planted in their Countrey; who had been accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Transalpines* (so the *Romans* called those in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to us they were neerer; like as they called *Cisalpines*, or *by-hither the Alpes*, those who dwelt between them and the Mountains) to draw them to their party: reasonably presuming, that as their disjunction had caused their loss, so their union might recompence it, with large amends. But the business was so foolishly carryed, that the *Cisalpines* and *Transalpines* fell together by the ears, putting the *Romans* only to *a tumult*, without further trouble of war. Soon after, they were urged by a greater indignity, to go more substantially to work. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome* proposed a Decree, which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colony already planted in the territory of the *Senones*, as many more should be carried thither, as would serve to people the whole Country between *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating utterly those *Gauls*. Such an offer were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it self, would not over-joy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of *Rome* took this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger joyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had ever after their good will.

This dreadfull President extremely displeased the *Boji*; who being neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like displantation. And because the rest of the *Gauls* had reason to resolve, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Insubrians*, which inhabited the Dutchy of *Milan*, joyned with the *Boji*, and upon a common purse entertained the *Gessates*, Nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in these times. The *Gessates* having received a great impress, come to the field under the conduct of their Kings *Concolitanus* and *Anoroestus*: who with the *Boji*, and *Insubrians*, compound an Army of fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that ever invaded the *Roman* Territory; to whom the *Senogalli*, that had been beaten out of their possessions, gave a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the *Venetians*, and the (*b*) *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better believing in their prosperity and rising fortune. For fear of whose incursions therefore, the *Gauls* were forced to leave a good part of their Army, on the frontier of *Milan*: with the rest of their forces they entred into *Tuscane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, send *Æmilius* to *Rimine*, to stop their passage; and in the place of *C. Atilius* their other Consul, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of *Tuscane*.

(*b*) *Cenomanni* are the people about *Bergamo*, on the north side of the River *Po* in *Italy*. There were also of these *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Countrey of *Maine*.

Being at this time greatly troubled with the consideration of this powerfull Army, which the *Gauls* had assembled, they caused a view to be taken, as well of all their own forces, as of those of their Allies: who were no less willing than themselves, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their own destruction could not be prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserve to be recorded: because they set out the power of the *Romans* in those dayes. With the Consuls they sent forth to the war four Legions of their own: every Legion consisting of five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies thirteen thousand foot, and two hundred horse. There were also appointed for supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, which Army was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Umbri* and *Sarsinates*, which inhabited the *Apenines*, there were twenty thousand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomans*, other twenty thou-

ſand: which latter Armies were directed to invade the *Boji*, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the General Army of the *Gauls* ſhould be thereby greatly diminiſhed. There were beſides theſe, to be ready againſt all uncertain chances of war, thirty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, garriſoned in *Rome* it ſelf, of their own people; and of their Allies, thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. Over and above theſe great troops; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was ſent unto the Senate, there were numbred fourſcore thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe; in that of the *Samnites*, ſeventy thouſand foot, and of horſe ſeven thouſand; in that of the (g) *Iapyges* and *Meſſapyges*, fifty thouſand foot, and ſixteen thouſand horſe; the *Lucans* ſent a liſt of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; the (h) *Marſi*, (i) *Maruſini*, (k) *Ferrentani*, and the *Veſtini*, of twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. The *Romans* had alſo two Legions in *Sicil*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thouſand four hundred foot, and four hundred horſe. So as of the *Romans* and *Campanes* joyntly, reckoning men armed, and fit to bear arms, there were regiſtred two hundred and fifty thouſand foot; and of horſe three and twenty thouſand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and about ſix thouſand horſe. Caſting up the whole forces of all the Provinces in *Italy*, both of the *Romans* and their confederates, it amounted to ſeven hundred thouſand foot, and ſeventy thouſand horſe. But the number is ſomewhat miſ-caſt by *Polybius*; not with a purpoſe to inrich himſelf by the dead payes; for where he reckons nine hundred horſe too many, he falls ſhort nine thouſand two hundred of the foot.

(g) *Iapyges* and *Meſſapyges* ſeem to be one Nation; who are alſo called *Salentini*, *Peucetiani*, *Apuliani*, and *Calabrians*. The Country is now *Apulia*, containing the Northermoſt Lead-land of *Calabria*.

(h) A people of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

(i) *Ptolomy* calls them a people of *Italy*.

(k) A people of *Campania*, called to this day *Ferentino*, ſaith *Leander*.

How great ſoever this muſter was, it ſeems to have been like unto that, which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the twelfth invaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himſelf and his ſubjects he took a Roll of all perſons able to bear arms, within the Dutchy, though indeed he were never able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certain it is, that the battels of *Trebia*, *Thraſymene*, and *Cannæ*, did not conſume any ſuch proportion, as was anſwerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* fain to arm their ſlaves, even for want of other Souldiers, after their overthrow at *Cannæ*. Wherefore the marvel is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified with report of ſuch a multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helmets: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in general, as good fighting men, as elſewhere might be found.

Notwithſtanding all theſe counter preparations, the *Gauls* keep on their way: and entring into *Tuſcane*, deſtroy, and put to fire and ſword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to find the *Romans* rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence fails them. For the *Roman* Army, ſent into *Tuſcane*, having taken ſome other way than they did, and finding that it had miſſed of them, came again faſt after them, to arreſt them in their journey. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head: and in the ſame evening diſcovered the *Roman* Army, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparent neceſſity, that fight they muſt. Wherefore they helped themſelves with a ſtratagem, that ſhewed no great fineneſs of wit, but ſuch as well beſeemed thoſe that had none other occupation than war; and ſtood them in good ſtead at the preſent. In the dead of the night, they cauſe their foot to march away, but not far, leaving their horſe in guard; to whom they give order to come off at the firſt light of day, with ſuch a ſpeed, as might rather argue a running away, than a retreat; as if they had not dared to abide battell. The *Romans*, interpreting this their haſty departure, as the *Gauls* deſired they ſhould, follow them in diſorder. The *Gauls* return, charge them, and kill ſix thouſand upon the place; the reſt take a piece of ground of advantage, and defend themſelves, till *L. Æmilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their ſuccour. Upon the coming of the Conſul, the *Gauls* conſult, whether they ſhould give the *Romans* battel, or forbear. In which diſpute, *Aneroeſtus*, one of their Kings, perſwades them, rather to return into their own Countreys; where, after they had diſpoſed of the great ſpoils and riches which they had gotten, they ſhould then renew the war, being without carriage, peſter or other impediment. This advice they all embrace; for, ſeeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the ſpoils of their enemies, they thought it wiſdom, to hazard neither it, nor themſelves any further.

This indeed had been a good reſolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had been in ſight. But as well in the wars of theſe later ages, as in former times, it hath ever been found extream dangerous to make a retreat in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire, do often turn head;

head; yet in always going on from the purſuing enemy, they find within few miles, either ſtraight, hedge, ditch or place of diſadvantage, which they are inforced to paſs in diſorder. In ſuch caſes, the Souldier knows it as well as the Captain, that he which forſakes the field, perceives and fears ſome advantage of the Enemies. Fear, which is the betrayer of thoſe ſuccours that reaſon offereth, when it hath once poſſeſt the heart of man, it caſteth thence both courage and underſtanding. They that make retreat, are alwayes in fear to be abandoned; they that lead the way, fear to be ingaged: and ſo the hindmoſt treads on his heels that is foremoſt, and conſequently, all disband, run, and periſh, if thoſe that favour the retrait be not held to it by men of great courage. The miſerable overthrow that the *French* received in *Naples*, in the year 1503. upon a retreat made by the *Marqueſs* of *Sal*, doth teſtifie no leſs. For although a great troop of *French* horſe ſuſtained the purſuing Enemy a long time, and gave the foot leaſure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the *Spaniſh* foot overtook and defeated them utterly. During the wars between the *Imperials* and the *French*, *Boiſi* and *Mont* were loſt at *Brignolles*, who in a bravery would needs ſee the enemy, before they left the field. So was *Stroſi* overthrown by the *Marqueſs* of *Marignan*, becauſe he could not be perſwaded to diſlodge the night before the *Marqueſs* his arrivall. Therefore did the *French* King *Francis* the firſt wiſely: when without reſpect of *point of honour*, he diſlodged from before *Landerſey*, by night, as many other the moſt adviſed Captains, (not finding themſelves in caſe to give battel) have done. *Je ne trouve point* (ſaith the Marſhall *Monluc*) *ant fait des armes choſe ſi difficile, qu'unne retraitte; I find nothing in the art of war ſo difficult as to make a ſafe retreat.* A ſure rule it is that there is leſs diſhonour to diſlodge in the dark, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof *M. de la Noue* gives this judgement of a days retreat, made in *France*, preſently before the battel at *Moncountour*. For (ſaith he) ſtaying upon our reputation, in ſhew, *not to diſlodge by night*; we loſt our reputation indeed, by diſlodging by day: whereby we were forced to fight upon our diſadvantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that worthy Gentleman *Count Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, brother to the late famous *Prince of Orange*, make the retreat at *Moncountor* with ſo great reſolution, as he ſaved the one half of the *Proteſtant* Army, then broken and diſbanded; of which my ſelf was an eye-witneſs, and was one of them that had cauſe to thank him for it.

Now the *Gauls*, embracing the ſafe advice (as they take it) of one of their Kings, turn their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. *Æmilius* follows them as near as he can, without ingaging himſelf, attending his advantage. In the mean while, *C. Atilius* the other Conſul, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Piſa*; ſo as the *Gauls* incloſed between two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally ſtrengthen their Rear and Front. To ſuſtain *Æmilius*, they appoint the *Geſſates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front they range the *Piemontois*, and the reſt of the *Gauls* inhabiting upon the River of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* deſcribeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gauls* fell; and ſo did *Atilius* the Conſul: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gauls*, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroeſtus*; with forty thouſand of their Vaſſals.

After this fatal overthrow, the *Gauls* loſt courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italy*. For they were invaded the year following this overthrow, by the new Conſuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to uſe their victory: they gave not ten, twenty, or thirty years time to the *Gauls*, to repair their forces, as the *Gauls* had done to them. Theſe new Conſuls beat the *Boji*; but by reaſon of the great rains that fell, and the great peſtilence that reigned, they were compelled for that preſent to ſurceaſe. In the ſecond year, *Furius* and *Flaminius* invade the *Milanois*; and prevail very far, being ſtrongly aſſiſted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Venetians*. Nevertheleſs theſe Conſuls were revoked out of their Province, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to reſign their Office; becauſe the *Augures*, or *Soothſayers*, had found, that ſome token or other of the Birds (in which, and all ſorts of their divination, the *Romans* were extremely ſuperſtitious) had not only foreſhewed little good, when they were choſen, but had alſo nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiving letters of this revocation from the Senate, and being otherwiſe advertiſed of the contents, was not haſty to open them: but firſt gave battel unto the enemies, vanquiſhed them, and ſpoiled their Countrey; then peruſed the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, ſore againſt the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bear him out, for that he ſided in faction with the Commonalty, though a man of great Nobility.

This

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for dividing the Countrey of the *Senones* among the people of *Rome*. He was the first, or one of the first, that understanding the Majesty of *Rome* to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by a way of Delegacy, or grand Commission; did not stand highly upon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and use their power, over himself and his fellow Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the surer side, and found imitators, that rose by the same art, which in process of time, grew the only or chief way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being disposed, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of that year. The *Gauls* about this time desired peace; and were like to have obtained it: though the new Consuls were against it, as fearing to want work. But when thirty thousand of the *Gessates* following their King *Britomarus*, were come over the *Alpes*, and joyned with the *Insubrians*: all other discourse, than of present war, was at an end. So the Consuls hasted into their Province, where they besieged *Acerræ*, a Town not far from *Novarro* (so far had the *Romans* pierced already in the Dutchy of *Milan*.) To divert them from this siege, *Britomarus* sat down before *Clastidium*, a Town in the same Tract, with a great part of his forces: leaving the rest, with the *Insubrians*, to attend upon the Consuls at *Acerræ*, and to look to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not suffice, to make the *Romans* break up their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and six hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deal well enough with those at *Clastidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Consuls coming, and met him upon the way: so suddenly, that the *Romans* had no leisure to rest themselves after their journey, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein *Britomarus* had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a rash bravery, lost his game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number, both of horse and foot: but he thought so well of his own personal valour, that he rode out single before his Army, provoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no less daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slew and disarmed *Britomarus*, in the presence of both Armies: whereby his own men took such courage, and his enemies were so dismayed, that without much trouble of fight the *Romans* obtained a great Victory.

This was the third and last time, that ever any *Roman* General slew the General of the enemies, with his own hand. To this kind of victory, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Cossus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare say, that the two *Scipio*'s, and divers of the *Roman* Captains, especially *Cæsar*, were better men of war than any of these three; though they never offered up to *Jupiter*, *Opima spolia*, *The Armour of a General slain by themselves*, *when they were Generals*, nor perhaps affected so to do.

After this victory, *Acerræ* was yielded to the *Romans*; and *Milan* soon after: with all that belonged to the *Cisalpines*, or *Gauls*, that dwelt in *Lombardie*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had so many years vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the City it self, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territory possest by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their *Nation*, inhabiting *Italy*, so many as would not subject their necks to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon their Countreys, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountains, like Outlawes and Thieves. And thus did the *Romans* spend the three and twenty years following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed up the Temple of *Janus*: which they never did before, (it standing alwayes open, when they had any war) save once in the reign of *Numa*; nor in long time after, untill the reign of *Augustus*. But this their present happiness was not to last long: a dangerous War, and perhaps the greatest that had ever been, was to come unto their Gates; which being well ended, they might boldly undertake, to extend their Monarchy as far as their ambition could reach.

CHAP. III.

Of the ſecond Punick Warr.

§. I.

The Wars of Hannibal *in* Spain. *Quarrels between the* Romans *and* Carthaginians. Hannibal *beſiegeth and taketh* Saguntum, *whilſt the* Romans *are buſied with the* Illyrians. *War proclaimed between* Rome *and* Carthage.

HANNIBAL, the Son of *Amilcar*, was about ſix and twenty years old, when he was choſen General of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. He was elected by the Army, as ſoon as *Aſdrubal* was dead: and the election was ratified by the State of *Carthage*; wherewith *Hanno* and his Complices were nothing pleaſed. This was now the third of the *Barchine* family (ſo called of *Amilcar*, whoſe ſurname was *Barcas*) that had command in chief, over the men of war. Which honour would perhaps have been leſs envied by theſe domeſtical enemies, if the Alies and friends of the *Bachine* houſe, had not alſo born the whole ſway in Government, and been the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This general good will, as it was firſt purchaſed by the moſt worthy deſerts of *Amilcar* in ſaving his Country from imminent ruine, inlarging the Dominion thereof, and inriching it with treaſures and great revenues; ſo was it retained, by the ſame good Arts, among his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partiſans, being neither able to tax the vertue of their enemies, that was unreprovable; nor to perform the like ſervices unto the common-weal; had nothing left whereby to value themſelves, excepting the general reprehenſion of War, and cautelous advice of not provoking the *Romans*. This they ſeaſoned other-whiles with detraction; ſaying, that the *Barchine* faction went about to oppreſs the liberty of the City. But their malicious words were unregarded; and if it were factious, to bear ill-will to *Rome*, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no leſs *Barchine*, than *Hannibal* himſelf. For it was long ſince apparent, that the oath of the *Romans*, to the articles of peace, afforded no ſecurity to *Carthage*, were ſhe never ſo quiet, and officious; unleſs ſhe ſhould yield to become their ſubject. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than until the *Romans* could find ſome good advantage, to renew the war: it was rather deſired by the *Carthaginians*, that whileſt their owne ſtate was in good caſe, the war ſhould begin; than that in ſome unhappy time of famine or peſtilence, or after ſome great loſs of Army or Fleet, they ſhould be driven to yield unto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to give away baſely their lands and treaſures, as they had lately done; ot miſerably fight, upon terms of diſadvantage.

This diſpoſition of his Country-men, *Hannibal* well underſtood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time deviſed of this buſineſs) that in making war with the *Romans*, it was no ſmall advantage to get the ſtart of them. If once he could bring an Army into *Italy*, without moleſtation; there was good hope that he ſhould find friends and aſſiſtance, even of thoſe people, that helped to increaſe the *Roman* Armies in foreign wars. But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly diſputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad ſoever they would be, to hear that he had ſet the war on foot, would nevertheleſs be ſlow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterpriſes, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it ſhould happen, then were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted, not only with the generalities of his purpoſe, but with ſuch particulars as muſt be diſcourſed of, in procuring allowance to his deſign. This might ſuffice to diſorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he reſolved to lay ſiege unto *Saguntum*, which might ſeem not greatly to concern the *Romans*, and would highly pleaſe the *Carthaginians*, that had freſh in mind the indignity of that *Spaniſh* Towns alliance with her half friends. So ſhould he aſſay both the patience of his enemies, and the diſpoſition of his own Citizens.

Having

Having thus concluded, he nevertheleſs went fair and orderly to work: and beginning with thoſe that lay next in his way, approaching unto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (ſaith *Livie*) to give ſome colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the war againſt *Saguntum*, but had been drawn thither by courſe of buſineſs. Yet reaſon teacheth plainly, that without regard of ſuch formalities, it was needful to finiſh the conqueſt of the reſt, before he did any thing that ſhould provoke the *Romans*. Firſt therefore he entred upon the Territory of the * *Olcades*; and having beſieged *Althæa* (*Livie* called it *Carteia*) their chief City, he became, in a few daies, Maſter not only thereof, but of all the other Towns of their Country. This Nation which he firſt undertook, being ſubdued, and the winter at hand, he reſted his Army in new *Carthage*, or *Carthagena*; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the ſpoils he had gotten in his late Conqueſt.

In the Spring following, he purſued the war againſt the (*a*) *Vaccæi*; and without any great difficulty, wan firſt *Salmantica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, (*b*) *Arbucala*, by aſſault: though not without a long ſiege, and great difficulty. But in his return, he was put to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martial judgment. For all ſuch of the *Vaccæi*, as were able to bear arms, being made deſperate by the ſpoil of their Country, with thoſe of *Salamanca*, and of the *Olcades*, that had eſcaped in the late overthrow, joyning themſelves with the *Toletans*; compounded an Army of an hundred thouſand able men: and ſtayed *Hannibal* on the banks of the River *Tagus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Lisborn* in *Portugal*. Theſe four Nations, having had experience of *Hannibals* invincible courage, and that he never ſaw enemy, upon whom he durſt not give charge; were throughly reſolved, that his natural valour would at this time no leſs neglected the cold advice of diſcretion, than at other times it had ſeemed to do, when the like great occaſion perſwaded him to uſe it. But he that makes himſelf a body of Cryſtal, that all men may look thorow him, and diſcern all the parts of his diſpoſition, makes himſelf (withall) an Aſs: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or drive him. Wiſe men, though they have ſingle hearts in all that is juſt and vertuous; yet they are like Coffers with double bottoms: which when others look into, being opened, they ſee not all that they hold, on the ſudden, and at once. It is true, that this ſubtle *Carthaginian*, when he ſerved under *Aſdrubal*, was, of all the men of mark in the Army, the moſt adventrous, but that which may beſeem a Captain, or inferiour Commander, doth not alwayes become a Chief; though it hath ſomtime ſucceeded well with ſuch great ones, as have been found more fortunate than wiſe. At this time, our great Man of war knew as well how to diſſemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himſelf from the River-ſide, as if fearfull to foord it; thereby to draw over that great multitude from their banks of advantage. The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in ſuch ſort, as *Hannibal* deſired that they ſhould thruſt themſelves in fury and diſorder, into the ſwift ſtream, with a purpoſe to charge the *Carthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for fear) the defences on the contrary ſide. But when *Hannibal* ſaw them in their way, and well-near over; he turned back his Elephants to entertain them at their landing: and thruſt his Horſe-men, both above and beneath them, into the River, Theſe carrying a kind of *Lance de Gay*, ſharp at both ends, which they held in the midſt of the ſtaff; had ſuch an advantage over the foot, that were in the River, under their ſtrokes, clattered together, and unable to move or ſhift their bodies, as on firm ground, that they ſlew all thoſe (in a manner) without reſiſtance, which were already entered into the water; and purſued the reſt, that fled like men amazed, with ſo great a ſlaugher, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard*, on that ſide the River of *Iberus*, (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift up their hands againſt the *Carthaginians*.

The *Saguntines* perceiving the danger towards them, cryed before they were hurt. They ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, and bemoaned themſelves, as likely to ſuffer that, which afterwards they ſuffered indeed; only becauſe of their alliance and friendſhip with this honourable City, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This tale moved the Senate, but much more a report, that *Saguntum* was already beſieged. Hereupon ſome cry out, that War ſhould be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as alſo that the two Conſuls ſhould be ſent with Armies, the one into *Spain*, the other into *Africk*. But others went more *Roman*-like to work, and carried it. So it was only concluded; that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent into *Spain*, to view the ſtate of their confederates: which were indeed none other than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended war againſt *Rome*, it was likely that he ſhould give them, ere it were long,

* A people (ſaith Strabo) near the River of *Iberus*. But in the old deſcription of Spain, Carteia, they are found near Tagus, and by Sudias, not far from New Carthage.

(*a*) A people on Calis the Old.

(*b*) *Arbucala*, or *Arbacala*, an inland City of the *Vaccæi* in Spain.

long, a more plauſible occaſion to take Arms againſt him: if he had no ſuch purpoſe, yet would it be in their power to determine what they liſted themſelves, upon the report of theſe Embaſſadours; and this their gravity, in being not too raſh at firſt, would ſerve to countenance their following Decree. Of theſe Embaſſadours *Livie* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where alſo they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius* an Hiſtorian of ſincerity leſs queſtionable, tells, that they found him at *Carthagena*, and had conference with him, though ſuch as left them doubtful. This is more agreeable to the reſt of *Hannibal* his whole courſe. And ſurely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* ſhould afterwards admit a more peremptory Embaſſage (as *Livie* confeſſeth) and fall to diſputation about the covenants of Peace; if they had rejected that which was ſent, upon none other pretence than prevention of war.

Whileſt the Embaſſadours paſſed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not only his forces, but ſome *Roman* pretences, againſt *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that ſhould do as the *Mamertines* in *Sicil* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his help againſt the *Saguntines*. Theſe were the *Turdetani*, a Nation adjoyning to *Saguntum*, and having many quarrels with them. (as happens commonly among neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himſelf hatched ſome. Finding therefore ſuch an occaſion, whatſoever it was, as made him able to ſay, that the *Saguntines* had firſt provoked him, ere he medled with them; he made no more ado, but ſate down with his whole power before their Town. He was now more ſecure, than he had formerly been of his own Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embaſſadours, with any trembling reverence, as of late years they had been wont. Nevertheleſs, he was glad of any handſome colour, to ſhadow his actions: not only becauſe the War, which he ſo much deſired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his courſe, as an open enemy, before he could ſet foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrary deſire. They were glad of the quarrel; as hoping that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, ſhould thereby in ſhort ſpace become their own. Yet were they not haſty to threaten, before they were ready to ſtrike; but meant to temporize, until they had an Army in readineſs to be ſent into *Spain*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the ſeat of the War.

In the mean while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King over a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled againſt them: either for that he found himſelf overſtraightly tyed up by them, with hard conditions; or rather becauſe he was of an unthankful diſpoſition. The commotion of the *Gauls*, and afterward the fame of the *Carthaginian* war, emboldened him to deſpiſe his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perils, even with the hazard of his whole eſtate, which he had received of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queen; and therefore dealt according to his kind, with thoſe that had rewarded him for being ſuch. Firſt, he built ſhips, and ſpoiled the Iſles of *Greece*; againſt the covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and ſeiſed upon ſome places, that the *Romans* kept in their own hands. If he had begun ſooner, or rather if he had ſtayed ſomewhat longer, he might have ſped better. For the buſineſs with the *Gauls* was ended; with *Hannibal*, not throughly begun, when he declared himſelf by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquiſhed. The *Roman* Conſul, *Æmilius*, was ſent againſt him: who in ſeven daies wan the ſtrong Town of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought ſuch terrour upon the Country round about, that Embaſſadours were ſent from all places, to yield themſelves, without putting him to further pains. Only the City of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to reſiſt: which he might have done long, if the hot-headed Rebel had not been too fooliſh. *Æmilius* landed a great part of his Army in the Iſle of *Pharus*, by night; and beſtowed them in covert, preſenting himſelf the next morning with twenty ſhips before the Town, and offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his power iſſued out againſt the Conſul, and was ſoon intercluded from the Town, by thoſe that lay in ambuſh. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a Greek, where he had ſhipping ready for him, and imbarqued himſelf: leaving all his eſtate unto them, of whoſe liberality he firſt had it.

This buſineſs, though it were ſoon diſpatched, yet prevented it not the ſiege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* ſate down, ere *Æmilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the ſiege, the *Carthaginians* were much diſcouraged, by reaſon of the brave ſallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their General received a dangerous wound in the thigh, that cauſed him to lye many daies unable to move. Nevertheleſs, he was not unmindfull of his work in the

mean while; but gave order to raiſe certain movable Towers, that might equal thoſe which were built on the walls of the City; and to prepare to batter the curtains, and make a breach. Theſe being finiſhed and applied, had ſoon wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot aſſault was given: but it was ſo well ſuſtained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the breach, and out of ſome ground within the Town, which upon the firſt fury they had won; but they were purſued even to their own trenches and camp. Nevertheleſs the *Carthaginian* Army, wherein were about an hundred and fifty thouſand men, did ſo weary the Towns-men with continual travel, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindred from taking full poſſeſſion of the City, by ſome counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were alſo ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conveyed himſelf out of the Town, to treat with *Hannibal* for ſome accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered were ſo ſevere, and without all compaſs of honour, as *Alcon* durſt not return to propound them to his Countrymen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had, gold, ſilver, plate, and other riches within the City: yea, the City it ſelf to be abandoned by the Citizens; promiſing, that he would aſſign ſome other place for their habitation: not allowing them to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to ſuſtain themſelves, than the cloaths on their backs; or other arms, to defend them, than their nails and teeth. Yet might they far better have ſubmitted themſelves unto this miſerable appointment, (ſeeing thereby they might have injoyed their lives, and ſaved the honour of their wives and daughters) than to have reſted at the diſcretion of the Conquerour, as ſoon after they did: by whom their wives and daughters were deflowred before their own faces; and all put to ſword, that were above fourteen years of age. For it was a poor comfort, which a great number of them took; when not daring to fight, and ſell their blood at the deareſt rate, they ſhut themſelves up like moſt wretched creatures in their own houſes, and therein burnt themſelves with all that they had: ſo dying unrevenged. The treaſures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept wherewith to pay his Army: the ſlaves and other booty, he divided among his Souldiers, reſerving ſome things of choice, wherewith to preſent his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them unto the War.

Theſe tydings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*, who had good cauſe to be angry at their own ſlowneſs, in forbearing to ſend help unto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight months, looking ſtill for ſuccour, but in vain. Wherefore they determined to repair their honour, by taking ſharp revenge. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours again to *Carthage:* demanding only, *Whether it were by general conſent and allowance of the* Carthaginians, *that* Hannibal *had made war upon* Saguntum: which if they granted (as it ſeemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto anſwer was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect; That this their ſecond Embaſſage, howſoever qualified with mild words, was indeed more inſolent than the former. For in that, they only required juſtice againſt *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Common-wealth of *Carthage*, was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (ſaid the *Carthaginian* ſpeaker) whether the General of our Army in *Spain*, in beſieging *Saguntum*, have only followed his own counſel; or whether he did it, by direction from us: it is not the queſtion which the *Romans* ought to aſk us. That which is indeed worthy examination or diſpute, is; *Whether it were lawful or unlawful for* Hannibal *to do as he hath done.* For it belongs to us, to call our own Commanders in queſtion, and to puniſh them according to their faults and errours; to you, to challenge us, if we have done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Lutatius* the Conſul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no diſpute. As touching the laſt agreement between you and *Aſdrubal*, wherein you will ſay that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught us how to anſwer that particular. For whatſoever you found in the Treaty between us and *Lutatius*, to your own diſadvantage, you caſt it upon your Conſuls preſumption as promiſing thoſe things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and people of *Rome.* If then it be lawfull for the *Romans*, to diſavow the actions of their Conſuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctual and preciſe warrant; the ſame liberty may we alſo aſſume, and hold our ſelves no way bound in honour to perform thoſe bargains which *Aſdrubal* hath made for

for us, without our commandment and conſent.

This was an impertinent anſwer, and little better than a meer cavil. For *Lutatius* the Conſul, in his Treaty of Peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expreſly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had been therefore much better to have dealt plainly, and to have alledged, That after this League was made and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Ile of *Sardinia*, and withall of twelve hundred talents: which perjury the State of *Carthage*, being now grown able, would revenge with open War. As for the *Saguntines*, it little ſkilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacy, and forthwith inſerted their names into the Treaty of Peace with *Aſdrubal*: ſeeing that the Treaty with *Aſdrubal*, and all other buſineſs between *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of Peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than *Roman* injuries, as implying this commination, *Do whatſoever we require; elſe will we make War, without regard of our oath, which we have already broken.*

But this the *Carthaginians* did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the beſt of their Plea. Yet ſince *Livie* himſelf doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the ſpirit of *Amilcar* with deſire of revenge: we may reaſonably think, that the mention of this injury was omitted, not ſo much upon forgetfulneſs, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up ſuch ancient matter of quarrel, to ſhew that the war, now towards, had long been thought upon, and like to be made with extraordinary force, in other manner than heretofore. In concluſion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moved the *Roman* Embaſſadours, to deliver unto them in plain terms the purpoſes of thoſe that ſent them, and the worſt of that, which they had long determined againſt them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; thoſe were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering up the ſkirt of his gown, as if ſomewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made this ſhort reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown-ſkirt both Peace and War: make you (my Maſters of the Senate) election of theſe two, which of them you like beſt, and purpoſe to imbrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Even which of them you your ſelf have a fancy to offer us. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the War, and ſhare it among you: Which the aſſembly willingly accepted.

This was plain dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had reſolved to make War, it was meerly frivolous. For all theſe diſputes of breach of Peace, have ever been maintained by the party unwilling, or unable to ſuſtain the War. The ruſty ſword, and the empty purſe, do alwayes plead performance of covenants. There have been few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwiſe underſtood the obligation of a Treaty, than with the condition of their own advantage: and commonly (ſeeing Peace between ambitious Princes and States, is but a kind of breathing) the beſt adviſed have rather begun with the ſword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henry* the ſecond of *France*, with the Imperials, when he wrote to *Briſac*, to ſurpriſe as many places as he could, ere the War brake out; *Don John*, with the Netherlands; and *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*, with the *Engliſh*, when in the great *Imbarge* he took all our ſhips and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, beſides the preſent ſtrength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries received from theſe enemies, had another private and hereditary deſire, that violently carryed him againſt the *Romans*. His Father *Amilcar*, at what time he did ſacrifice, being ready to take his journey into *Spain*, had ſolemnly bound him by oath, to purſue them with immortal hatred, and to work them all poſſible miſchief, as ſoon as he ſhould be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine years old, when his Father cauſed him to lay his hand upon the Altar, and make this vow: ſo that it was no marvel, if the impreſſion were ſtrong in him.

That it is inhumane to bequeath hatred in this ſort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denyed. Yet for mine own part, I do not much doubt, but that ſome of thoſe Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge of their Predeceſſors, that as ſoon as their coffers ſhall be full, they ſhall declare themſelves enemies to the people of *England*.

§. II.

Hannibal *takes order for the defence of* Spain, *and* Africk. *His Journey into* Italy.

WArr being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* reſolved not to put up his ſword which he had drawn againſt the *Saguntines*,

untill he had therewith opened his paſſage unto the gates of *Rome*. So began the ſecond Punick War; ſecond to none that ever the Senate and people of *Rome* ſuſtained. *Hannibal* wintred at *Carthagena*; where he licenſed his *Spaniſh* Souldiers to viſit their friends, and refreſh themſelves againſt the Spring. In the mean while he gave inſtructions to his Brother *Aſdrubal* for the Government of *Spain* in his abſence. He alſo took order, to ſend a great many troops of *Spaniards* into *Africk*, to equal the number of *Africans* formerly drawn thence into *Spain*; to the end, that ſo the one Nation might remain as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he tranſported into *Africk* thirteen thouſand, eight hundred and fifty foot, and twelve hundred horſe; alſo eight hundred ſlingers of the * *Baleares*. Beſides theſe, he ſelected four thouſand foot, all young men, and of quality, out of the beſt Cities of *Spain*; which he appointed to be garriſoned in *Carthage* it ſelf, not ſo much in regard of their forces, as that they might ſerve for hoſtages: for among thoſe four thouſand, the beſt of the *Spaniſh* Citizens, and thoſe that ſwayed moſt in their ſeveral States, had their Sons or Kinſmen. He alſo left with his Brother, to guard the Coaſts and Ports, fifty and ſeven Gallies; whereof thirty ſeven were preſently armed, and appointed for the war. Of *Africans* and other Nations, ſtrangers, he left with him above twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, beſides one and twenty Elephants.

* *Majorca, & Minorca.*

Having in this ſort taken order for the defence of *Spain* and *Africk*; he ſent diſcoverers before him, to view the Paſſages of the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, and of the *Alps*. He alſo ſent Embaſſadours to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gauls*, to obtain a quiet paſſage: that he might bring his Army entire into *Italy*, and not be compelled to diminiſh his force, by any War in the way, till he came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embaſſadours and Diſcoverers being returned with good ſatisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he paſt over the River of *Iberus*, with an Army conſiſting of fourſcore and ten thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. All thoſe parts of *Spain*, into which he had not entred before, he now ſubdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemy of his houſe, who ſate ſtill at *Carthage*) to govern *Spain* on the Eaſt ſide of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Army of ten thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe. Being arrived at the borders of *Spain*, ſome of his *Spaniſh* Souldiers returned home, without aſking leave: which that others might not alſo do, or attempt, he courteouſly diſmiſſed many more that ſeemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to paſs, that the Journey ſeemed the leſs tedious unto thoſe that accompanied him, as being not enforced by compulſion. With the reſt of his Army, conſiſting now but of fifty thouſand foot, and nine thouſand horſe, he paſt the *Pyrenes*, and entred into *Gaul*. He found the *Gauls* that bordered upon *Spain*, ready in Arms to forbid his entrance into their Countrey: but won them with gentle ſpeech, and rich preſents that he beſtowed upon their Leaders, to favour his Expedition. So without any moleſtation, he came to the bank of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each ſide of the River, a people called *Volcæ*. Theſe were unacquainted with the cauſe of his coming; and therefore ſought to keep him from paſſing over the water. But he was greatly aſſiſted by ſome of thoſe *Gauls*, that inhabited on the Weſt ſide of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by thoſe of *Vivaretz* and *Lyonnois*. For although many of them had tranſported themſelves and their goods, into the Country of *Dauphine*, thinking to defend the further bank againſt him: yet ſuch as remained, being very deſirous to free their Countrey of ſo many ill gueſts, were better pleaſed to have their Countrey-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their own ſtore of corn and cattel waſted, by the long ſtay of ſo great an Army, as lay upon them. For which reaſon, they helped him to make boats; informed him of another more eaſie paſſage, higher up the River; and lent him guides. When the Veſſels for tranſportation of his Army were in readineſs; he ſent *Hanno*, the Son of *Bomilcar*, up the River: himſelf in the mean while making countenance to enter the Foord below. The end of this labour, was, that *Hanno* charging the *Gaules* unawares upon their own ſide, and *Hannibal*, at the ſame time, paſſing the River in their faces, the further bank was won, though with ſome difficulty; and the enemies diſperſed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying over his Elephants; who marvellouſly feared the water. He was therefore driven to make raffs of trees, and cover them with Earth and Turf; whereof he faſtned one to each bank, that might ſerve as a bridge, to and from another of the ſame ſort, but looſe upon which the beaſts were towed over.

Having paſt this firſt brunt, and overcome both the rage of the River, and of thoſe that defended it, he was viſited by the Princes of the *Gauls Ciſalpiñes*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Milan*, who lately had revolted from

from the *Romans*. Theſe informed him of the paſſages of the *Alps*; that they were not ſo difficult, as common report made them; and from theſe he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithſtanding, he found himſelf extreamly incombred by the *Savoyans*; and loſt, both of his carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he ſhould. For he was twice mainly aſſailed by them, before he could recover the plain Countreys on the other ſide. And whereas his Journey over the Mountains coſt him fifteen dayes travel, he was every day, more or leſs, not only charged by thoſe Mountainers, but withall extreamly beaten with grievous weather and ſnow: it being the beginning of Winter, when he began, and overcame this paſſage. But the fair and fertile Plains, which were now ready to receive them; with the aſſiſtance and conduct of the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, who by their proper forces had ſo often invaded the *Roman* Territory; gave them great comfort and encouragement to go on: having nothing elſe of difficulty remaining, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to overcome, by their proper valour and reſolution; namely, the *Roman* Armies, and reſiſtance.

§. III.

How the Romans *in vain ſolicited the* Spaniards *and* Gauls *to take their part. The Rebellion of the* Ciſalpine-Gauls *againſt the* Romans.

THE Countries of *Spain* and *Gaul*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus far, had been ſolicited before, by the ſame *Roman* Embaſſadours, who had denounced the war at *Carthage*. Theſe, as they were inſtructed by the Senate, took *Spain* in their way home-ward from *Carthage*, with a purpoſe to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at leaſt to diſſwade them from contracting any friendſhip with the *Carthaginians*. The firſt which they attempted were the *Volcians*, a people in *Spain*, from whom, in open aſſembly, they received by one that ſpake for the reſt, this uncomfortable anſwer: With what face (ſaith he) can ye *Romans* perſwade us to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*; ſeeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wiſe than ſo? For they, relying on your faith and promiſed aſſiſtance, have been utterly rooted out, and deſtroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they might elſe have held their aſſured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of *Spain* have found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this reſolution from us, That for our parts (and ſo I think, I may anſwer for the reſt of our Country-men) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindneſs at our hands; who are reſolved, never to make account of their protection, nor amity. From the *Volcians*, the Embaſſadours took their way towards the *Gauls*; uſing their beſt arguments to perſwade them not to ſuffer the *Carthaginians* to paſs into *Italy*, thorow their Territory: and withall greatly glorifying themſelves, their ſtrength, and large Dominion. But the *Gauls* laught them to ſcorn, and had hardly the patience to hear them ſpeak. For ſhall we (ſaid one of their Princes) by reſiſting *Hannibals* paſſage into *Italy*, entertain a war which is not meant to be made againſt us? Shall we hold the war among our ſelves, and in our own Territory, by force which marcheth with a ſpeedy pace from us, toward our ancient enemies? Have the *Romans* deſerved ſo well of us, and the *Carthaginians* ſo ill, that we ſhould ſet fire on our own houſes, to ſave theirs from burning? No, we know it well, that the *Romans* have already forced ſome Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and inheritance: and conſtrained others, as free as themſelves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our enemies, who have no way as yet offended us, nor we them.

With this unpleaſing anſwer the Embaſſadours returned home, carrying no good news, of friends likely to help them; but rather ſome aſſurance from the people of *Maſſilia*, which were confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gauls* were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the *Ciſalpine Gauls* gave haſty proof. For when the news was brought into *Italy*, that the *Carthaginians* had paſſed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone ſufficed to ſtir up the *Boji*, and *Inſubrians*, againſt the *Romans*. Theſe people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Roman* Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore upon the *Carthaginian* ſuccour, which they ſuppoſed to be now at hand; they laid aſide all regard of thoſe hoſtages, which they had given to the *Romans*, and fell upon the new Colonies. The Towns it ſeems they could not win; for *Hannibal* ſhortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commiſſioners

Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Country) to flye to *Modena*: where they besieged them. The siege of *Modena* had continued some small time; when the *Gaules*, having little skill in assaulting Cities, waxed weary, and seemed desirous to have peace, and to come to some good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand upon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeem their Hostages in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the *Romans* sent out Embassadours to treat with them, and to conclude a Peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in these quarters with an Army, hearing this outrage; marched in all haste to the relief of the besieged. But the *Gaules*, having laid a strong ambush in a wood joyning to the way, fell upon the Prætor so opportunely, as he was utterly overthrown, and all his followers left dead in the place, a few excepted, that recovered, by fast running to a little village, but defensible; upon the River of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, *C. Attilius*, another of the Prætors, was hastily sent to relieve the besieged with a Legion, and five thousand of the *Roman* associates: which forces were taken out of the Consuls Army, and supplyed by a new levy.

As the *Gaules* were too rash and hasty; so were the *Romans* too slow, and indeed too ill-advised, in the beginning of this war. They were not perswaded that *Carthage*, which had almost servilely endured so many indignities in time of the late peace; would be so brave and couragious on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of *Italy* it self. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls to make war in *Spain*, the other in *Africk*: resting secure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* took his way toward *Africk*, with an hundred and sixty *Quinqueremes*, or Gallies of five to an Oar, which preparation may seem to threaten even the City of *Carthage*, to which it shall not come near. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Consul, made all possible haste, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Provence*; and used such diligence, having the wind also favourable, as in five dayes he recovered *Massilia*. There he was advertised of *Hannibal* his having passed the River of *Rhodanus*, whom he thought to have found busie yet a while in *Spain*. *Hannibal* had also news of the Consuls arrival: whereof he was neither glad, nor sorry, as not meaning to have to do with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts to discover the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about five hundred *Numidians*; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horse. These met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten: yet could not the *Romans* greatly brag, having slain only two hundred, and lost of their own, one hundred and forty. But when *Scipio* drew near, to have met with the *Carthaginians*; he found, that they were gone three dayes before; and that (as he then found assuredly true) with an intent to look upon the walls of *Rome*. This interrupted his intended Voyage into *Spain*. Nevertheless he sent away thither his Brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Army, to try what might be done against *Asdrubal*, and the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in the Country. He himself, taking with him a few choise bands, returned by Sea to *Pisa*; and so passing thorow *Tuscane* into *Lumbardie*, drew together the broken troops of *Manlius* and *Atilius* that lately had been beaten by the *Gaules*: with which forces he made head against the enemy, thinking to find him over-laboured, with travel of his painful Journey.

§. IV.

Scipio *the* Roman *Consul overcome by* Hannibal *at* Ticinum. *Both of the* Roman *Consuls beaten by* Hannibal, *in a great battel at* Trebia.

FIve Months *Hannibal* had spent in his tedious Journey from *Carthagena*; what great muster he could make, when he had passed the *Alpes*, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foot at an hundred thousand, and his horse at twenty thousand; others report them to have been only twenty thousand foot, and six hundred horse. *Hannibal* himself in his monument which he raised, in the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter summ. Yet the *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, and others that joyned with him, are likely to have mightily increased his Army, in short space. But when he marched Eastward from the banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; of which, all save those remembred by himself in the Inscription of his Altar in *Juno*'s Temple, are like to have perished by diseases, enemies, Rivers and Mountains; which mischiefs had devoured, each their several shares.

Having newly passed the *Alpes*, and scarce refreshed his wearied Army in the Country of *Piemont*; he sought to win the friendship of

(a) Theſe dwelt about Turin, a goodly City, now ſubject unto the Duke of Savoy: which from them took the name of Agoſta Taurino-rum.

of the (a) *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held war at that time with the *Inſubrians*, which were his good friends; and refuſed (perhaps for the ſame cauſe) his amity. Wherefore he aſſaulted their Town; and wan it by force in three daies. Their ſpoil ſerved well to hearten his Army; and their calamity, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the *Gauls*, without more ado, fell unto his ſide: many for fear, many alſo for good-will, according to their former inclination. This diſpoſition ran thorow the whole Country: which joyned, or was all in readineſs to joyn with the *Carthaginians*; when the news of *Scipio* the Conſul his arrival, made ſome to be more adviſed than the reſt. The name of the *Romans* was terrible in thoſe quarters; what was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* Conſul was already gotten thorow the moſt defenſible paſſages, ere any ſpeech had been heard of his approach: many ſate ſtill for very fear, who elſe would fain have concluded a League with theſe new-come friends; and ſome, for greater fear, offered their ſervice againſt the *Carthaginians*, whom nevertheleſs they had wiſhed well to ſpeed.

This wavering affection of the Province, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals haſten to the tryal of a battail. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondred at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it ſtrange that the Conſul, whom he had left behind him on the other ſide of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himſelf in the Plains; *Scipio* admiring the ſtrange adventure of paſſing thoſe Mountains, and the great ſpirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed at *Hannibals* ſucceſs, and ſudden arrival. Wherefore they diſpatched a Meſſenger in all haſte unto *Sempronius*, the other Conſul, that was then in *Sicily*, giving him to underſtand hereof: and letting him further know, that whereas he had been directed to make the war in *Africa*, it was now their pleaſure that he ſhould forbear to proſecute any ſuch attempt, but that he ſhould return the Army under his charge, with all poſſible ſpeed, to ſave *Italy* it ſelf. According to this order, *Sempronius* ſent off his Fleet from *Lilybæum*; with direction to land the Army at *Ariminum*, a Port Town not far from *Ravenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haſte. In the mean while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come ſo near, that fight they muſt, ere they could part aſunder. Hereupon both of them prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the beſt arguments they had: unto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetorick of a preſent example, that he ſhewed upon certain priſoners of the *Savoians*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpoſe, into *Italy*. For theſe, having been no leſs miſerably fettered and chained, than ſparingly fed; and withall ſo often ſcourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their deſire, than to be delivered from their miſeries by any kind of preſent death, were brought into the middle of the Army: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with ſome other of his Companions, till the one of them were ſlain, with condition, being the Victor, to receive his liberty, and ſome ſmall reward. This was no ſooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cauſe lots to be caſt, which of them ſhould enter the Liſt, with ſuch weapons, as the Chieftains of the *Gauls* were wont to uſe in ſingle combats. Every one of theſe unhappy men wiſhed, that his own lot might ſpeed; whereby it ſhould at leaſt be his good fortune, to end his miſeries by death, if not to get a reward by victory. That couple, whoſe good hap it was to be choſen, fought reſolvedly: as rather deſiring, than fearing death; and having none other hope, than in vanquiſhing. Thus were ſome few couples matched, it ſkilled not how equally: for all theſe poor creatures were willing, upon whatſoever uneven terms, to rid themſelves out of ſlavery. The ſame affection that was in theſe Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them, wrought alſo upon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the ſpectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by wining the victory had gotten his liberty, together with an horſe and armour: but even him alſo, who being ſlain in fight, had eſcaped that miſerable condition, unto which his Companions were returned. Their General perceiving what impreſſion this dumb ſhew had wrought in them, began to admoniſh them of their own condition, ſpeaking to this effect: That he had laid before them an example of their own eſtates: ſeeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to run the ſame fortune, that theſe ſlaves had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which theſe priſoners eſteemed far more grievous) to live in a perpetual ſlavery: That none of them all, in whom was common ſenſe, could promiſe to himſelf any hope of life by flight: ſince the Mountains, the Rivers, the great di-

ſtance

ſtance from their own Countries, and the purſuit of mercileſs Enemies, muſt needs retrench all ſuch impotent imaginations. He therefore prayed them to remember, that they, who had even now praiſed the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquiſhed, would make it their own caſe; ſeeing that there was never any in the world, appointed with ſuch a reſolution, that had ever been broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrary, he told them that the *Romans*, who were to fight upon their own ſoil, and in view of their own Towns; who knew as many waies to ſave themſelves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertain ſuch a reſolution as theirs: ſeeing the ſame Neceſſity, (to which nothing ſeems impoſſible) did no way preſs them, or conſtrain them. In this ſort did *Hannibal*, with one ſubſtantial Argument, *That there was no mean between Victory and Death*, encourage his Companions. For, (ſaith a great Captain of *France*) *La commodite de la retraitte advance la fuite*; *The commodity of a retrait, doth greatly advance a flat running away.*

Scipio on the other ſide, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge over the River of *Ticinus*, did not neglect to uſe the beſt arguments and reaſons he could, to encourage the Army he led: putting them in mind of the great conqueſts and victories of their Anceſtors; againſt how many Nations they had prevailed; and over how many Princes, their Enemies, had they triumphed. As for this Army commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late war they had ſo often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to conſider, that at this time it was not only ſo diminiſhed in numbers, as it rather ſeemed a troup of Brigants and Thieves, than an Army likely to encounter the *Romans*, but ſo weather-beaten, and ſtarved, as neither the men, nor horſes, had ſtrength or courage to ſuſtain the firſt charge that ſhould be given upon them. Nay (ſaid he) ye your ſelves may make judgment what daring they have now remaining, after ſo many travails and miſeries; ſeeing when they were in their beſt ſtrength, after they had paſt the *Roan*, their horſe-men were not only beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himſelf, fearing our approach, ran headlong towards the *Alps*: thinking it a leſs diſhonour to die there by froſt, famine, and preſſure, than by the ſharp ſwords of the *Romans*, which had ſo often cut down his people, both in *Africa*, and in *Sicil*. It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being far advanced before the groſs of his Army, with his Horſe; and the *Roman* having alſo with him ſome light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they diſcovered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* ſent before him his horſemen of the *Gauls*, to begin the fight, and beſtowing his Darters in the void ground between their troups, to aſſiſt them: himſelf with his *Roman* men at arms, followed ſoftly in good order. The *Gauls* (whether deſirous to try the metal of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get favour of the *Romans*) behaved themſelves couragiouſly, and were as couragiouſly oppoſed. Yet their foot that ſhould have aided them, ſhrank at the firſt brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without caſting a Dart; for fear of being trodden down by the enemies horſe. This notwithſtanding, the *Gauls* maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they received; as preſuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Conſul unmindful to relieve them: their hardineſs deſerving his aid; and the haſty flight of thoſe that ſhould have ſtood by them, admoniſhing him that it was needful. Wherefore he adventured himſelf ſo far, that he received a dangerous wound; and had been left in the place, if his Son (afterward ſurnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others give the honour of this reſcue to a *Ligurian* ſlave. Whilſt the *Romans* were buſied in helping their Conſul; an unexpected ſtorm came driving at their backs, and made them look about how to help themſelves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horſe, to give upon the *Romans* in flank, and to compaſs them about, whilſt he with his men at Arms ſuſtained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in pieces the ſcattered foot, that ran away at the firſt encounter; and then falling on the backs of thoſe, whoſe looks were faſtned upon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impreſſion, the *Romans* were ſhuffled together, and routed: ſo that they all betook them to their ſpeed, and left unto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* ſaw his horſemen thus beaten, and the reſt of his Army thereby greatly diſcouraged; he thought it a point of wiſdom, having loſt ſo many of his Fleet upon the firſt puff of the wind, to take Port with the reſt, before the extremeſt of the tempeſt overtook him. For he ſaw by the lowring morning what manner of day it was like

to

to prove. Therefore his battail of foot being yet unbroken, he in a manner ſtole the retrait; and recovered the Bridge over *Ticinus*, which he had formerly built. But notwithſtanding all the haſte that he made, he left ſix hundred of his Rear behinde him: who were the laſt that ſhould have paſſed, and ſtaid to break the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of War, *Si certamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitam miles arripiat fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda:* which muſt be underſtood in this ſort: *If a General of an Army, by ſome unproſperous beginnings doubt the ſucceſs; or find his Army fearful or wavering, it is more profitable to ſteal a ſafe retrait, than to abide the uncertain event of battail.*

It was two dayes after, ere *Hannibal* could paſs the River; *Scipio* the whileſt refreſhing his men, and eaſing himſelf of his wound in *Placentia*. But as ſoon as *Hannibal* preſented his Army before the Town, offering battail to the *Romans*, who durſt not accept it, nor iſſue forth of their Camp; the *Gauls*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for fear, gathered out of his fear, courage to forſake him. They thought that now the long-deſired time was come, in which better Chieftains and Souldiers, than *Aneroeſtus*, *Britomarus*, and *Geſſates*, were come to help them: if they had the hearts to help themſelves. Wherefore the ſame night they fell upon the *Roman* Camp; wounded and ſlew many eſpecially of thoſe guards that kept watch at the gate; with whoſe heads in their hands, they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, and preſented their ſervice. *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteouſly, and diſmiſt them to their own places: as men likely to be of more uſe to him, in perſwading the reſt of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other ſervice at the preſent.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Conſul ſtole a retrait, as he had done before; but not with the like eaſe and ſecurity. *Hannibal* had a good eye upon him, and ere he could get far, ſent the *Numidians* after him: following himſelf with all his Army. That night the *Romans* had received a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedy of ſpoil, had not ſtaid to ranſack their Camp: and thereby given time to all (ſave ſome few in Rear, that were ſlain or taken) to paſs the River of *Trebia*, and ſave themſelves. *Scipio*, being both unable to travel by reaſon of his wound, and withall, finding it expedient to attend the coming of his fellow-Conſul; incamps himſelf ſtrongly upon the banks of *Trebia*. Neceſſity required that he ſhould ſo do; yet this diminiſhed his reputation. For every day more and more of the *Gauls* fell to the *Carthaginian* ſide; among whom came in the *Boji*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commiſſioners, which they had taken in the late Inſurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redem their own hoſtages: but now they deliver them up to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whoſe help they conceived better hope of recovering their own men and lands. In the mean while, *Hannibal*, being in great ſcarcity of victuals, attempted the taking of *Claſtidium*, a Town wherein the *Romans* had laid up all their ſtore and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brunduſian*, whom the *Romans* had truſted with keeping it, ſold it for a little money.

The news of theſe diſaſters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, rather with a deſire of haſty revenge, than any great ſorrow for their loſs received; ſeeing that in a manner, all their Foot, wherein their ſtrength and hope conſiſted, were as yet entire. They therefore haſted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived, towards *Ariminum*, where the Army, by him ſent out of *Sicil*, awaited his coming. He therefore haſted thither; and from thence he marched ſpeedily towards his Colleague: who attended him upon the banks of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Conſuls deviſed about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* received from *Scipio* the relation of what had paſſed ſince *Hannibals* arrival; the fortune of the late fight; and by what errour or miſadventure the *Romans* were therein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the revolt and treaſon of the *Gauls*.

Sempronius, having received from *Scipio* the ſtate of the affairs in thoſe parts; ſought by all means to try his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchaſe to himſelf the ſole glory of the victory, which he had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. He alſo feared the election of the new Conſuls: his own time being well-near expired. But *Scipio* perſwaded the contrary; objecting the unſkilfulneſs of the new-come Souldiers: and withall, gave him good reaſon, to aſſure him that the *Gauls*, naturally unconſtant, were upon terms of abandoning the party of the *Carthaginians*; thoſe of them inhabiting between the rivers of *Trebia* and *Po*, being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio:* but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haſte to find out the diſhonour

which he might otherwise easily have avoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing so much as delay and loss of time. For the strength of his Army, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gauls*; he no less feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being far from their own home, had many passions moving them to turn their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time, the *Gauls*, inhabiting near unto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as he supposed that they might have done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at liberty, he had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his own Carver; and took from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they fly to the *Romans* for help: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to joyn with *Hannibal*. [illegible] cared not much for this: he suspected [illegible]hood, and was assured of their mu[illegible]g. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honour of *Rome*, to preserve their Confederates from suffering injury: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the *Gauls*. Therefore he sent out a thousand Horse: which coming unlooked for upon *Hannibal* his forragers, and finding them heavy loaden, cut many of them in pieces, and chased the rest even into their own Camp. This indignity made the *Carthaginians* sally out against them: who caused them to retire faster than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to back his own men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length all the *Roman* Army was drawn forth; and a battel ready to be fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This victory) for so the Consul would have it called) made the *Romans* in general desirous to try the main chance in open field: all the perswasions of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was advertised by the *Gauls*, his Spies, that were in the *Roman* Camp. Therefore he bethought himself how to help forward the victory by adding some stratagem to his forces: he found in the hollow of a watercourse, over-grown with high reed, a fit trench to cover an ambush. Therein he cast his brother *Mago* with a thousand choice Horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Army, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves in their Camp, he led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, he had sent over *Trebia* some companies of *Numidian* light-horse, to brave the enemy, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunity to fight: and therefore not only issued out of his Camp, but foorded the River of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arm-holes: which, together with the want of food, did so enfeeble and cool their courages, as they wanted force to handle the arms they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their own Nation, as of the *Latines*: having of the one sixteen, of the other twenty thousand. The mass of these they ranged in a gross Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse; thrusting their Light-armed, and Darters, in loose troops in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vantguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot were in a manner equal to their enemies; in horse they had by far the better, both in number and goodness. When therefore the *Roman* horse ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their foot, were charged both in front and flank, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and Elephants; when finally the whole Army was unawares prest in the Rear, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush; then fell the *Romans*, by heaps, under the enemies swords: and being beaten down, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the River, by the Horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of six and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errours *Sempronius* committed, of which every one deserved to be recompensed with the loss that followed. The first was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champain, being by far inferiour in Horse, and withall, thereby subject to the *African* Elephants, which in inclosed or un-even grounds & wood-lands, would have been of no use. His second errour was, that he made no discovery of the place upon which he fought; whereby he was grossly over-reacht, and insnared, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his footmen with empty stomacks, in the River of *Trebia*, even in a most cold and frosty day, whereby, in effect, they lost the use of their limbs. For, as one saith well, *There is nothing more inconvenient and perilous, than to present an Army tyred with travel, to*

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an enemy freſh and fed; ſince where the ſtrength of body faileth, the generoſity of mind is but as an unprofitable vapour.

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Army, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; ſtealing away the ſame night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*, who either perceived him not, becauſe of the ſhowrs; or would not perceive him, becauſe they were over-wearied. *Sempronius* eſcaped with extream danger, flying, through the Country that was over-run by the enemies horſe. He was attended by more than were requiſite in a ſecret flight; yet by fewer than could have made reſiſtance; if the enemy had met with him. Nevertheleſs he got away, and came to *Rome*; where he did his office in chuſing new Conſuls for the year following: and then returned into his Province, with a freſh ſupply againſt *Hannibal*.

§. V.

The departure of Hannibal *from the* Ciſalpine Gauls *into* Hetruria. Flaminius *the* Roman *Conſul ſlain, and his Army deſtroyed by the* Carthaginians, *at the Lake of* Thraſymene.

THE Winter growing on apace, was very ſharp, and unfit for ſervice: to the great contentment of the *Romans* who, being not able to keep the field, lay warm in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not ſuffer them to reſt very quiet; but vexed them with continual Alarms: aſſayled divers places, and taking ſome; beating the *Gauls* their adherents, and winning the *Ligurians* to his party, who preſented him, in token of their faithful love, with two *Roman* Queſtors, or Treaſurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, which they had intercepted. Theſe, and in general all ſuch priſoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in ſtraight places, loaden with Irons, and miſerably fed: thoſe of their followers he not only well intreated, but ſent them to their Countries without ranſome; with the proteſtation, That he therefore undertook the War in *Italy*, to free them from the oppreſſion of the *Romans*. By theſe means he hoped, and not in vain, to draw many of them to his party and aſſiſtance. But the *Gauls* were not capable of ſuch perſwaſions. They ſtood in fear, leſt he ſhould make their Country the ſeat of War, and perhaps take it from them. They were alſo more grieved than reaſon willed them, at his feeding upon them, and waſting their territory. Wherefore ſome of them conſpired againſt his life; others admoniſhed him of the danger: and theſe that gave him the advice, were ready ſoon after to practiſe againſt him; but were in like ſort detected. He was therefore glad to uſe Periwigs of hair, and falſe beards of divers colours; to the end that he might not be deſcryed, nor known, to thoſe that ſhould undertake to make him away. Fain he would have paſſed the *Appenines*, upon the firſt appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gauls*, till he had ſeen more ſwallows than one. At length, when the year was ſomwhat better opened, he reſolved to take his leave of theſe giddy companions and bring the war nearer to the gate of *Rome*. So away he went, having his Army greatly increaſed with *Ligurians* and *Gauls*; more ſerviceable friends abroad, than in their own Country. That the paſſage of the *Appenine* Mountains was troubleſome, I hold it needleſs to make any doubt. Yet ſince the *Roman* Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell upon *Hannibal*, when he was travelling thorow and over them, ought in reaſon to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes alwayes foul, than to any intollerable difficulty in that journey. Nevertheleſs, to avoid the length of war, together with the reſiſtance and fortifications which may not improbably be thought to have been erected upon the ordinary paſſages towards *Rome*: he choſe at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travel thorow the Fens and rotten grounds of *Tuſcane*. In thoſe Mariſhes, and bogs, he loſt all his Elephants, ſave one, together with the uſe of one of his eyes; by the moiſtneſs of the air, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading thorow deep mire and water. In brief, after he had, with much ado, recovered the firm and fertile Plains, he lodged about *Arretium*; where he ſomewhat refreſhed his wearied followers, and heard news of the *Roman* Conſuls.

C. Flaminius, and *Cn. Servilius* had of late been choſen Conſuls for this year: *Servilius* a tractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the Senate; *Flaminius* an hot-headed popular Orator; who having once been robbed (as he thought) of his Conſulſhip, by a device of the Senators, was afraid to be ſerved ſo again, unleſs he quickly finiſhed the war. This jealous Conſul thought it not beſt for him to be at *Rome*, when he entred into his Office, leſt his adverſaries, by feigning ſome religious impediment, ſhould

detain him within the City, or find other business for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour that he hoped to get in the war. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Town, and meant to take possession of his Office when the day came at *Ariminum*. The Fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, revoked him by Embassadors: but he neglected their injunction; and hastening to meet with the *Carthaginians*, took his way to *Aretium*, where he shortly found them.

The fiery disposition of this Consul, promised unto *Hannibal* great assurance of victory. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*; hoping thereby to draw him unto fight, ere *Servilius* came with the rest of the Army. All the Country between *Fesulæ* and *Aretium*, he put to fire and sword, even under the Consuls nose; which was enough to make him stir, that would not have sitten still, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true that a great Captain of *France* hath said; *Pays gaste n'est pas perdu*; *A wasted Country is not thereby lost*. But by this waste of the Country, *Flaminius* thought his own honour to be much impaired; and therefore advanced towards the Enemy. Many advised him (which had indeed been best) to have patience a while, and stay for his Colleague. But of this he could not abide to hear; saying, that he came not to defend *Aretium*, whilst the *Carthaginians* went burning down all *Italy* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore he took horse, and commanded the Army to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Ensigns stuck so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Ensign-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tully* makes a jest, saying, That the cowardly knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) having hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto: for he commanded that it should be digged up, if fear had made the hands too weak to lift it: asking withall, whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their jealousie, both he and the Senate that did give him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territory of *Cortona*, as far as to the lake of *Thrasymene*, was on a light fire; which while the Consul thought to quench with his enemies blood, he pursued *Hannibal* so unadvisedly, that he fell with his whole Army into an ambush cunningly laid for him between the Mountains of *Cortona* and the Lake. There was he charged unawares, on all sides, (save only where that great Lake of *Perusia*, permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from them) knowing not which way to turn, or make resistance. So was he slain in the place, accompanied with fifteen thousand dead carkasses of his Country-men. About six thousand of his men, that had the Vantguard, took courage, as for the most part it happens, out of desperation: and breaking thorow the enemies, that stood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountains. If these had returned, and given charge upon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered the fortune of the day. But that violence of their fear, which, kindled by necessity had wrought the effects of hardiness, was well asswaged, when they ceased to despair of saving their lives by flight. They stood still, in a cold sweat, upon the Hill-top, hearing under them a terrible noise, but not any way discovering how things went, because of the great fogg that held all that morning. When it grew toward noon, the Air was cleared, and they might plainly discern the lamentable slaughter of their fellows. But they staid not to lament it; for it was high time, they thought, to be gone ere they were descryed and attached by the enemies horse. This they should have thought upon sooner, since they had no mind to return into the fight. For, descryed they were, and *Maharbal* sent after them, who overtook them by night in a Village, which he surrounded with his horse: and so they yielded the next day, rendring up their arms, upon his promise of their lives and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirm; saying, that it was made by *Maharbal* without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authority to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his own honour) what it was to keep no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their own. For if it were lawful unto the *Romans*, to alter covenants, or add unto them what they listed; if the *Carthaginians* must be fain to pay certain hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargains; as also to renounce their interest in *Sardinia*, and be limited in their *Spanish* Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the *Romans*, whose present advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded Peace: then can *Hannibal* be as *Roman*, as themselves; and make them know, that perfidiousness gaineth no more in prosperity, than it loseth in the

the change of fortune. Fifteen thousand *Italian* prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which, all that were not *Romans*, he set free without ransom; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyranny, that he had undertaken this war. But the *Romans* he kept in straight prison, and in fetters, making them learn to eat hard meat. This was a good way to breed in the people of *Italy*, if not a love of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this war had not concerned the general safety, but only the preserving of her own neck from the yoke of slavery, which her over-strong enemies would thrust upon her in revenge of her oppressions. But an antient reputation confirmed by success of many ages, is not lost in one or two battles. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the *Carthaginians* can get any *Italian* Partisans.

Presently after the battle of *Thrasimene*, *C. Centronius*, with four thousand *Roman* horse, drew near unto the Camp of *Hannibal*. He was sent from *Ariminum* by *Servilius* the other Consul, to increase the strength of *Flaminius*: but, coming too late, he increased only the misadventure. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this company; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great overthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost half of them, drave the rest unto a high piece of ground, where they came down, and simply yielded to mercy the next day. *Servilius* himself was in the mean time skirmishing with the *Gauls*; against whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the news was brought him of his Colleagues overthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him hasten back to the defence of *Rome*.

In these passages, it is easie to discern the fruits of popular jealousie, which perswaded the *Romans* to the yearly change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certain it is, that all men are far better taught by their own errours, than by the examples of their foregoers. *Flaminius* had heard in what a trap *Sempronius* had been taken up but the year before, by this subtile *Carthaginian*; yet suffered he himself to be caught soon after in the same manner. He had also belike forgotten how *Sempronius*, fearing to be prevented by a new Consul, and ambitious of the sole honour of beating *Hannibal* in battle, without help of his companion *Scipio*, had been rewarded with shame and loss; else would he not, contrary to all good advice, have been so hasty to fight, before the arrival of *Servilius*. If *Sempronius* had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would have taken his companion with him the second time, and have searched all suspected places, proper to have shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Government of *France* ten years, *Cæsar* brought that mighty Nation, together with the *Helvetians* and many of the *Germans*, under the *Roman* yoke; into which parts had there been every year a new Lieutenant sent, they would hardly, if ever, have been subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can do, to inform it self, within one years compass, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helps, whereby to prosecute a War to the best effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three years; whence by reason of the shortness of that their time, many of them have returned as wise as they went out; others have profited more, & yet when they began but to know the first rudiments of War, and Government, fitting the Country, they have been called home, and new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath ever been the old course of the World rather to follow the errours, than to examine them: and of Princes and Governours to uphold their slothful ignorance, by the old examples and policy of other ages and people; though neither likeness of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, have perswaded the imitation.

§. VI.

How Q. Fabius *the* Roman *Dictator, sought to consume the force of* Hannibal, *by lingring War.* Minutius *the Master of the Horse, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successful attempting; adventures rashly upon* Hannibal, *and is like to perish with his Army, and rescued by* Fabius.

GReatly were the *Romans* amazed at this their ill success, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than ever did war since *Rome* it self was taken. They were good Souldiers, and so little accustomed to receive an overthrow, that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and again, in open field, all *Italy* was strangely affected with his success, and held him in admiration, as one that could

could work wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrel was not grounded upon hate: he only ſought honour, and fought (as it were, upon a bravery; demeaning himſelf like a courteous enemy. This *Carthaginian* deteſted the whole *Roman* name; againſt which he burned with deſire of revenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thraſymene*, witneſſed his purpoſe, and his ability; which to withſtand, they fled unto a remedy that had long been out of uſe, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Conſuls, and ſcarcely ſubject unto controll of the whole City. Wherefore this Officer was ſeldom choſen, but upon ſome extremity, and for no longer time than ſix months. He was to be named by one of the Conſuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were ſo, that the Conſul (if he ſtood upon his prerogative) might name whom he pleaſed. At this time the one Conſul being dead, and the other too far off, the people took upon them, as having ſupream authority, to give the Dignity by their election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*; the beſt reputed man of war in the City. *Novum factum novum conſilium expetit, contrary winds, contrary courſes.* *Q. Fabius choſe M. Minutius Rufus* Maſter of the horſe: which Officer was cuſtomarily as the Dictators Lievtenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more upon him.

The firſt act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of ſomewhat amiſs in matters of Religion: a good beginning and commendable, had the Religion been alſo good. But if it were true (as *Livie* reports it) that the Books of *Sybil* were conſulted, and gave direction in this buſineſs of devotion; then muſt we believe that thoſe books of *Sybil*, preſerved in *Rome*, were dictated by an evil ſpirit. For it was ordained, that ſome Vow, made in the beginning of this war to *Mars*, ſhould be made anew, and amplyfied, as having not been rightly made before: alſo that great Plays ſhould be vowed unto *Jupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with ſuch other Trumpery. This vehemency of ſuperſtition, proceeds always from vehemency of fear. And ſurely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly diſtempered with paſſion; whereof that memorable accident, of two women that ſuddenly died, when they ſaw their Sons return alive from *Thraſymene*, may ſerve to bear witneſs, though it be more properly an example of motherly love. The Walls and Towers of the City were now repaired and fortified; the Bridges upon Rivers were broken down, and all care taken for defence of *Rome* it ſelf. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly ſet forth againſt *Hannibal*, word was brought that the *Carthaginian* Fleet had intercepted all the ſupply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spain*. Againſt theſe *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Servilius* the Conſul to put to Sea; and taking up all the ſhips about *Rome* and *Oſtia*, to purſue them: whilſt he, with the Legions, attended upon *Hannibal*. Four Legions he had levied in haſte: and from *Ariminum* he received the Army which *Servilius* the Conſul had conducted thither.

Liv. lib. 22.

With theſe forthwith he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the *Numidian* horſe had over the *Romans*, he alwayes lodged himſelf on high grounds, and of hard acceſs. *Hannibal* in the mean while, purſuing his victory, had ranged over all the Country, and uſed all manner of cruelty towards the inhabitants; eſpecially to thoſe of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the ſword all that were able to bear arms. Paſſing by *Spoletum* and *Ancona*, he incamped upon the *Adriatick* ſhores; refreſhed his diſeaſed, and over-travelled Companies, armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*, and made his diſpatches from *Carthage*; preſenting his friends, which were in effect, all the Citizens with part of the ſpoils that he had gotten. Having refreſhed his army, fed his horſes, cured his wounded Souldiers, and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horſe heeles of the ſcratches, by waſhing their paſterns in old wine: he followed the coaſt of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia* a Northern Province of the Kingdom of *Naples* ſpoiling the *Murrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he over-ran, he had not taken any one City: onely he had aſſayled *Spoletum* a Collony of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, preſently gave it over. The malice of a great Army is broken, and the force of it ſpent in a great ſiege. This the *Proteſtant* Army found true at *Poictiers*, a little before the battle of *Moncountour*; and their victorious enemies, anon after at *S. Jean d' Angely*. But *Hannibal* was more wiſe. He would not engage himſelf in any ſuch enterpriſe, as ſhould detain him, and give the *Romans* leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once he was abſolute Maſter of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he preſented *Fabius* with battle, as ſoon as he ſaw him; and provoked him with all manner of bravadoes. But

Fabius

Fabius would not bite. He knew well the differences between ſouldiers bred up, ever ſince they were boyes, in war and in blood, trained and hardened in *Spain*, made proud and adventurous by many victories there, and of late by ſome notable acts againſt the *Romans*; and ſuch, as had no oftner ſeen the enemy, than been vanquiſhed by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* ſo neer, as he kept him from ſtragling too far; and preſerved the countrey from utter ſpoil. He inured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees, and he brought them firſt to look on the Lyon afar off, that in the end he might fit on his tail.

Now *Minutius* had a contrary diſpoſition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*: taxing *Fabius* with cowardize and fear. But all ſtirred not this well-adviſed Commander. For wiſe men are no more moved with ſuch noiſe, than with wind bruiſed out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiſcretion and danger, than to purſue misfortune: it waſteth it ſelf ſooner by ſufferance, than by oppoſition. It is the invading Army that deſires battel: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading and victorious. *Fabius* therefore ſuffered *Hannibal* to croſs the *Appenines*, and to fall upon the moſt rich and pleaſant Territory of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be perſwaded, to adventure the *Roman* Army in battel: but being far too weak in horſe, he alwayes kept the Hills and faſt grounds. When *Hannibal* ſaw he could by no means draw this wary Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, and that the Towns ſtood firm for the *Romans*, whoſe Legions were in ſight, though afar off; he reſolved to reſt his Army, that was loaden with ſpoil, in ſome plentiful and aſſured place, till the following ſpring. But ere this can be done he muſt paſs along by the Dictators camp, that hung over his head upon the hills of *Collicula*, and *Caſilinum*: for other way there was none, by which he might iſſue out of that goodly garden-countrey, which he had already waſted, into places more abundant of proviſion for his wintering. It was by meer errour of his guide, that he firſt entred within theſe ſtraights. For he would have been directed unto *Caſſinum*, whence he might both aſſay the fair City of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promiſes under-hand, and hinder the *Romans* from coming near it to prevent him. But his guide miſ-underſtood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from *Caſſinum* to *Caſilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he ſhould not eaſily eſcape. Now began the wiſdom of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, and won the victory without blows. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himſelf, by a ſleight invention, yet ſerving the turn as well as a better. In driving the countrey he had gotten about two thouſand Kine, whoſe hornes he dreſſed with dry faggots, and ſetting fire to them in the dark night, cauſed them to be driven up the hills. The ſpectacle was ſtrange, and therefore terrible; eſpecially to thoſe that knew it to be a work of a terrible enemy. What it ſhould mean, *Fabius* could not tell; but thought it a device to circumvent him, and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill tops were horribly affraid, when ſome of theſe fiery Monſters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore haſtily away, thinking the enemies were behind their backs; and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no leſs afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Army recovered ſure ground without moleſtation: where he ſtaid till the next morning, and then brought off his light footmen, with ſome ſlaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in ſkirmiſh. After this, *Hannibal* made ſemblance of taking his journey towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coaſted him in the wonted manner; keeping ſtill on high grounds, between him and the City, whileſt the *Carthaginian* waſted all the Plains. The *Carthaginian* took *Geryon*, an old ruinous Town in *Apulia*, forſaken by the Inhabitants, which he turned into Barns and Store-houſes for winter, and incamped under the broken wall. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time paſſed idly, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about ſome buſineſs of Religion, and left the Army in charge with *Minutius* the Maſter of the horſe.

Minutius was glad of this good occaſion to ſhew his own ſufficiency. He was fully perſwaded, that his *Romans*, in plain field would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had been foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by ſubtilty and ambuſh, which he thought himſelf wiſe enough to prevent. All the Army was of his opinion; and that ſo earneſtly, as he was preferred, by judgement of the Souldiers, in worthineſs to command, before the cold and wary *Fabius*. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forbidden ſo to do, by the Dictator; the breach of whoſe command was extream peril of death

death. But the honour of the victory, which he held undoubtedly his own; and the love of the Army, and the friends that he had at home bearing office in *Rome*, were enough to save him from the Dictators rods and axes, took he the matter never so hainously. *Hannibal* on the other side was no less glad, that he should play with a more adventurous Gamester. Therefore he drew near, and to provoke the *Romans*, sent forth a third part of his Army to waste the Countrey. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seems, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two Camps; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupy it, the *Carthaginians* seized upon by night with two thousand of their light armed. But *Minutius*, by plain force, wan it from them the next day; and intrenching himself thereupon, became their neerer neighbour.

The main business of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his Horses, which he knew to be the chief of his strength; that he might keep them in good heart against the next Summer: if besides this he could give the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his reputation, incourage his own men, terrifie his enemies, and give him leave to forrage the Countrey at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes issue forth of his Camp, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harvest. This advantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and took. For he led forth his Army, and setting it in order, presented battel to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, even at his own Trenches. His horses, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, he sent abroad against the forragers; who being dispersed over all the fields, and loaden with booty, could make no resistance. This angred *Hannibal*, that was not able to help them; but worse did it anger him, when the *Romans* took heart to assail his Trenches. They perceived that it was meer weakness, which held him within his Camp, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the business, *Asdrubal* came from *Geryon* with four thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* horse. This imboldened *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*; to whom nevertheless he did not much hurt, as he had received.

For this piece of service *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Army, and more highly by the people at *Rome*, to whom he sent the news, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Army had recovered spirit, so far forth that it dared to set upon *Hannibal* in his own Camp; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the Horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as far out of liking with *Fabius* and his timerous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: saving that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyful of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of discipline; and fearfull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. He said that he knew his own place, and what was to be done: that he would teach the Master of the Horse to do so likewise; and make him give account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good success issuing from bad counsel, was more to be feared, than calamity; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be wary. Against these Sermons every one cryed out, especially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which office warranted him to speak, and do what he list, without fear of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our only Man, chosen to be General, and Lord of the Town, in our greatest necessity, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all *Italy* to be wasted before his eyes, to the utter shame of our State; unless he also hinder others, from doing better than himself can, or dares? It were good to consider what he means by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not chosen any new Consul all this while; *Servilius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and he, have as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborn to spoil some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into envy and suspicion) and the Dictator giving him leave to spoil all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: he would have the War to last long, that he himself might be long in office, and have the sole Government both of our City and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonalty of *Rome*, which gave him this authority, should again take it from him and conferr it upon one more worthy. But lest, in moving the

people

people hereto, I ſhould ſeem to do him injury; thus far forth I will regard his honour: I will only propound, That the Maſter of the Horſe may be joined in equal authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor leſs neceſſary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, even the Senators, were ill perſwaded of the courſe which *Fabius* had taken againſt *Hannibal*, as being neither plauſible, nor ſeeming beneficial at the preſent; yet was there none ſo injurious, as to think that his general intent, and care of the Weal-publique, was leſs than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in paſſing of any act, that ſome man of credit and authority, beſides the propounder, ſhould ſtand up, and formally deliver his approbation; not one of the principal Citizens was found ſo impudent, as to offer that open diſgrace, both unto a worthy Perſonage, and (therewithal) unto that dignity, whoſe great power had freed the State at ſeveral times, from the greateſt dangers. Only *C. Terentius Varro*, who the year before had been Prætor, was glad of ſuch an opportunity, to win the favour of the Multitude. This fellow was the ſon of a Butcher, afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious ſpirit, grew by often brabling, to take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poor mens cauſes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and roſe by degrees, being advanced by thoſe, who in hatred of the Nobility favoured his very baſeneſs. And now he thought the time was come, for him to give a hard puſh at the Conſulſhip; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durſt or would. So he made an hot invective, not only againſt *Fabius*, but againſt all the Nobility; ſaying, That it grieved them to ſee the people do well, and take upon them what belonged unto them, in matter of Government; That they ſought to humble the Commons by poverty, and to impoveriſh them by War; eſpecially by War at their own doors, which would ſoon conſume every poor mans living, and find him other work to think upon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wiſe; and ſince they had found one (this worthy Maſter of the Horſe) that was better affected unto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deſerts; and give him authority, according as was propounded by the Tribune, that ſo he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as he had begun. So the Act paſſed.

Before this buſie day of contention, *Fabius* had diſpatched the election of new Conſull, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the room of *C. Flaminius*: and, having finiſhed all requiſite buſineſs, went out of Town, perceiving well, that he ſhould not be able to withſtand the multitude in hindering the decree. The news of *Minutius* his advancement, was at the camp as ſoon as *Fabius*: ſo that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the firſt, in what ſort he thought it beſt to divide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them ſucceſſively, for ſome longer time, ſhould command in chief. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleaſure of the Citizens, to make the Maſter of the Horſe equal to the Dictator, but that he ſhould never be his ſuperior: He would therefore divide the Legions with him by lot, according to the cuſtom. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleaſed; for that with half of the Army he could not work ſuch wonders as otherwiſe he hoped to accompliſh. Nevertheleſs he meant to do his beſt, and ſo taking his part of the Army, incamped about a mile and a half from the Dictator. Needful it was (though *Livy* ſeems to tax him for it) that he ſhould ſo do. For where two ſeveral Commanders are not ſubordinate one unto another, nor joyned in Commiſſion, but have each intire and abſolute charge of his own followers, there are the forces (though belonging to one Prince or State) not one, but two diſtinct Armies: in which regard, one Camp ſhall not hold them both without great inconvenience. *Polybius* neither finds fault with this diſtinction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chief ſucceſſively (as the two Conſuls uſed) with *Minutius*, by turns. He ſaith that *Minutius* was very refractory, and ſo proud of his advancement, that continually he oppoſed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to divide the forces between them, as is ſaid before, or elſe to have command over all by courſe. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of ſubjection, when once they have broken looſe from the rigour of authority, love nothing more, than to conteſt with it; as if herein conſiſted the proof and aſſurance of their liberty.

It behoved the Maſter of the horſe to make good the opinion which had thus advanced him. Therefore he was no leſs careful of getting occaſion to fight, than was *Fabius* of avoiding the neceſſity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally deſired, could

not long be wanting. The countrey lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many and spacious caves; able some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places *Hannibal* bestowed five hundred horse, and five thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discovered. But lest by any misadventure they should be found out, and buried in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needful care, to business little concerning them. Like unto this was the occasion, which not long before had provoked *Minutius* to adventure upon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as he got it; he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his own troops with fresh companies) he followed in person with the Legions. He was soon caught, and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retrait. In this dangerous case, whilst the *Romans* defended themselves losing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew near in very good order to relieve them. For this old Captain, perceiving afar off, into what extremity his new Colleague had rashly thrown himself & his followers, did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Countrey, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approve himself by hasting to do good, than by suffering his enemy to feel the reward of doing ill. Upon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired: fearing to be well wetted with a showre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himself to *Fabius*; by whose benefit he confessed his life to have been saved. So from this time forwards the war proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would have it; both whilest his Office lasted which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he delivered up his charge unto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Servilius the Consul had pursued in vain a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which he came never within kenning. He ran along all the coast of *Italy*; took hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*; passed over into *Africk*; and there negligently falling to spoil the countrey, was shamefully beaten aboord his ships, with the loss of 1000. men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, he returned home by *Sicil*; and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the camp, with his fellow-Consul, where they took charge of the Army.

§. VII.

The Roman *people, desirous to finish the war quickly, choose a rash and unworthy Consul. Great forces levied against* Hannibal. Hannibal *taketh the* Romans *provisions in the Castle of* Cannæ. *The new Consuls set forth against* Hannibal.

With little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome* hear the great commendations that were given to *Fabius* by the principal Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great overthrow; but had neither finished the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seem that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custome; since it was never heard before, that any *Roman* General had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performace: as if it were honourable to do just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready every man to discharge the grief and anger of his own private loss, upon the ill administration of the publick.

This affection of the people, was very helpful to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoved him to strike, whilst the Iron was hot: his own worth being little or none; and his credit over-weak, to make way into that high Dignity. But the Commonalty were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinsman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to use the liberty of his place, in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth, or modesty. This bold Orator stuck not to affirm, that *Hannibal* was drawn into *Italy*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have been overthrown, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two: but, had all been joyned together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the victory of *Minutius* when he commanded over all as Master of the horse; That without a *Plebeian* Consul,

Conſul, the war would never be brought to an end; That ſuch of the *Plebeians* as had long ſince been advanced to honour by the people, were grown as proud as the old Nobility, and contemned the meaner ſort, ever ſince themſelves were freed from contempt of the more mighty; That therefore it was needful to chooſe a Conſul, who ſhould be altogether a *Plebeian*, a meer new man, one that could boaſt of nothing but the Peoples love, nor could wiſh more, than to keep it, by well deſerving of them. By ſuch perſwaſions the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius:* to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure to ſee a man raiſed for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honour; and therefore oppoſed him with all their might. To hinder the deſire of the People, it fell out, or at leaſt was alledged, that neither of the two preſent Conſuls could well be ſpared from attending upon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpoſe; and he again depoſed (either as was pretended) for ſome religious impediment, or becauſe the Fathers deſired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to prevail in choice of the new Conſuls. This *Inter-regnum* took name and being in *Rome*, at the death of *Romulus:* and was in uſe at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the firſt were an hundred, parted themſelves into *Tens* or *Decuries*; and governed ſucceſſively, by the ſpace of five dayes, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet ſo, that the *Lictors*, or *Virgers*, carrying the *Faſces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only upon the chief of them with thoſe Enſigns of power. This cuſtome was retained in times of the Conſuls; and put in uſe, when by death, or any caſualty, there wanted ordinary Magiſtrates of the old year, to ſubſtitute new for the year following. The advantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the election were not like to go as they would have it, there needed no more, than to ſlip five dayes, and then was all to begin anew: by which interruption, the heat of the multitude was commonly well aſſwaged. Upon ſuch change of thoſe, that were Preſidents of the election, it was alſo lawful unto new Petitioners, to ſue for the Magiſtracies that lay void: which otherwiſe was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they ſhould publickly declare themſelves to ſeek thoſe offices. But no device would ſerve againſt the general favour born unto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* paſſed over, and the malice of the Fathers, againſt the vertue (as it was believed) of this mean, but worthy man, ſeemed ſo manifeſt, that when the People had urged the buſineſs to diſpatch, only *Terentius* was choſen Conſul: in whoſe hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gave over. For whereas men of ordinary mark had ſtood for the place before, it was now thought meet, that, both, to ſupply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this unexpert, and hot-heated man, one of great ſufficiency and reputation, ſhould be joyned with him, as both Companion and Oppoſite. So *L. Æmilius Paulus*, he who a few years ſince had overcome the *Illyrians*, and chaſed *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was urged by the Nobility to ſtand for the place; which he eaſily obtained, having no Competitor. It was not the deſire of this honourable man, to trouble himſelf any more in ſuch great buſineſs of the Common-wealth. For, notwithſtanding his late good ſervice, He, and *M. Livius* that had been his companion in office, were afterwards injuriouſly vexed by the people, and called unto judgement: wherein *Livius* was condemned, and *Æmilius* hardly eſcaped. But of this injuſtice they ſhall put the *Romans* well in mind each of them in his ſecond Conſulſhip wherein they ſhall honourably approve their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the moſt grievous loſs; the other bravely winning, in the moſt happy victory that ever befell that Common-wealth.

Theſe new Conſuls, *Varro* and *Paulus* omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the war; wherein though *Varro* made the greater noiſe, by telling what wonders he would work, and that he would ask no more, than once to have a ſight of *Hannibal*, whom he promiſed to vanquiſh the very firſt day: yet the providence aud care of *Paulus* travelled more earneſtly toward the accompliſhment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boaſted. He wrote unto the two old Conſuls *Servilius* and *Atilius*, deſiring them to abſtain from hazard of the main chance; but nevertheleſs, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmiſh, and weaken them by degrees: that when he and his Colleague ſhould take the field, with the great Army which they were now levying, they might find the four old Legions well accuſtomed to the enemy, and the enemy well weakned to their hands. He was alſo very ſtrict in his Muſters; wherein the whole Senate aſſiſt him ſo carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the ſlanders, with which *Terentius* and his adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raiſed, it is

uncertain. Fourscore thousand foot, at the least, and six thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking upon *Hannibal*.

Hiero the old King of *Syracuse*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were distressed by their own Mercenaries; so did he now send help to *Rome*, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barly, and other Provisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mighty Cities should destroy the other, whereby his own estate would fall to ruine, that stood upright, by having them somewhat evenly ballanced. He gave them also counsel, to send forces into *Africa*; it (perhaps) by that means they might divert the war from home. His gifts, and good advice were lovingly accepted; and instructions were given to *Titus Otacilius* the Prætor, which was to go into *Sicil*, that he should accordingly pass over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

The great Levies, which the *Romans* made at this time, do much more serve to declare their puissance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of such as were not easily drawn into the field, and fitted for service. For, besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into *Sicil*, twenty five thousand, with *L. Posthumius Albinus*, another of the Prætors, went against the *Gauls*, to reclaim that Province, which the passage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength might well embolden them to do as they did. They sent Embassadours to *Philip*, the Son of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, requiring him to deliver into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who, having been their subject, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdom. They also sent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they received, it is not known: only this is known, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent unto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* money, by the shifts that they were driven soon after to make, it will appear, that the one half of it (how little soever) would have been welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cavil about forfeiture for *non-payment* of the whole.

Whilest the City was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as near unto *Hannibal* as possibly they could without incurring the necessity of a battel. Many skirmishes they had with him; wherein their success, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemished the honour of their other services, but was indeed the occasion to draw on the misery following. *Hannibal* for the most part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*; where lay all his store for the Winter. The *Romans* to be near him, lodged about *Cannusium*; and, that they might not be driven to turn aside for all necessaries, to the loss of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Castle of *Cannæ*: for the Town was razed the year before. This place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not only furnished himself, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, unless they would be troubled with far carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himself to abide in that open Country, fit for the service of his Horse, longer than the *Romans*, having so many mouths to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering battel, which he most desired. Of this mishap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them understand how this Piece taken by *Hannibal*, would serve him to command no small part of the Country adjacent; it then seemed needfull, even unto the Fathers themselves, to adventure a battel with the *Carthaginian*, rather than suffer him thus to take root in the ground of *Italy*. Nevertheless answer was returned unto *Servilius*, that he should have patience yet awhile: for that the Consuls would shortly be there, with a Power sufficient to do as need required.

When all things were ready in the City, and the season of the year commodious to take the field, the two Consuls, with their Army, set forth against *Hannibal*. This was alwayes done with great solemnity: especially, whensoever they went forth to war against any noble or redoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and solemn Vows, were made unto *Jupiter*, and the rest of their gods, for good success and Victory: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honourable train of the principal men, (not only such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the war, as Voluntaries for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leave-taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited upon *Æmilius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to do his Country remarkable service. *Terentius* his Attendants

Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troop no less in greatness, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is said to have exhorted the Consul *Paulus*, with many grave words, to shew his magnanimity, not only in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious folly of his fellow-Consul. The answer of *Paulus*, was, That he meant not again to run into danger of condemnation by offending the multitude; that he would do his best for his Country, but if he saw his best were likely to be ill taken, he would think it less rashness to adventure upon the Enemies sword, than upon the malice of his own Citizens.

§. VIII.

Dissension between the two Roman *Consuls. Whether it be likely, that* Hannibal *was upon point of flying out of* Italy, *when the* Romans *pressed him to fight. The great battail of* Cannæ.

These new Generals, arriving at the Camp, dismissed *M. Atilius*, one of the last years Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weakness: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their assistant. The first thing that *Æmilius* thought necessary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad success hitherto, had gathered more cause of fear, than of courage. He willed them to consider not only now, their victories in time past against the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but even their own great numbers: which were no less than all that *Rome* at the present was able to set forth. He told them in what danger their Country stood; how the state and safety thereof rested upon their hands; using some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectual part of this Oration, was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plain force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambush he had stoln the honour, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thrasymene*. Herewithall he taxed the inconsiderate rashness of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one saw not his enemies, untill he was surrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darkness whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their snares. Finally declaring what advantages they had against the Enemy; and how destitute the Enemy was of those helps, by which he had hitherto prevailed against them; he exhorted them to play the men, and do their best. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their own multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of Arms, gave them cause to think, that under a Captain so well experienced, and every way sufficient, as *Æmilius* was known to be, they should easily prevail against the *Carthaginians*, that came short of them in all things else, save craft; which would not alwayes thrive. But in one thing they mistook the meaning of their General. It was his desire that they should have heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of awaiting a convenient season. But they, having preconceived a victory, thought all delayes to be impediments: and thereby sought to rob themselves of their best help; which was, Good conduct. They remembred what talk they had heard at *Rome*: and were themselves affected with the vulgar desire, of ending the war quickly; wherein since *Æmilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them, forbear to use it: Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Consul *Terentius*; who was no less popular in the Camp, than he had been in the City. Expectation is alwayes tedious; and never more, than when the Event is of most importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Army, to be freed from the doubtfull passions of Hope and Fear: therefore *Terentius*, who hastened their desire to effect, was likely to win more thanks, than should his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the *Romans* think themselves to have the better of their enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Dissension* of their chief Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Æmilius* would so too, but said that it was not yet time; why? because the enemy must shortly dislodge, and remove hence, into places less fit for his horse. But shall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten up his last years provisions, return into *Campania* to gather a second Harvest? This would (said *Varro*) savour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (said *Paulus*) doth savour no less of *C. Flaminius*. Their deeds were like their words: for they commanded by turns interchangeably every day. *Æmilius* lodged six miles from *Hannibal*, where the

uncertain. Fourſcore thouſand foot, at the leaſt, and ſix thouſand horſe, they were ſtrong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had ſo greatly deſired, of looking upon *Hannibal*.

Hiero the old King of *Syracuſe*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were diſtreſſed by their own Mercenaries; ſo did he now ſend help to *Rome*, a thouſand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barly, and other Proviſions: fearing nothing more, than that one of theſe two mighty Cities ſhould deſtroy the other, whereby his own eſtate would fall to ruine, that ſtood upright, by having them ſomewhat evenly ballanced. He gave them alſo counſel, to ſend forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that means they might divert the war from home. His gifts, and good advice were lovingly accepted; and inſtructions were given to *Titus Otacilius* the Prætor, which was to go into *Sicil*, that he ſhould accordingly paſs over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

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Whileſt the City was buſied in theſe cares, the old Conſuls lay as near unto *Hannibal* as poſſibly they could without incurring the neceſſity of a battel. Many ſkirmiſhes they had with him; wherein their ſucceſs, for the moſt part, was rather good than great. Yet one miſchance not only blemiſhed the honour of their other ſervices, but was indeed the occaſion to draw on the miſery following. *Hannibal* for the moſt part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*; where lay all his ſtore for the Winter. The *Romans* to be near him, lodged about *Cannuſium*; and, that they might not be driven to turn aſide for all neceſſaries, to the loſs of good opportunities, they beſtowed much of their proviſions in the Caſtle of *Cannæ*: for the Town was razed the year before. This place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not only furniſhed himſelf, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, unleſs they would be troubled with far carriage. Beſides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himſelf to abide in that open Country, fit for the ſervice of his Horſe, longer than the *Romans*, having ſo many mouths to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering battel, which he moſt deſired. Of this miſhap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them underſtand how this Piece taken by *Hannibal*, would ſerve him to command no ſmall part of the Country adjacent; it then ſeemed needfull, even unto the Fathers themſelves, to adventure a battel with the *Carthaginian*, rather than ſuffer him thus to take root in the ground of *Italy*. Nevertheleſs anſwer was returned unto *Servilius*, that he ſhould have patience yet awhile: for that the Conſuls would ſhortly be there, with a Power ſufficient to do as need required.

When all things were ready in the City, and the ſeaſon of the year commodious to take the field, the two Conſuls, with their Army, ſet forth againſt *Hannibal*. This was alwayes done with great ſolemnity: eſpecially, whenſoever they went forth to war againſt any noble or redoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and ſolemn Vows, were made unto *Jupiter*, and the reſt of their gods, for good ſucceſs and Victory: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honourable train of the principal men, (not only ſuch as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the war, as Voluntaries for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and diſmiſſed with friendly leave-taking, and good wiſhes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited upon *Æmilius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to do his Country remarkable ſervice. *Terentius* his Attendants

Attendants were the whole multitude o the poorer Citizens; a troop no leſs in greatneſs, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is ſaid to have exhorted the Conſul *Paulus*, with many grave words, to ſhew his magnanimity, not only in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious folly of his fellow-Conſul. The anſwer of *Paulus*, was, That he meant not again to run into danger of condemnation by offending the multitude; that he would do his beſt for his Country, but if he ſaw his beſt were likely to be ill taken, he would think it leſs raſhneſs to adventure upon the Enemies ſword, than upon the malice of his own Citizens.

§. VIII.

Diſſenſion between the two Roman *Conſuls. Whether it be likely, that* Hannibal *was upon point of flying out of* Italy, *when the* Romans *preſſed him to fight. The great battail of* Cannæ.

THeſe new Generals, arriving at the Camp, diſmiſſed *M. Atilius*, one of the laſt years Conſuls, requeſting it becauſe of his age and weakneſs: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their aſſiſtant. The firſt thing that *Æmilius* thought neceſſary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad ſucceſs hitherto, had gathered more cauſe of fear, than of courage. He willed them to conſider not only now, their victories in time paſt againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but even their own great numbers: which were no leſs than all that *Rome* at the preſent was able to ſet forth. He told them in what danger their Country ſtood; how the ſtate and ſafety thereof reſted upon their hands; uſing ſome ſuch other common matter of perſwaſion. But the moſt effectual part of this Oration, was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plain force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambuſh he had ſtoln the honour, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thraſymene*. Herewithall he taxed the inconſiderate raſhneſs of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one ſaw not his enemies, untill he was ſurrounded by them; the other ſcarce ſaw them, when they ſtruck off his head, by reaſon of the thick miſt, through the darkneſs whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their ſnares. Finally declaring what advantages they had againſt the Enemy; and how deſtitute the Enemy was of thoſe helps, by which he had hitherto prevailed againſt them; he exhorted them to play the men, and do their beſt. They were eaſily perſwaded: for the contemplation of their own multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of Arms, gave them cauſe to think, that under a Captain ſo well experienced, and every way ſufficient, as *Æmilius* was known to be, they ſhould eaſily prevail againſt the *Carthaginians*, that came ſhort of them in all things elſe, ſave craft; which would not alwayes thrive. But in one thing they miſtook the meaning of their General. It was his deſire that they ſhould have heart to fight; not that they ſhould loſe the patience of awaiting a convenient ſeaſon. But they, having preconceived a victory, thought all delayes to be impediments: and thereby ſought to rob themſelves of their beſt help; which was, Good conduct. They remembred what talk they had heard at *Rome*: and were themſelves affected with the vulgar deſire, of ending the war quickly; wherein ſince *Æmilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them, forbear to uſe it: Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus alſo thought the Conſul *Terentius*; who was no leſs popular in the Camp, than he had been in the City. Expectation is alwayes tedious; and never more, than when the Event is of moſt importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Army, to be freed from the doubtfull paſſions of Hope and Fear: therefore *Terentius*, who haſtened their deſire to effect, was likely to win more thanks, than ſhould his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the *Romans* think themſelves to have the better of their enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Diſſenſion* of their chief Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Æmilius* would ſo too, but ſaid that it was not yet time; why? becauſe the enemy muſt ſhortly diſlodge, and remove hence, into places leſs fit for his horſe. But ſhall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten up his laſt years proviſions, return into *Campania* to gather a ſecond Harveſt? This would (ſaid *Varro*) ſavour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haſte (ſaid *Paulus*) doth ſavour no leſs of *C. Flaminius*. Their deeds were like their words: for they commanded by turns interchangeably every day. *Æmilius* lodged ſix miles from *Hannibal*, where the

the ground was somewhat uneven. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take pains to come, he doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leave running till they were out o. *Italy*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the Plains; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Nevertheless, he sate down close by *Hannibal*; who, as an unbidden guest, gave him but a rude welcome and entertainment. The *Carthaginian* Horse, and light armature, fell upon the *Roman* Vant-courrers; and put the whole Army in tumult, whilest it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without loss, for that the *Romans* had among their *Velites*, some troops weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Æmilius*, who could not handsomely withdraw the Army out of that level ground, incamped upon the River *Ausidus*; sending a third part of his forces over the water, to lie upon the Eastern bank, where they entrenched themselves. He never was more unwilling to fight than at this present; because the ground served wholly for the advantage of his enemy; with whom he meant to deal, when occasion should draw him to more equal terms. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himself, expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remove towards *Geryon*, *Cannæ*, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necessaries: whereof an Army forraging the Countrey, was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quantity, for any long time.

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(thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee, Brother, that among them all, ſearch them never ſo diligently, thou ſhalt not find one man, whoſe name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and ſo did all that ſtood about him; which gladded the ſouldiers, who thought their General would not be ſo merry, without great aſſurance. Whether it were ſo, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* above many thouſand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no leſs troubled with thinking upon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether he meant only to correct the ſad mood of his Brother with a jeſt, and ſhew himſelf merry unto the Souldiers: this his anſwer was more manly, than was the relation of his diſcoverer. But if *Hannibal* himſelf had been ſent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*, he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain *Cam*, before the battel of *Agincourt*, made unto our King *Henry* the fifth: ſaying, That of the *Frenchmen*, there were enow to be killed; enow to be taken priſoners; and enow to run away. Even ſuch words as theſe, or ſuch pleaſant jeſts as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but ſerve many times, when battel is in hand, to work upon ſuch paſſions, as muſt govern more of the buſineſs: eſpecially, where other needful care is not wanting; without which they are but vain boaſts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himſelf, expreſſing no leſs perfection of his military ſkill, than was greatneſs in his ſpirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiouſneſs of the place, into which he had long before conceived the means to draw his enemies to battel; he marſhalled his Army in ſuch convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might do his beſt ſervice. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Balcares*, he ſent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. Theſe were looſe troops, anſwerable in a manner to thoſe, which we call now by a *French* name, *Enfans Perdues*; but when we uſe our own terms, *the forlorn-hope*. The groſs of his Army following them, he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the ſpoils which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thraſymene*, or elſewhere; and well trained in the uſe of thoſe weapons that were of more advantage, than thoſe wherewith they had formerly ſerved; made the two wings very deep in File. Between theſe he ranged his *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, armed each after their own Country manner; their ſhields alike; but the *Gauls* uſing long broad ſwords, that were forcible in a down-right ſtroak; the *Spaniards*, ſhort and well pointed blades, either to ſtrike or thruſt; the *Gauls*, naked from their navel upwards, as confident in their own fierceneſs: the *Spaniards*, wearing white Caſſocks embroidered with Purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in quality, made a gallant ſhew, and terrible, becauſe ſtrange. The *Gauls* were ſtrong of body, and furious in giving charge, but ſoon wearied, as accuſtomed to ſpend their violence at the firſt brunt, which diſpoſition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were leſs eager, but more wary; neither aſhamed to give ground, when they were over-preſſed; nor afraid to return, and renew the fight, upon any ſmall encouragement. As the roughneſs of the one, and patience of the other, ſerved mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firm temper; ſo the place which they held in this battel, added confidence joyntly unto them both. For they ſaw themſelves well and ſtrongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whoſe name was grown terrible in *Spain*, by their Conqueſts, and in *Gaul*, by this their preſent war. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamity ſhould fall upon them, whilſt the wings on either ſide ſtood faſt: theſe *Barbarians* had no cauſe to ſhrink, or forbear to imploy the uttermoſt of their hardineſs, as knowing that the enemy could not preſs far upon them, without further ingaging himſelf than diſcretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horſe; by which he was able, if the worſt had hapned, to make a good retrait. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Deſperation begetteth courage; but no greater, nor ſo lively, as doth aſſured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore cauſed the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to advance, leaving void the place wherein they had ſtood, and into which they might fall back, when they ſhould be over-hardly preſſed. So, caſting them into the form of a *Creſcent*, He made them as it were his Vantguard: the two points of this great half Moon, that looked toward the empty ſpace from which he had drawn it, being narrow and thin, as ſerving only to guide it orderly back, when need ſhould require; the foremoſt part of the Ring, ſwelling out toward the enemies, being well ſtrengthned and thickned againſt all impreſſion. The circle

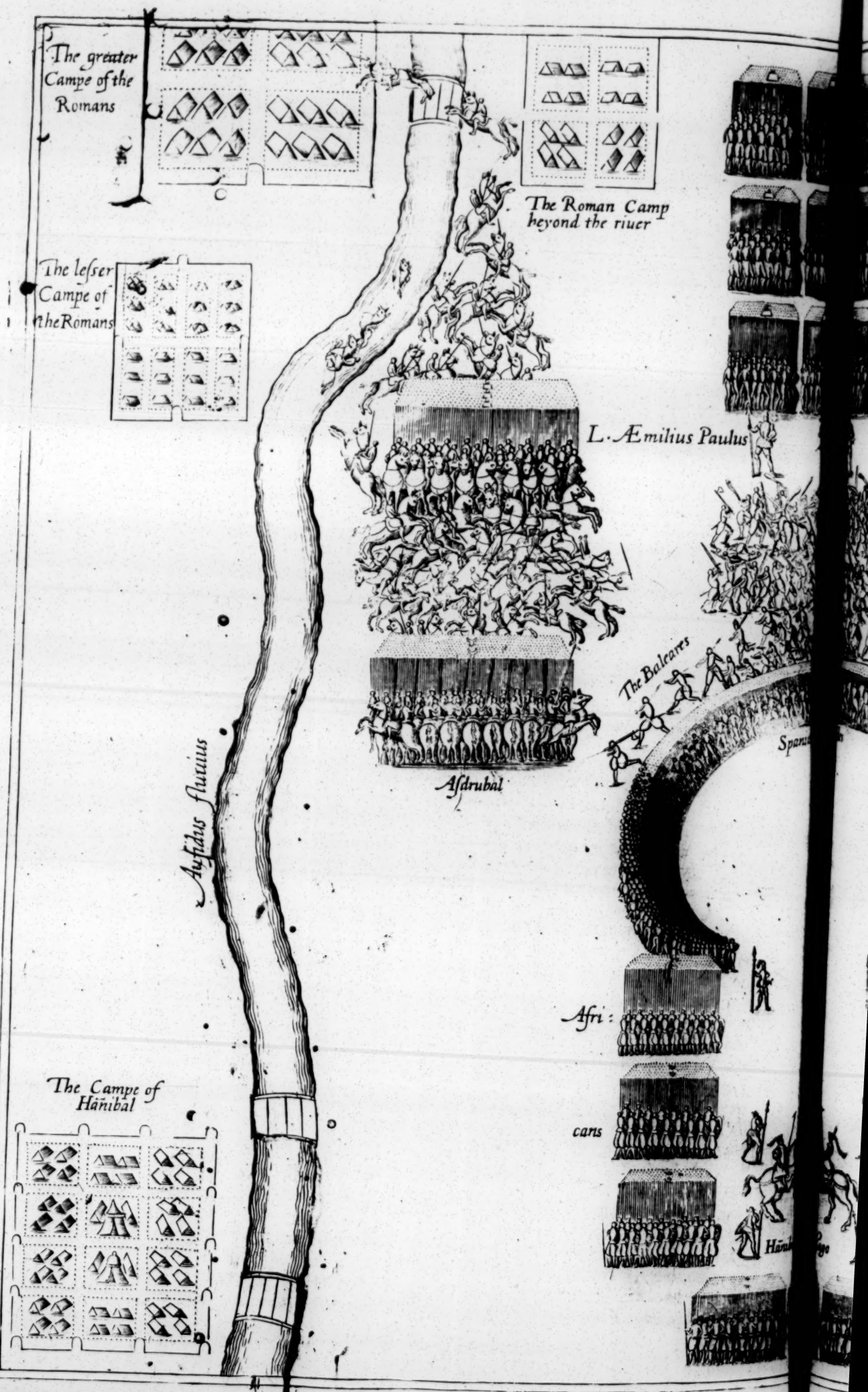
hereof

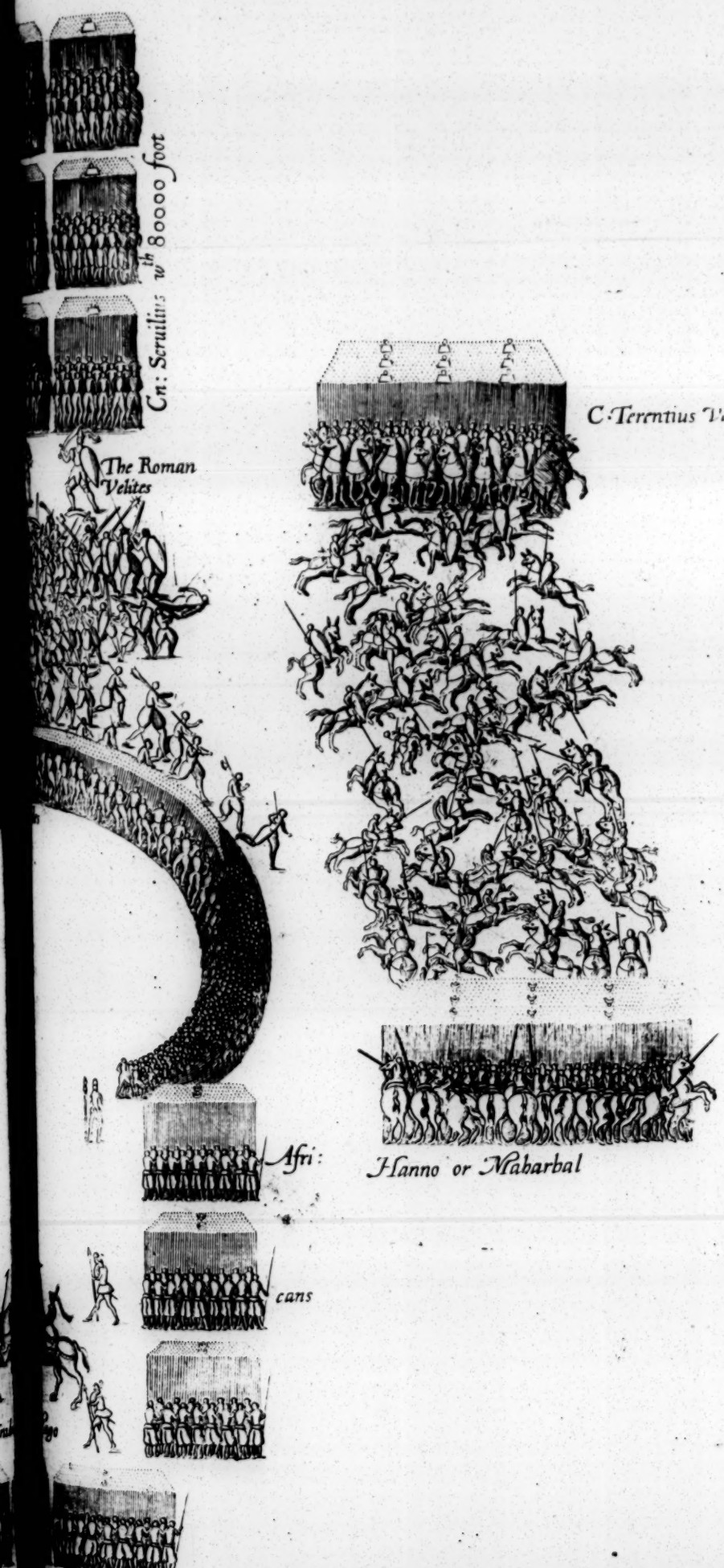
hereof ſeemeth to have been ſo great, that it ſhadowed the *Africans*, who ſtood behind it: though ſuch figures, cut in braſs, as I have ſeen of this Battle, preſent it more narrow; with little reaſon, as ſhall anon appear: as alſo in the ſame figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Rear, to ſecond the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* when they were driven to retrait; though it be manifeſt, that *Hannibal* in perſon ſtood between the laſt ranks of his long Battalions, and in the head of his Rear, doubtleſs well accompanied with the choice of his own Nation. Between the left Battalion and the River *Auſidus*, were the *Gauls* and *Spaniſh* horſe, under the command of *Aſdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plains, was *Hanno* (*Livie* ſaith *Maharbal*) with the *Numidian* light-horſe. *Hannibal* himſelf, with his brother *Mago*, and the leading of the Rear. The whole ſumm of *Hannibals* Army in the field this day, was ten thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot, his enemies having two to one againſt him in foot; and He, five to three againſt them in horſe.

The *Roman* Army was marſhalled in the uſual form: but ſomewhat more narrow, and deep than was accuſtomed; perhaps, becauſe this had been found convenient againſt the *Carthaginians*, in the former war. It was indeed no bad way of reſiſtance againſt Elephants, to make the Ranks *thick and ſhort*, but the Files long; as alſo to ſtrengthen well the Rear, that it might ſtand faſt compacted as a wall, under ſhelter whereof the diſordered troops might re-ally themſelves. Thus much it ſeems, that *Terentius* had learned of ſome old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battels accordingly, as meaning to ſhew more ſkill, than was in his underſtanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their advantage was in Horſe; againſt which this manner of imbattailing was very unprofitable, foraſmuch as their charge is better ſuſtained in front, than upon a long flank. As for *Æmilius*, it was not his day of command: He was but an Aſſiſtant; and in ſuch caſes it happens often, that wiſe men yield for very wearineſs unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the *Roman* horſemen, under the Conſul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Conſul, with the reſt of the horſe, which were of the *Latines*, and other aſſociates: *Cn. Servilius* the former years Conſul, had the leading of the battel. The Sun was newly riſen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* having their faces Northward, the *Romans* toward the South.

After ſome light ſkirmiſh, between the *Roman Velites*, and *Hannibal* his Darters and Slingers of the Baleares; *Aſdrubal* brake upon the Conſul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountred: not after the manner of ſervice on horſe-back, uſed in thoſe times, wheeling about *Alman like*; but each giving on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the ſhoulder of the foot on the other hand; ſo that there was no way left, but to pierce and break thorow. Wherefore they not only uſed their Lances and Swords; but ruſhing violently amongſt the Enemies, graſped one another: and ſo their horſes running from under them, fell many to the ground; where ſtarting up again, they began to deal blows like footmen. In concluſion, the *Roman* horſe were over-born, and driven by plain force to a ſtaggering recoil. This the Conſul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Aſdrubal*, with his boiſterous *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, were not to be reſiſted by theſe *Roman* Gentlemen, unequal both in number, and in horſmanſhip. When the battels came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found work enough, and ſomewhat more than enough, to break that great *Creſcent*, upon which they firſt fell: ſo ſtrongly for the while, did the *Gauls* and *Spaniſh* foot make reſiſtance. Wherefore the two points of their battel drew towards the midſt; by whoſe aid, theſe oppoſites were forced to diſband, and fly back to their firſt place. This they did in great haſte and fear: and were with no leſs haſte, and folly purſued. Upon the *Africans* that ſtood behind them, they needed not to fall foul; both for that there was void room enough; and foraſmuch as the Rear, or Horns of this Moon, pointed into the ſafe retrait, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-enforce them, when time ſhould require. In this haſty retrait, or flight of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, it happned, as was neceſſary, that they who had ſtood in the limb or utter compaſs of the half Moon, made the innermoſt or concave ſurface thereof (diſordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turn the inſide outward: the horns or points thereof, as yet, untouched, only turning round, and recoyling very little. So the *Romans*, in purſuing them, were incloſed in an half circle; which they ſhould not have needed greatly to regard, (for that the ſides of it were exceeding thin and broken; and the bottom of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and ſeeming unable to make reſi-

ſtance) had all the enemies foot been caſt into this on great body, that was in a manner diſſolved. But whileſt the Legions, following their ſuppoſed victory, ruſhed on upon thoſe that ſtood before them, and thereby unwittingly engaged themſelves deeply within the principal ſtrength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either ſide advanced ſo far, that getting beyond the Rear of them, they encloſed them, in a manner, behind: and forward they could not paſs far, without removing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the leaſt eaſie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great *Creſcent*, before ſpoken of, was of ſuch extent, as covered the *Africans*, who lay behind it undiſcerned, untill now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *unawares*; and that they behaved themſelves, as men that thought upon no other work, than what was found them by the *Gauls*. Neither is it credible, that they would have been ſo mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulk of their Army, into the throat of ſlaughter; had they ſeen thoſe weapons bent againſt them at the firſt, which when they did ſee, they had little hope to eſcape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and raſhneſs of inferiour Captains: but ſince the Conſul *Paulus*, a man ſo expert in war, being vanquiſhed in horſe, had put himſelf among the Legions; it cannot be ſuppoſed, that he and they did wilfully thus engage themſelves. *Aſdrubal*, having broken the troops of *Roman* horſe, that were led by the Conſul *Paulus*, followed upon them along the River ſide, beating down and killing, as many as he could, (which were almoſt all of them) without regard of takeing priſoners. The Conſul himſelf was either driven upon his own Legions, or willingly did caſt himſelf among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithſtanding the defeat of his horſe. But he failed of this his expectation. Nevertheleſs he cheared up his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his own ſtout behaviour: beating down and killing many of the enemies with his own hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the ſame part of the battle; and with better ſucceſs. For the Conſul received a blow from a ſling, that did him great hurt: and though a troup of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their beſt to ſave him from further harm; yet was he ſo hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weakneſs, to forſake his horſe. Hereupon all his company alighted, thinking that the Conſul had given order ſo to do: as in many battels, the *Roman* men at arms had left their horſes, to help their foot in diſtreſs. When *Hannibal* (for he was near at hand) perceived this, and underſtood that the Conſul had willed his horſe-men to diſmount; He was very glad of it, and pleaſantly ſaid, *I had rather he would have delivered them unto me, bound hand and foot*: meaning that he had them now almoſt as ſafe, as if they were ſo bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horſe of his aſſociates, in the left wing, was marvelouſly troubled by *Hanno* (or *Maharbal*) and the *Numidians*: who beating up and down about that great ſandy Plain, raiſed a foul duſt; which a ſtrong South wind, blowing there accuſtomarily, drave into the eyes and mouths of the *Romans*. Theſe, uſing their advantage both of number and of lightneſs, wearied the Conſul and his followers exceedingly: neither giving, nor ſuſtaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the firſt they ſeemed to promiſe him an happy day of it. For when the battails were even ready to joyn; five hundred of theſe *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellows, with their ſhields caſt behind their backs, (as was the manner of thoſe which yielded) and throwing down their arms, rendred themſelves. This was good luck to begin withall, if there had been good meaning. *Varro* had not leiſure to examine them; but cauſed them, unweaponed as they were, to get them behind the Army, where he bade them reſt quietly till all was done. Theſe crafty adventurers did as he bade them, for a while; till they found opportunity to put in execution the purpoſe, for which they had thus yielded. Under their Jackets they had ſhort ſwords and poniards; beſides which, they found other ſcattered weapons about the field of ſuch as were ſlain, and therewithal flew upon the hindmoſt of the *Romans*, whileſt all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: ſo that they did great miſchief, and raiſed yet a greater terrour. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plain level ground, found means to lay an ambuſh at the back of his enemies. The laſt blow, that ended all fight and reſiſtance, was given by the ſame hand which gave the firſt. *Aſdrubal* (having in ſhort ſpace broken the *Roman* troups of horſe, and cut in pieces all, ſave the Company of *Æmilius* that ruſhed into the groſs of his foot, and a very few beſides, that recovered ſome narrow paſſage, between the River and their own Battalions) did not ſtay to charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell back


The greater Campe of the Romans
The Roman Camp beyond the riuer
The lesser Campe of the Romans
L. Æmilius Paulus
The Balearres
Asdrubal
Spani
Afri:
caris
Hañ
Hañibal
The Campe of Hañibal
Auſidius fluuius


Cn: Scrutinius w^th 80000 foot
The Roman Velites
C: Terentius Varro
Afri:
Hanno or Mabarbal
cans

back behind the Rear of his own, and fetching about, came up to the *Numidians*: with whom he joyned, and gave upon *Terentius*.

This fearful Cloud, as it ſhewed at the firſt appearance what weather it had left behind it, on the other ſide: ſo did it prognoſticate a diſmal ſtorm unto thoſe upon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, having wearied themſelves much in doing little, and ſeeing more work toward, than they could hope to ſuſtain; thought it the beſt way, to avoid the danger by preſent flight. The Conſul was no leſs wiſe than they, in apprehending the greatneſs of his own peril; nor more deſperate, in ſtriving to work impoſſibilities: it being impoſſible, when ſo many ſhrank from him, to ſuſtain the impreſſion alone, which he could not have indured with their aſſiſtance. Now he found that it was one thing to talk of *Hannibal* at *Rome*; and another, to incounter him. But of this, or of ought elſe, excepting haſty flight, his preſent leiſure would not ſerve him to conſider. Cloſe at the heels of him and his flying troops, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Aſdrubal* unto the purſuit, as fitteſt for that ſervice. *Aſdrubal* himſelf, with the *Gauls* and *Spaniſh* horſe, compaſſing about, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*; that were ere this hardly diſtreſſed, and in a manner ſurrounded on all parts elſe: He brake them eaſily; who before made ill reſiſtance, being incloſed, and laid at on every ſide, not knowing which way to turn. Here began a pittiful ſlaughter: the vanquiſhed multitude thronging up and down, they knew not whither or which way, whileſt every one ſought to avoid thoſe enemies, whom he ſaw neareſt. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Æmilius*, got up to horſe, and ſaved themſelves: which though it is hardly underſtood how they could do; yet I will rather believe it, than ſuppoſe that *Livie* ſo reporteth, to grace thereby his Hiſtory with this following tale. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, galloping along by a place where he ſaw the Conſul ſitting all bloddied upon a ſtone, intreated him to riſe and ſave himſelf; offering him his aſſiſtonce and horſe. But* Paulus *refuſed it; willing* Lentulus *to ſhift for himſelf, and not to loſe time: ſaying, That it was not his purpoſe to be brought again into judgement by the People, either as an accuſer of his Colleague, or as guilty himſelf of that dayes loſs. Further, he willed* Lentulus *to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to* Fabius: *willing them to fortifie* Rome, *as faſt as well they could; and telling* Fabius, *that he lived and died mindful of his wholeſome counſel.* Theſe words (peradventure) or ſome to like purpoſe, the Conſul uttered to *Lentulus*, either when againſt his will he was drawn to that battel, or when he beheld the firſt defeat of his horſe; at what time he put himſelf in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he ſaid a good while before this; when he thought the Conſul and his troup, in little better caſe than if they had been bound. The whole Groſs of the *Romans*, was incloſed indeed as within a ſack; whereof the *African* Battalions made the ſides; the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottom; and *Aſdrubal* with his horſe, cloſed up the mouth: in which part, they firſt of all were ſhuffled together, and began the Rout, wherein all the reſt followed. *Æmilius* therefore, who could not ſit his horſe, whileſt the battel yet laſted, and whileſt the ſpaces were ſomewhat open, by which he might have withdrawn himſelf; was now (had he never ſo well been mounted) unable to fly, having in his way ſo cloſe a throng of his own miſerable followers, and ſo many heaps of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It ſufficeth unto his honour, That in the Battel he fought no leſs valiantly, than he had warily before, both abſtained himſelf, and diſſwaded his fellow-Conſul, from fighting at all. If, when the day was utterly loſt, it had lien in his power to ſave his own life unto the good of his Country, never more needing it; I ſhould think, that he either too much diſeſteemed himſelf; or being too faintly minded, was weary of the World, and his unthankfull Citizens. But if ſuch a reſolution were praiſe-worthy in *Æmilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the *Engliſh* vertue of the Lord *John Talbot*, Viſcount *Liſle*, ſon to that famous Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who died in the Battel of *Chaſtilion*, more highly to be honoured. For *Æmilius* was old, grievouſly, if not mortally wounded, and accomptable for the overthrow received: *Talbot* was in the flowre of his youth, unhurt, eaſily able to have eſcaped, and not anſwerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refuſed to forſake his Father; who foreſeeing the loſs of the battel, and not meaning to ſtain his actions paſt by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble ſon to be gone and leave him.

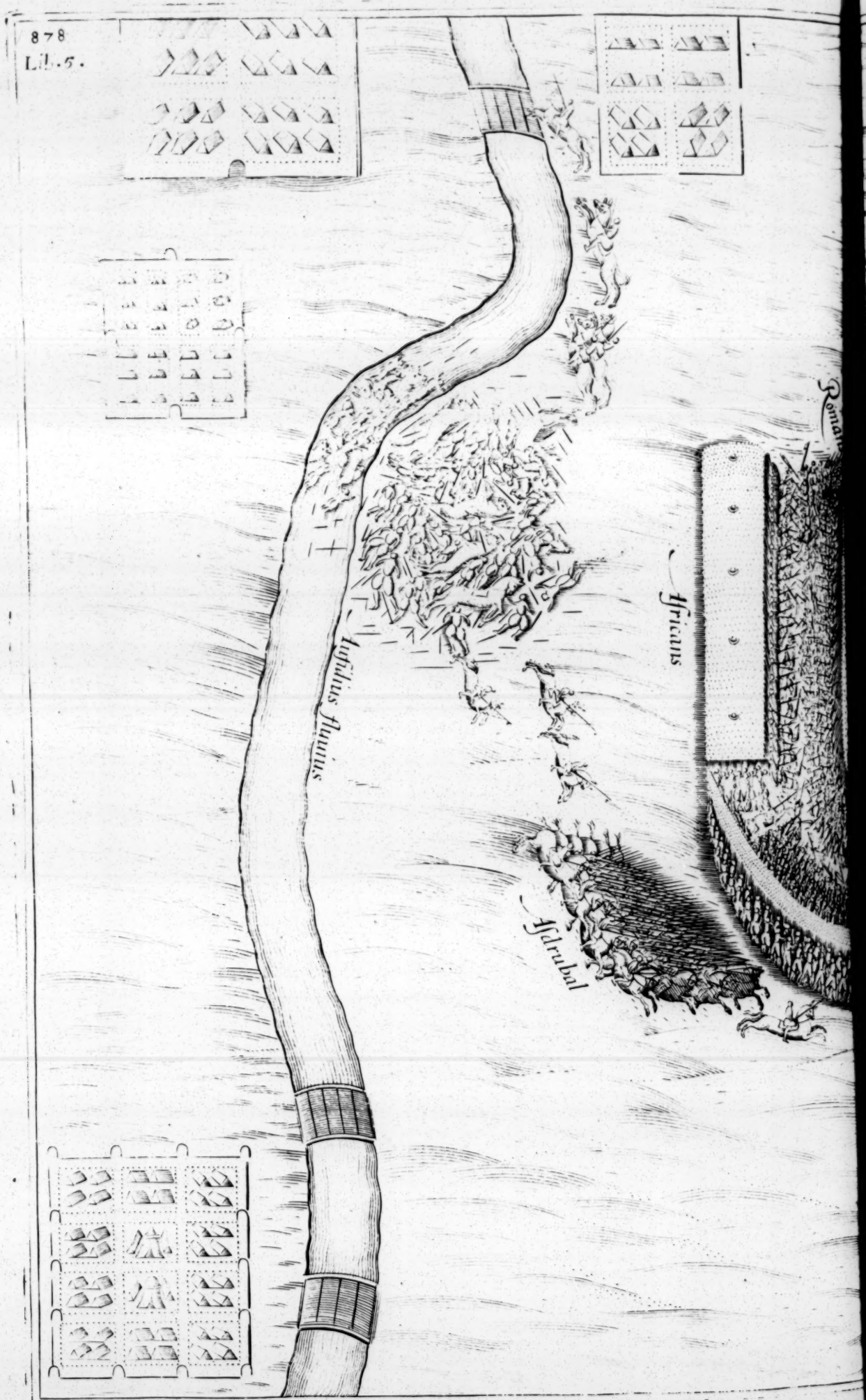
In this terrible overthrow died all the *Roman* foot, ſave two or three thouſand, who (as *Livie* ſaith) eſcaped into the leſſer Camp; whence the ſame night, about ſix hundred of them brake forth, and joyning with ſuch

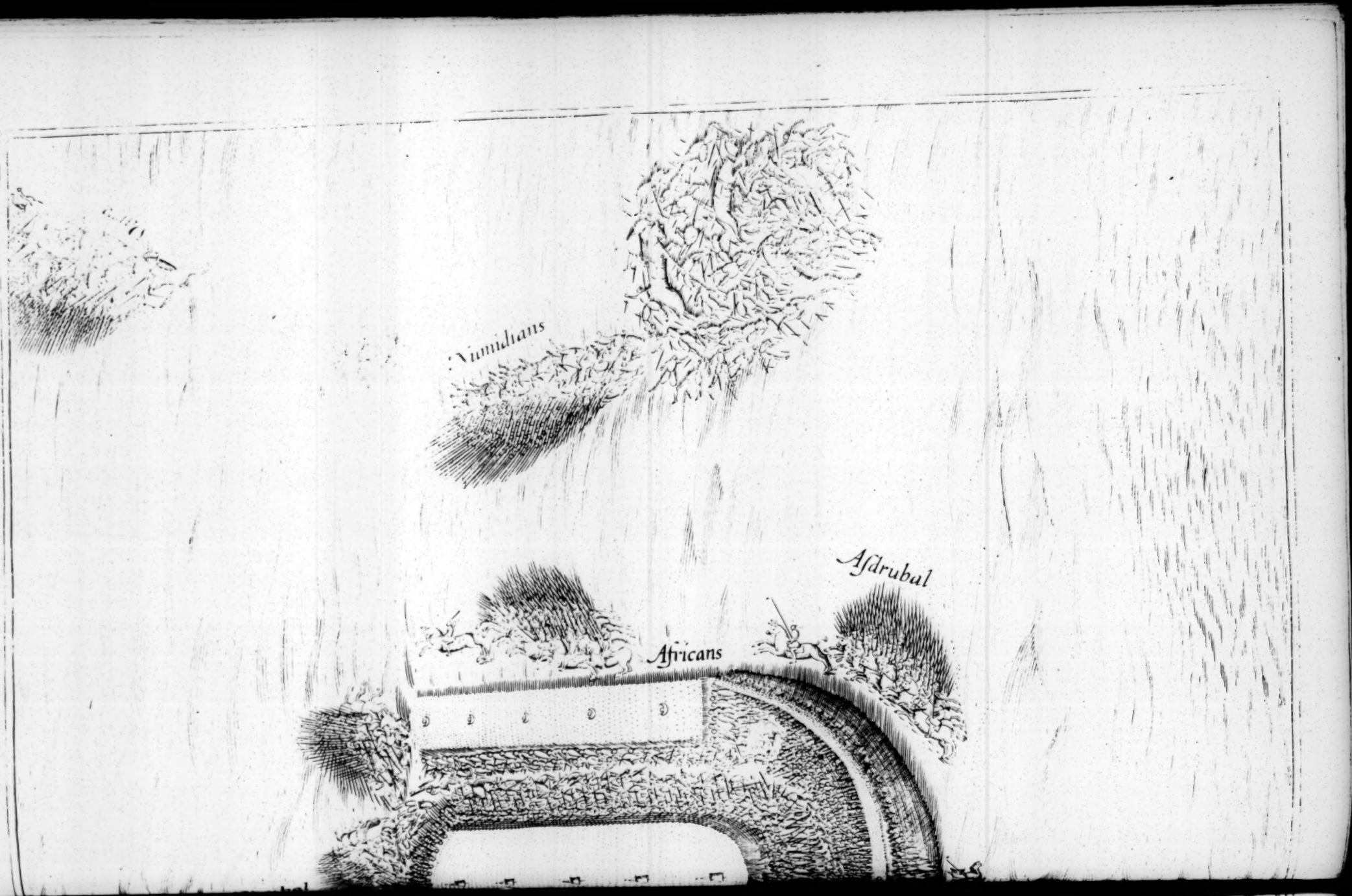
of those in the greater Camp, as were willing to try their fortune, conveyed themselves away ere morning, about four thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troops, partly dispersed into *Cannusium*: the next day the *Roman* Camps, both less and greater, were yielded unto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: only he reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Æmilius* had left on the West side of *Aufidus* (as was shewed before) to set upon the Camp of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well near done, the battel was lost: and *Hannibal*, coming over the water to them, drave them into their own Camp; which they quickly yielded, having lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first sight of *Hannibal*, coming upon them with his victorious Army, a greater number of these did flye, and thereby escaped, whilest their fellows, making defence in vain, retired into their Camp, and held the enemy busied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not half full, but made up by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that having served at *Cannæ*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the *Roman* horse what numbers escaped, it is uncertain: but very few they were that saved themselves in the first charge, by getting behind the River; and *Terentius* the Consul recovered *Venusia*, with threescore and ten at the most in his company. That he was so ill attended, it is no marvel: for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his neerest way thither, had been thorow the midst of *Hannibals* Army, if the passage had been open. Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of sight, he turned up some by-way; so disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted *contre*. Of such as could not hold pace with the Consul, but took other wayes, and were scattered over the fields; two thousand, or thereabout, were gathered up by the *Numidians*, and made prisoners: the rest were slain, all save three hundred, who dispersed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into sundry Towns. There died in this great Battel of *Cannæ*, besides *L. Emilius Paulus* the Consul, two of the *Roman* Quæstors or Treasurers, and one and twenty Colonels or Tribunes of the Souldiers, fourscore Senators, or such as had born office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of special mark, as having been *Ædiles*, Prætors or Consuls: among whom was *Cn. Servilius*, the last years Consul, and *Minutius*, late Master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battel, *Livie* makes no greater than three thousand foot, and three hundred horse: too few to have defended for the space of one half hour, both the *Roman* Camps, which yet the same *Livie* saith, to have been over-cowardly yielded up. We may therefore do better, to give credit unto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they were no less than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were only such as the Enemy spared, when the fury of Execution was past: but to these must be added about five thousand more, who yielded in the greater Camp, when their company were either slain or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romans*, especially the Consul *Varro*, had before cast up (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they find it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some four thousand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred Horse, or thereabouts: a loss not sensible, in the joy of so great a victory; which if he had pursued, as *Maharbal* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*: it is little doubted, but that the war had presently been at an end. But he believed not so far in his own prosperity; and was therefore told, That *he knew how to get, not how to use a victory.*

§. IX.

Of things following the Battel at Cannæ.

NOT without good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two Historians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*; who, regarding more the pleasure of them unto whose honour they consecrated their travels, than the truth of things, and information of posterity, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* Quirites, and Fathers conscript. No man of sound judgement will condemn this liberty of censure, which *Polybius* hath used. For, to recompence his juniority (such as it was) he produceth substantial argumens, to justifie his own Relation; and confuteth the vanity of those former Authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which pains is to be suspected, that he would not have taken, had he been born in either


Romani
Africani
Lucullus flumen
Asdrubal


Numidians
Asdrubal
Africans

either of theſe two Cities, but have ſpared ſome part of his diligence, and been contented to have all men think better and more honourably than he deſerved, of his own Countrey. The like diſeaſe it is to be feared, that we ſhall hereafter find in others; and ſhall have ſome cauſe to wiſh, that either they were ſomewhat leſs *Roman*, or elſe, that ſome works of their oppoſite Writers were extant, that ſo we might at leaſt hear both ſides ſpeak: being henceforth deſtitute of *Polybius* his help, that was a man indifferent. But ſince this cannot be, we muſt be ſometimes bold, to obſerve the coherence of things; and believe ſo much only to be true, as dependeth upon good reaſon, or (at leaſt) fair probability. This attentive circumſpection is needful at the preſent: ſuch is the repugnancy, or forgetfulneſs, which we find in the beſt narration of things following the Battel of *Cannæ*. For it is ſaid, that four thouſand foot and horſe gathered together about the Conſul *Terentius* at *Venuſia*; that others to the number of ten thouſand got into *Cannuſium*, chuſing for their Captains, young *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Conſul *Terentius Varro*, joyning his company unto thoſe of *Scipio* at *Cannuſium*, wrote unto the Senate, that he had now well near ten thouſand men about him; that theſe letters of the Conſul were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly riſen, that had been taking order for pacifying thoſe tumults in the City, which grew upon the firſt bruit of the overthrow; and yet, that Embaſſadours from *Capua* (after ſome conſultation, whether it were meet to ſend any, or without further circumſtance, to ſide with *Hannibal*) were ſent unto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venuſia*, a pretty while before he wrote thoſe letters, which overtook (in a manner) at *Rome* the firſt news of the overthrow. Among ſuch incoherences, I hold it the beſt way, to omit ſo much as hath not ſome particular connexion with matter enſuing: mutual dependency in things of this nature, being no ſmall argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had ſacked the *Roman* Camp, and truſſed up the ſpoils, forthwith he diſ-lodged, and marched away into *Samnium*; finding a diſpoſition in the *Hirpines*, and many other people thereabout, to forſake the *Roman* party, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The firſt Town that opened the gates unto him, was *Coſſa*, where he laid up his baggage: and leaving his Brother *Mago* to take in other places, he haſted into *Campania*. The general affection of the multitude, in all the Cities of *Italy*, was inclinable unto him; not only in regard of their grievous loſſes ſuſtained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themſelves, who could not hinder him from ſpoiling the Country, eſpecially the poorer ſort of them, did hardly indure; but in a loving reſpect unto that great courteſie (as it ſeemed) which he uſed unto ſuch of them as became his priſoners. For as at other times, ſo now after this great victory at *Cannæ*, he had lovingly diſmiſſed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands; rebuking them gently for being ſo obſtinate againſt him that had ſought to deliver them from bondage. Neither ſpared he to win their love by gifts, pretending to admire their valour; but ſeeking indeed, by all wayes and means, to make them his, whileſt all other motives were concurrent. At this time alſo he began to deal kindly (though againſt his nature) with the *Roman* priſoners; telling them that he bore no mortal hatred unto their Eſtate; but being provoked by injuries, ſought to right himſelf and his Country; and fought with them, to try which of theſe two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage* ſhould bear ſoveraign Rule, not which of them ſhould be deſtroyed. So he gave them leave to chuſe ten of their number, that ſhould be ſent home to treat with the Fathers about their ranſome: and together with theſe he ſent *Carthalo* a Nobleman of *Carthage*, and General of his Horſe, to feel the diſpoſition of the Senate, whether it were bowed as yet by ſo much adverſity, and could ſtoop unto deſire of peace. But with the *Romans* theſe Arts prevailed not, as ſhall be ſhewed in due place. The people of *Italy*, all, or moſt of them, ſave the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not only weary of their loſſes paſt, but entertained a deceivable hope, of changing their old Society for a better. Wherefore not only the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not untill the former Generation utterly ſubdued, began to re-aſſume their wonted ſpirits: but the *Campans*, a Nation of all in *Italy* moſt bound unto the State of *Rome*, and by many mutual affinities therewith as ſtraightly conjoyned, as were any ſave the *Latines*, changed on a ſudden their love into hatred, without any other cauſe found, than change of fortune.

Campania is the moſt goodly and fruitful Province of *Italy*, if not (as ſome then thought) of all the Earth: and the City of *Capua*, anſwerable unto the Country, whereof it was Head; ſo great, fair, and wealthy, that it ſeemed no leſs convenient a ſeat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*.

But

But of all qualities, Bravery is the leaſt requiſite unto ſoveraign command. The *Campans* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themſelves like Jayes by their feathers, deſpiſed the unfortunate vertue of the *Romans* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there ſome of the principal among them, as in other Cities, that bore eſpecial regard unto the Majeſty of *Rome*, and could not indure to hear of Innovation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately ſo prevailed within *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleaſure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calavius* an ambitious Noble-man, whoſe credit grew, and was up-held by furthering all popular deſires; whereof, the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the leaſt. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their City to the *Carthaginians* ſhortly after the battel of *Thraſymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his journey into *Campania*: the Dictator *Fabius* waiting upon him. At that time, either the nearneſs of the *Roman* Army, or ſome other fear of the *Capuans*, hindred them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leiſure to treat about any article of new Confederacy: or, had leiſure ſerved, yet were the multitude (whoſe inconſtant love *Hannibal* had won from the *Romans*, by gentle uſage, and free diſmiſſing of ſome priſoners in good account among them) unable to hold any ſuch negotiation, without advice of the Senate, which mainly impugned it. So they that had promiſed to yield up their Town to *Hannibal*, and meet him on the way, with ſome of their Nobility that ſhould aſſure him of all faithful meaning, were driven to ſit ſtill in a great perplexity: as having failed to let in this their new friend, yet ſufficiently diſcovered themſelves to draw upon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this caſe were no ſmall number of the Citizens; who thereupon grew the more incenſed againſt their Senate, on whom they caſt all the blame, eaſily pardoning their own cowardize. The people holding ſo tender a regard of liberty, that even the lawful government of Magiſtrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppreſſion; had now good cauſe to fear leſt the Senators would become the Lords indeed, and by help of the *Romans* bring them under a more ſtraight ſubjection, than ever they had endured. This fear being ready to break into ſome outrage, *Pacuvius* made uſe of, to ſerve his own ambition. He diſcourſed unto the Senate, as they ſate in Counſel, about thoſe motions troubling the City: and ſaid, That he himſelf had both married a *Roman* Lady, and given his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*: but, that the danger of forſaking of the *Roman* party was not now the greateſt: for that the people were violently bent to murder all the Senate, and after to joyn themſelves with *Hannibal*, who ſhould countenance the fact, and ſave them harmleſs. This he ſpake, as a man well known to be beloved himſelf by the people, and privy unto their deſigns. Having throughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging over them: He promiſed nevertheleſs to deliver them all, and to ſet things in quiet, if they would freely put themſelves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other aſſurance that they ſhould demand for his faithful meaning. They all agreed. Then ſhutting up the Court, and placing a guard of his own followers about it, that none might enter, nor iſſue forth, without his leave; he called the people to aſſembly: and ſpeaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to hear, he told them, that theſe wicked Governours were ſurpriſed by his policy, and all faſt, ready to abide what ſentence they would lay upon them. Only thus much he adviſed them, as a thing which neceſſity required, That they ſhould chuſe a new Senate, before they ſatisfied their anger upon the old. So rehearſing unto them the names of one or two Senators; he aſked what their judgement was of thoſe. All cryed out, That they were worthy of death. Chuſe then (ſaid he) firſt of all ſome new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, unprovided for ſuch an election, was ſilent, untill at laſt ſome one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men ſo nominated, were utterly diſliked by the whole Aſſembly; either for ſome known fault, baſeneſs and inſufficiency; or elſe even becauſe they were unknown, and therefore held unworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whileſt more were to be choſen; (the fitteſt man to be ſubſtituted, having been named among the firſt, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* intreated, and eaſily prevailed with the people, that the preſent Senate might for this time be ſpared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtleſs) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences paſt. Henceforth, not only the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and eſteemed him their Patron; but the Senators alſo were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themſelves indebted, for ſaving all their lives. Neither did the Senate fail after this by all obſequiouſneſs, to court the people, giving the

the reines unto their lawleſs Will, who elſe were likely to caſt them down. All the City being thus of one mind; only fear of the *Romans* kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battel at *Cannæ*, this impediment was removed; and few there were that would open their mouths to ſpeak againſt the rebellion. Yet foraſmuch as three hundred principal Gentlemen of the *Campans*, did then ſerve the *Romans* in the Iſle of *Sicil*: the Parents and Kinſmen of theſe prevailed ſo far, that Embaſſadors were ſent unto *Terentius* the Conſul, to ſee his preſent caſe, and what it could miniſter of Hope or Fear. Theſe, whereſoever they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in ſpirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the ſervice of their State; and deſired to know what he would command them. But he moſt baſely lamented unto them the greatneſs of the *Roman* misfortune: ſaying, That all was loſt; and that the *Campans* muſt now not help the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to help themſelves, but make war in their defence againſt the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had ſometimes done for the *Campans* againſt the *Samnites*. Hereunto he is ſaid to have added a fooliſh Invective againſt *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, how he had taught them to make bridges of ſlaughtered carkaſſes, and to feed upon mans fleſh, with ſuch other ſtuff, as only bewrayed his own fear. As for the *Campans* themſelves, he put them in mind of their preſent ſtrength: they having thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; with money, and all proviſions, in abundance. Thus he diſmiſſed them prouder than they came, and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordſhip; whereas before they were ſomewhat timorous in adventuring to ſeek their own liberty. Having reported this at *Capua*; the ſame Embaſſadors were diſpatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they eaſily made alliance, upon theſe conditions, that the *Campans* ſhould be abſolutely free, and ruled by their own Laws; That no Citizens of theirs ſhould be ſubject unto any *Carthaginian* Magiſtrate, in what caſe ſoever, whether in War or Peace; and that *Hannibal* ſhould deliver unto the *Campans* three hundred *Roman* priſoners, ſuch as themſelves would chuſe, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicil*.

Againſt all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius*, an honourable Citizen, oppoſed himſelf earneſtly; uſing, in vain, many perſwaſions, to the wilful and head-ſtrong Multitude; whom he put in mind of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wiſhing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were ſending Embaſſadours unto *Hannibal*; and this alſo did he, when the new alliance was concluded; but moſt earneſtly, when a *Carthaginian* Garriſon was entring the Town: at which time he gave advice, either to keep it out, or to fall upon it, and to cut it in pieces, that by ſuch a notable piece of ſervice, they might make amends unto the *Romans*, whom they had forſaken.

Advertiſement hereof was given to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples* not far off, ſent for *Magius* to come ſpeak with him in the Camp. This *Magius* refuſed: alledging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from ſubjection unto any *Carthaginians*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon haſted himſelf towards *Capua*; forbearing to attempt any further upon *Naples*, which he thought to have taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the walls too high, and was not well provided to lay ſiege unto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great ſolemnity and pomp: all the people iſſuing forth of the Town, to behold the great Commander, which had won ſo many noble victories. Having taken his pleaſure in the ſight of that goodly City, and paſſed over his firſt entertainments, he came into their Senate, where he commended their reſolution, in ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke; promiſing, that ere long all *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf, ſhould be driven to acknowledge *Capua* as chief, and receive Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly took part with the *Romans* their enemies; he prayed them, that they would not uſe him as a *Campan*, but a Traitor to the State, and uſe him accordingly, giving ſentence out of hand upon him, as he deſerved. This was granted: and *Magius* delivered unto *Hannibal*; who unwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his firſt coming, by putting ſo geeat a man to death, yet fearing that they might ſue for his liberty, if he kept him alive, thought it beſt to ſend him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* ſetled his friendſhip with the *Campanes*: among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to ſpeak againſt him; being aſſiſted by *Perolla* the Son of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would have murdered *Hannibal*, whileſt he was at ſupper, the firſt night of his coming, had not his Fathers authority kept him from attempting any ſuch attempt. All the Town (beſides) were ſo earneſt in the love of their new Society, that they are ſaid to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the preſent

present they could lay hand; or (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of fortune, with those of *Capua*, ran some other Towns thereabouts which dependeth on this, as their Mother-City. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Casiline*, and *Acerræ*, were the Cities next adjoyning, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to find them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled Towns; but were fain to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, unto the faith and courage of the inhabitants. *Rome* it self was in extream fear of *Hannibals* coming, at the first report of the overthrow at *Cannæ*: and the grief of that loss was so general, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loss already received, or the fear of destruction presently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found work enough, to stint the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the streets were full. Courrers were sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went: whereof when Letters from the Consul *Varro* had throughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ran into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatal books, buried alive two men and women, *Gaules* and *Greeks*, in their Oxe-market. If the books of *Sibyl* gave them such instructions; we may justly think that *Sibyl* her self was instructed by the Devil. Yet it is not improbable, that extremity of fear caused them to hearken to wicked South-sayers; whose detestable counsels they afterwards for their own honour (as ashamed of such Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Embassador was sent to *Delphi*, to consult with the oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire with what prayers and supplications they might pacifie the gods, and obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discover the greatness of their fear; though not serving to give remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicil*, from the Prætor of *Otacilius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to pass over into *Africk*. In these were contained news of one *Carthaginian* fleet that wasted the kingdome of *Hieron* their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Isles *Ægatcis*, which was in readiness to set upon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the *Roman* Province, if the Prætor stirred aside to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needful to call home *Terentius* the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take soverain charge of the Weal-publick, with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seem strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consul, and bid him welcome home, giving him thanks *for that he had not despaired of the Weal-publick*. But this was done (as may seem) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtless) provided wisely for upholding the general reputation. If this coming into the City had renewed the lamentations and outcries of the people: what else would have followed, than a contempt of their wretchedness, among those that were subject unto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gave it not) of bestowing upon him their welcome, and thanks; they noised abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the ears of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might seem grounded on their remaining strength. This therefore was wisely done. But whereas *Livie* would have us think, that it was done generously, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I believe him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their grief: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would have struck off his head; as in few years after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being less blame-worthy, for a smaller offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised four new Legions, and one thousand horse: though with much difficulty; as being fain to take up some that were very boyes. These four Legions are elsewhere forgotten in account of the forces levied by this Dictator; and two Legions only set down, that had been enrolled in the beginning of the year for the custody of the City. So it may be, that these two Legions being drawn into the field; four new ones of *Prætextati*, or striplings were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding unto them eight thousand sturdy slaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if they should deserve it by manfull service. This not sufficing, the Dictator proclaimed, that whosoever ought mony and could not pay it, or had committed any capital offence,

Liv. lib. 22

Liv. lib. 23

Liv. lib. 23

offence, ſhould forthwith be diſcharged of his debt or puniſhment, if he would ſerve in the War. To arm theſe Companies, they were fain to take down out of their Temples and Porches, the ſpoils of their enemies that had been there ſet up: among which, were 6000. Armours of the *Gaules*, that had been carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To ſuch mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their inſolent oppreſſions, that they were fain to iſſue forth of their own gates, in the habit of ſtrangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman*-like.

About the ſame time it was that *Carthalo* with the Agents of the priſoners taken at *Cannæ*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whilſt he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the meſſengers of the captives audience was given by the Senate. They made earneſt Petition to be ranſomed at the publick charge; not only the tears and lamentation of their poor kinſfolk but the great need, wherein the City then ſtood, of able Souldiers, commending their ſuit; which yet they obtained not. Beſides the general cuſtom of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and ſtrengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrown, and taken priſoner in the former War) not to be too tender of ſuch as had yielded to the enemy, much was alleadged againſt thoſe who now craved ranſome: but the ſpecial point was, that they were wilfully loſt, ſince they might have ſaved themſelves, as others did. It ſufficed not unto theſe poor men, to ſay, that their offence was no greater than the Conſuls; they were told, that this was great preſumption. The truth was, the State wanted money; and therefore could not want excuſes; whereby to avoid the diſburſement: whether it were ſo, or not, that any ſuch Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither muſt we regard it, that the ſlaves which were armed for the war, are ſaid to have coſt more, than the ſumm did amount unto, that would have ranſomed theſe priſoners. For this is but a tale, deviſed to countenance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had been ſevere; when as indeed they were ſuitable to the preſent fortune, poor and ſomewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proof, That *Hannibal* valued thoſe *Roman* ſlaves, whom he had taken in the Camp among their Maſters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common Souldiers ranſome: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat he thought them current. But if we ſhould ſuppoſe, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for ſlaves might have been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet muſt we withall conſider, that theſe private men did only lend theſe ſlaves for a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented *to forbear the price of them* (when by order of the Senate they were enfranchiſed) untill the war ſhould be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given ſuch long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his Chapmen: but, ſeeing he dealt only for ready money, they choſe rather to ſay, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like auſterity, upon the ſame reaſon, but contrary pretence, was uſed toward the Souldiers that eſcaped from that great battel. Theſe were charged for having fled: as the priſoners were, for not flying, when they might have done ſo. True it is, that in ſuch caſes (if ever) that which they call *Raggione del Stato*, may ſerve for an excuſe: when the Common-wealth, being driven to a miſerable exigent, is fain to help it ſelf, by doing injuries to private men. And ſo dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all thoſe that had ſerved at *Cannæ*, to be tranſported into *Sicil*; and there to ſerve, not as others did, untill they had fulfilled twenty years in the Wars, or elſe were fifty years of age, but untill this War ſhould be ended, how long ſoever it laſted, and that without reward. The ſame thrifty cenſure was afterwards laid upon others, for their miſ-behaviour: but never upon any man of quality, ſave only (a good while after this, at better leiſure) upon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-brain'd fools his companions; who, being frighted out of their wits, with the terrour of ſo great a loſs, were deviſing, after the battel, which way to run out of *Italy*, when *Hannibal* as yet had ſcarce one Town within it. The inequality of this rigour grew ſhortly diſtaſteful to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by *a Tribune of the people*; nevertheleſs it was quietly digeſted, Liv. lib. 24. the excuſe being no leſs apparent than the fault.

M. Junius the Dictator, having diſpatched all needfull buſineſs within the City, took the field with five and twenty thouſand men. What he did with this Army, I cannot find: nor more of him than this, That he ſpent the time about *Campania*; where (as

may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater evil: for of any evil done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans*, in this their weak estate, only *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Ostia*, with a Fleet ready to set sail for *Sicil*, having one Legion aboord his ships; and fifteen hundred other Souldiers newly taken up: with which forces he was to defend that Island, and do what harm he could in *Africk*. But hearing of the overthrow at *Cannæ*, he sent these of his new Levy to *Rome*, for defence of the City; and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Canusium*: delivering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates and chief Citizens of *Nola*, to help them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the rest of the *Campanes*) to let in the *Carthaginian*; and knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberate about the articles of this new confederacy. Wherefore he made great journeys thitherward; and arrived even time enough to prevent the Enemy. Many idle walks *Hannibal* made betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: assaying by fair words and terrible threats the one and the other City. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with any the least touch of disloyalty: had also a sure Haven, whereby it stood in the less fear of sustaining much inconvenience, by spoil of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrey. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, That *Hannibal* was Master of the field: which if he laid waste, all the poor people were utterly undone. So thought the Multitude: and such talk used some, that had little fear of their own private want or poverty, but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of these, one *L. Bantius* was chief; a stout young Gentleman, and Souldier of especial mark, well beloved in the City, and one that had done good service to the *Romans*; but was found by *Hannibal* half dead at *Cannæ*; and after much gentle usage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberal gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to return the greatest thanks he could unto so courteous an enemy. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought upon the same easie nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had been by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deserved of the *Roman* State, had not repaired unto him the Prætor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himself also a man highly reputed for his personal valour, he made this *Bantius* so far in love with him, that no thing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*, whereof he had not presently advertisement. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*; and assayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison; upon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptory answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*, which he took by composition; and so returned back again to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore unto him: who although they durst not stir in his quarrel, being over-awed by the *Roman* Garrison; yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly bestead, and forced to turn his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not be wanting unto the accomplishment of their own desires. He therefore brought his Army close to the Town, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to do much good, but only to make shew of a meaning to force the Town; which he sought in the mean while to take by intelligence. In the night time there passed messages between him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could be trained into the field, the multitude within the Town should presently rise; and seizing upon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was advertised: and fearing lest the Conspirators would shortly adventure, even to find him busied within the City, whilest the *Carthaginians* should scale the walls; he thought it the surest way, to cut off the Enemies hope, and send him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three companies, within three several gates, looking towards the enemy: he gave a straight command, that all the Citizens should keep their houses. Thus he lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder, against whom he had customarily issued forth before more early, every day, to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them;

them; then thought *Hannibal*, that ſurely all was diſcovered, and *Marcellus* now buſied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bad his men bring ladders, and make ready for the aſſault: which was done in all haſte. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very wals, and thought nothing leſs, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: ſuddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the beſt and oldeſt of his Souldiers, brake forth upon them, with a great noiſe, to make his unexpected ſally the more terrible. Whileſt the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were ſome of them flying before *Marcellus*, the reſt making head againſt him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like ſort iſſued they of the new levied Companies, upon the enemies backs. The ſudden terrour was more available unto the *Romans*, than their force; yet the Execution was ſo great, that this was accounted as a victory, and reputed one of the braveſt Acts performed in all that War, foraſmuch as hereby it was firſt proved, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this, *Marcellus* being freed from his enemies that were departed, took a ſtrict account of the Citizens of *Nola*; condemning above threeſcore and ten of high Treaſon, whoſe heads he ſtruck off; and ſo leaving the Town in quiet obedience unto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Sueſſula*. *Hannibal* in the mean ſeaſon was gone to *Acerræ*: where being excluded, he thought it no wiſdom to loſe time in perſwaſions, but laid ſiege unto it, and began on all ſides to cloſe it up. This terrified the People, who knew themſelves unable to hold out. Therefore before his Works were finiſhed, and they quite ſurrounded; they ſtole out by night, and left him the Town empty: which he ſacked and burnt. Then hearing news of the Dictator, that he was about *Caſiline*, thither went *Hannibal*; as being unwilling that an enemy ſo near ſhould diſquiet him at *Capua*; where he meant to Winter. It ſeems, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of *Marcellus* had nothing abated the ſpirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durſt with a ſmall part of his Army ſeek out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* ſtrength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, upon ſo ſlight an occaſion as the death of ſome two thouſand of his men, at the moſt, and thoſe not ſlain in plain battel, but by a ſudden eruption; witneſſeth chiefly, in what great fear they ſtood of *Hannibal*, and how Creſt-fallen they were: that having three years ſince demanded at *Carthage* the body of *Hannibal*, to be delivered unto their pleaſure, by his own Citizens; could now pleaſe themſelves, as with good news, to hear, That in a ſkirmiſh not far from *Rome*, he appeared to be a man, and not reſiſtleſs. At *Caſilinum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, and held it. Five hundred of the *Præneſtines* there were, and about four hundred of *Peruſia*, with ſome of the *Latines*. All theſe had the good hap, to come too late to the battel at *Cannæ*, being ſent by their ſeveral States to the Camp: whither whileſt they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountred them, and ſent them back ſorrowfull; for they loved well their Lords the *Romans*, under whoſe government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another to *Caſiline*, where they met and ſtayed. Neither had they ſtayed there long, ere they heard news from *Capua*, How that great City became the Ring-leader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Caſiline* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore ſought how to rid their hands of thoſe *Præneſtines* and their fellows; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many trains laid one for another, at laſt they ſlew all the Townſmen in a night, and fortified the Weſtern part of the Town (for it was divided by the River *Vulturnus*) againſt the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that theſe of *Caſiline* were as the reſt of the *Campanes*, all Traitors; they themſelves might have been reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their conſtancy in defence of the place witneſſeth, upon what honeſt reaſons they ſurpriſed it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to have encountred with greater forces: but theſe few found him more work than he expected. Divers aſſaults he gave, but was ſtill repelled with loſs: and many ſallies they made, with variable event. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: oppoſing ſo much induſtry to his force, that he was driven to cloſe them up, and ſeek to win them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Maſter of the Horſe, lay with the *Roman* Army higher up the River: who fain would have relieved *Caſiline*, but that the Dictator being gone to *Rome* about ſome matters of Religion, had given him an expreſs charge not to fight till his return. *Marcellus* from *Sueſſula* could not come: his way being ſtopped by the overflowings of *Vulturnus*; the *Nolans* alſo beſeeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water

ſtayed his journey, ſuch intreaties were needleſs. Neither is it like that the Dictator tarried at *Rome* ſo long, as till extrem famine had conſumed the Garriſon in *Caſiline*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Town was loſt, becauſe the *Romans* durſt not adventure to raiſe the ſiege. Barrels of Corn were ſent by night, floting down the River; and when ſome of theſe, being carried awry by an Eddie of water, ſtuck among the Willows on the bank, whereby this manner of relief was diſcovered and prevented; *Gracchus* caſt a great quantity of Nuts into the ſtream, which faintly ſuſtained the poor beſieged men. At length when all food was ſpent, and whatſoever grew green under the Walls was gathered for Sallets, the *Carthaginians* ploughed up the ground; whereon the beſieged preſently ſowed Rape-ſeed. *Hannibal* ſeeing this, admired their patience; and ſaid, That he meant not to ſtay at *Caſiline* untill the Rapes were grown. Wherefore though hitherto he had refuſed to hearken unto any Compoſition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by puniſhing their obſtinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their lives at an indifferent ranſome; which when they had paid, he quietly diſmiſſed them, according to his promiſe. Seven hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Caſiline*, as a Garriſon for defence of the *Campanes*; unto whom he reſtored it. To the *Prænestine* Souldiers great thanks were given, and loving rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their preſent condition pleaſed them ſo well, that they choſe rather to continue, as they were in *Prænestе:* which is no weak proof, of the good eſtate wherein the Cities flouriſhed, that were ſubject to the *Roman* Government. This ſiege of *Caſiline* was not a little beneficial to the *Romans*; as having long detained *Hannibal*, and conſumed much of his time, that might otherwiſe have been better ſpent. For winter overtook him long before he could diſpatch the buſineſs: which how to quit with his honour he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua:* where he refreſhed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Hiſtorians report, and made it effeminate; though effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beat the *Romans* in following times, as ſhall appear hereafter.

§. X.

Of the great ſupply that was decreed at Carthage, *to be ſent to* Hannibal *into* Italy. *How by the malice of* Hanno, *and ſloth or parſimony of the* Carthaginians, *the ſupply was too long deferred. That the riches of the* Carthaginians *grew faſter, than of the* Romans. *Of* Fabius *and other old* Romans *Hiſtorians, how partial they were in their writings.*

WHen *Mago*, the ſon of *Amilcar* had ſpent ſome time about the taking in ſuch *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battel at *Cannæ*; his brother *Hannibal* ſent for him to *Capua*, and thence diſpatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyfull meſſage of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate with how many *Roman* Generals his brother had fought, what Conſuls he had chaſed, wounded or ſlain; how the ſtout *Romans*, that in the former war never ſhunned any occaſion of fight, were now grown ſo calm, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Captain, becauſe he never durſt adventure to come to battel; That not without reaſon their ſpirits were thus abated, ſince *Hannibal* had ſlain of them above two hundred thouſand, and taken above fifty thouſand priſoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italy*, that followed the fortune of thoſe great victories, had revolted unto the *Carthaginians*. Among the reſt he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chief ſeat of their Dominion in *Italy:* and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had been entertained, where he meant to reſt that winter attending their ſupply. As for the war, He ſaid it was even at an end, if they would now purſue it cloſely, and not give the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to re-collect themſelves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to conſider, that the war far from home, in the Enemies Countrey: that ſo many battels had much diminiſhed his brothers Army: that the Souldiers, who had ſo well deſerved, ought to be conſidered with liberal rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of money, corn, and other neceſſaries; but that theſe things muſt be ſent from *Carthage*; which the victory would requite with large amends. Finally, he cauſed the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were ſlain,

to

to be poured out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels; or (as others would rather have it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appear the greatness of the *Roman* calamity, forasmuch as none but the principal of that order, were accustomed to wear that ornament.

* The ordinary of private men was not altogether so great, as the Law would not permitted, though otherwise *Jus Annuli*, The wearing of the Ring, was the general priviledge of the *Roman Equites*.

Who so considers the former *Punick War*, may easily find, that the State of *Carthage* never did receive, in all the durance thereof, any such hopefull advertisements from their Captains abroad. Wherefore it is no marvel, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilco*, a Senator adverse to the faction of *Hanno*, is said to have demanded of that great perswader unto peace with *Rome*, Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should be yielded up unto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the gods, for this their good success. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the same formal answer, which *Livie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres Conscripti*, by a term proper to the *Romans*; and putting them in mind of his own shamefull overthrow received at the Islands *Ægateis*: yet the sum of his speech appears to have been no less malicious than is set down, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himself, at his departure out of *Italy*, exclaimed against the wickedness of this *Hanno*; saying, that his hatred against the *Barchines*, had oppressed their Family, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these victories, as is reported; saying, it ill beseemed him, who had vanquished the *Romans* to call for more help as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their Camp, filled forsooth with spoil, to make request for meat and money. To these cavils, if answer were needfull, it might be said, That other booty than of horses and slaves, little was to be found in the *Roman* Camp: the best of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few * silver studs in the bridles and trappings of their horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any main convoy of money and provisions, going to supply all wants of a great Army in some other Province, (as the two *Scipio*'s are afterwards said to have done, when they wan the Camp of *Asdrubal*, that carryed along with him all the wealth of *Spain*, in his journey towards *Italy*) then might such an objection more justly have been made unto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and wherein he best might hope to prevail, contained a perswasion to use their fortune with moderation; and now to seek peace, whilest they had so much the better in war.

What would have been the issue of this counsel, if it had been followed, it were not easie to say. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italy* from the danger of war; yet it is not likely that the faith, so often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would have been kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of so many shameful overthrows; since after this war ended, and a new league concluded, no submissive behaviour could preserve *Carthage* from ruine, longer, than untill such time as *Rome* was at leisure from all other wars. This counsel therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seem temperate, was indeed very pestilent; and served only to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a main consent of the Senate, that forty thousand *Numidians*, forty Elephants, and great abundance of silver, should be sent over to *Hannibal*: and that, besides these, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, should be levied in *Spain*; not only to supply, as need should require, the Armies in their Province, but to be transported into *Italy*.

This great Aid, had it been as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed; the *Roman* Historians would not have found cause, to tax the retchless improvidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannæ* to *Rome*, or in refreshing his Army among the delights of *Capua*: the next years work would have finished the business, with less dangerous adventure; and the pleasures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campanes*, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be imployed in the following War. But either the too much carelessness of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their money, before extreme necessity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working upon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their own commodity, than sense of the publick need; utterly perverted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the order that had been so well set down. The * Elephants were sent: and some money peradventure,

* Liv. l. 24.

uncertain

uncertain it is how long after. But those great forces of threescore thousand foot, and four thousand horse, came not into *Italy*, till much was lost of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Army, was first consumed by time, and sundry accidents of war. Only some small numbers, no way answering unto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spain*; and the journey of *Asdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italy* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many years were past, and the *Romans* had recovered their strength.

Here we may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their City, both by the Tributes received from their subjects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, since the War of the Mercenaries, and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessity twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impoverished *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of so much money, as was to be disbursed for redeeming of peace, after the loss of *Ægates*. Yet we see, what great Armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foot, are appointed to the service in *Italy*, and how little the *Carthaginians* fear the want of money in these chargeable undertakings: whereas the *Romans* on the other side, having three or four years together been forced to some extraordinary cost, are fain to go upon credit; even for the price of those slaves, which they bought of their own Citizens to arm for their defence. Such advantage in means to enrich their Treasury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, even from *Tyrus* their Mother-City in the bottom of the straights unto the great Ocean, above the *Romans*: who lived on the fruits of their ground, and received their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When the time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it self, in the destruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* falshood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of Faith, discovered plainly whence the jealousie was bred, that this mighty City would again rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, having given up hostages, even before the *Roman* Army did set forth, to perform whatsoever should be enjoyned them, with condition, that their City might not be destroyed; and having accordingly, when they were so required, yielded up all their weapons, and engines of War; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the City of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but the Town must needs be demolished, and removed into some other place, that should be twelve miles distant from the Sea. For (said the *Romans*) This Trade of Merchandise, by which ye now live, is not fit for peaceable men, such as ye promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an wholesome kinde of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conversation. This villanous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glosing words, plainly shews, what good observation the elder *Cato* had made of the hasty growth of *Carthage* in riches. For, when being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, he added still this conclusion, *Thus I think*, and *that Carthage should be destroyed*; He may seem, not only to have had regard unto that present wealth, which at his being there he had found in the City, but much more unto these times, and the great height whereunto it rose, even suddenly as we see, out of many calamities, whilest the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in case to dare so terrible a War.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skilfull than the *Romans*; so came they far short of them in the honourable care of the publick good: having every one, or most of them, a more principal regard of his own private benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heat of their affection (wherein they concluded to pursue the war strongly) was over-past, go more leisurely to work, than had been requisite in the execution. It was easie for *Hanno* to perswade covetous men, that they should first of all defend their own in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was secured, they might send an Army into *Italy*; so going to work orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdom to commit all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, against the enemies, or (which perhaps were worse) to the government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who having once (if they could so do) finished the war, might easily make * *Hannibal* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that they had given him to the conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their own slackness, incredulity, dull-

* Of such ambition *Hanno* directly accused *Hannibal*, saying, that he made war that so he might [illegible] compassed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himself a King.

ness,

neſs, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perſwaded rather to make ſmall diſburſments in *Spain*, than to ſet up all their reſt at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impoſſible to hold a Countrey of ſo large extent, and ſo open a coaſt as that of *Spain*, free from all incurſion of the Enemy: eſpecially the affection of the Naturals being (as in a new conqueſt) ill eſtabliſhed. A better way therefore it had been, to make a running War, by which the *Romans* might have been found occupied, even with the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garriſons or ſome little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the proſecution of their main intendment againſt *Rome* it ſelf, untill ſuch time as every little thorn were pulled out of the ſides of ſo great a Province, then muſt *Emporiæ* have been beſieged and forced: which, by reaſon of alliance with the *Maſſilians*, gave unto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleaſed, a ready and ſecure Harbour. But the Town of *Emporiæ*, was too ſtrong to be won in haſte: it had long defended it ſelf againſt the *Barbarians*; having not above four hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified: a great *Spaniſh* Town of the ſame name, lying without it, that was three miles in compaſs, very ſtrong likewiſe, and friend unto the *Græcians*, though not over much truſted. Wherefore to force this Town of *Emporiæ*, that was, beſides the proper ſtrength, like to be ſo well aſſiſted by the *Maſſilians*, *Romans*, and ſome *Spaniards*, would have been a work of little leſs difficulty, than was the *Romans* war (in appearance) after the battel at *Cannæ*: yea, it had been in effect none other, than to alter the ſeat of the war; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better judgement, near unto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being ſuch as cauſed it altogether to be forborn; great folly it was to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* utterly out of *Spain*: whom they might more eaſily have diverted thence, and drawn home to their own doors, by making ſtrong war upon their City. For even ſo the *Romans* afterwards removed *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by ſending an Army to *Carthage*; and by takeing the like courſe, they now endeavoured to change the ſeat of the war transferring it out of *Italy* into *Spain*. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwiſe, than as it is acceſſary to their own purpoſes, did make them eaſily wink at opportunities, and hope that ſomewhat would fall out well of it ſelf, though they ſet not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him ſo, were well enough contented to hearken unto his diſcourſes, as long as they were plauſible, and tended to keep the purſe full. In the mean while they ſuffered *Hannibal*, and all the noble houſe of *Amilcar*, to weary themſelves in travel for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in general highly commended, but weakly aſſiſted; as if the induſtry of theſe *Barchines* had been ſomewhat more than needful. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were far leſs honourable than the people of *Rome*: not only in government of their ſubject Provinces, but in adminiſtration of their own eſtate; few of them preferring the reſpect of the Weal-publick above their private intereſt. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parſimony uſed toward their own Mercenaries, when the former *Roman* war was finiſhed: ſo the concluſion of this war preſent, will make them complain, with feeling ſighs, of their negligence in ſupplying *Hannibal*, after the victory at *Cannæ*; when gladly they would give all their Treaſures, to redeem the opportunity, that now they let paſs, as if it were coſt enough to ſend a few handfuls into *Spain*.

That both the *Spaniſh* buſineſs, and the ſtate of *Africk* it ſelf, depended wholly, or for the moſt part, upon ſucceſs of things in *Italy*, the courſe of actions following will make manifeſt. Particularly, how matters were ordered in *Spain* by the *Carthaginian* Governours, it is very hard and almoſt impoſſible to ſet down. For, though we muſt not reprehend, in that worthy Hiſtorian *Livy*, the tender love of his own Countrey, which made him give credit unto *Fabius* and others; yet muſt we not, for his ſake, believe thoſe lyes, which the unpartial judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gave them original. It were needleſs to rehearſe all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the untruth of that *Roman* Hiſtorian *Fabius*. One example may ſuffice. He ſaith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former war, That, having clean ſpent their ſtrength, and being even broken with many miſeries, they were glad to ſubmit themſelves unto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we find in *the life of Amilcar*, ſet down by *Æmilius Probus*, That *Eryx* was in ſuch ſort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it ſeemed to be in as good condition, as if in thoſe parts there had not been any war. Theſe words, being referred to the brave reſolution of the *Carthaginian* ſouldiers, and the ſingular vertue of their General, infuſing ſuch ſpirit into them, may be taken as not over liberal. For in the treaty of peace between *Amilcar* and *Catulus*, when

Pol. lib. 1.

the

the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay down their arms and forsake *Sicil*, threatning, that otherwise he would not talk of any composition: *Amilcar* boldly bade him chuse, whether he would talk of it or no; for that the Arms which his Countrey had put into his hands to use against her enemies, it was not his purpose to yield up unto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrary to their custom upon like advantages, were content to let *Amilcar* have his will, and not to stand with him upon point of honour, whilest otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plain enough it is, that they were far from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would have him seem. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with untruth; saying, That howsoever *Amilcar* and his Souldiers had endured all extremity, yet they behaved themselves as men that had no sense thereof; and were as far from being either vanquished or tyred, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference between *Fabius* (as also perhaps between other old Writers of the *Roman* story) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty City of *Rome*: we must take it in good part, that howsoever *Livie* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, joyning very foolishly his own shameful overthrow at the Islands * *Ægateis*, with the great services of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like event; yet † elsewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own unhappy conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, That the affairs of *Carthage* went never better, than a little before the loss of their Fleet in that battel at Sea; wherein himself was General. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*, there is cause to wish, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, and others of the like stamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Livie* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to think too well of their relations; which are such as follow.

* *Ægates Insulas. Extremo ante oculos proposito, &c.*

† *Lib. 21.*

§. XI.

Strange reports of the Roman *victories in* Spain, *before* Asdrubal *the Son of* Amilcar *followed thence his Brother* Hannibal *into* Italy.

IT hath been shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul returning from *Gaul* into *Italy*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his descent from the *Alps*, sent before him his Brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spain*. Two *Roman* Legions, with fourteen thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelve hundred horse, had been allotted unto the Consul, therewith to make war in *Spain* against *Hannibal*; who, since he was marching into *Italy* with the strength of his Army, *P. Scipio* believed, that a good part of these his own forces might well be spared from the *Spanish* Expedition; and therefore made bold to carry some of the number back with him, sending on his Brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himself remained in *Italy* all the time of his Consulship; which being expired, he was sent Proconsul into *Spain* by the Senate, with an Army of eight thousand men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in *Spain* against the *Carthaginians*; whom they vanquished in so many battels, and withdrew from their Alliance so many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates, that we have cause to wonder how the enemy could so often find means to repair his forces, and return strong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliver the Countrey from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might easily win unto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and durst adventure to break it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerors might serve to arm the Naturals against these Invaders, and to reclaim those that had revolted unto the *Romans*, were it only by the memory of such ill success, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* Treasure; which easily raised Souldiers, among those valiant (but in that Age) poor, and gold-thirsty Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinsmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Wars; or serving the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peradventure, if we durst be bold to say it; the victories of the *Scipio*'s were neither so many, nor so great as they are set out by *Livie*. This we may be bold to say, that the great Captain *Fabius*, or *Livie* in his person, maketh an objection unto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Livie* for him, doth answer. That *if* Asdrubal *were vanquished, as* Scipio *would say by him in* Spain: *strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had been extreamly dangerous to* Rome,

that

that the same vanquished man should invade Italy. And it is indeed an incredible narration, That *Asdrubal*, being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of battel, save only by the steep descent of Rocks, over a great River that lay at his back, ran away with all his mony, Elephants and broken troops, over *Tagus*, directly towards the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italy*; upon which he fell with more than threescore thousand armed Souldiers. Neither do I see, how it hangs well together. That he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retrait, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his mony and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the enemy: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants being so sent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for so have they said to have done in the last battel between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his Camp. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this War, and *Spanish*, (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell us; unto whom it were no wisdom to give too much credit. in this regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*, not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at *Emporiæ*, an Haven Town, not far within the *Pyrenees*, retaining still the same name with little inflexion. That by the flame of his clemency he allured many Nations to become subject unto *Rome*, as the story begins of him, I could easily believe, if I understood by what occasion they had need to use his clemency, or he to give such famous example thereof, being a meer stranger, and having no jurisdiction in the Country. Yet it is certain, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himself in to the love of the *Barbarians*, among whom, his dexterity in practice had the better success, for that he seemed to have none other errand than setting them at liberty. This pretext availed with some: others were to be hired with mony: and some he compelled to yield by force or fear; especially when he had won a battel against *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of Accord, made with these people, likely it is, that he remembred to insert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances never forgat, unless in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; *Majestatem Pop. Rom. comiter conservent*, which is, as *Tully* interprets it, *That they should gently* (or *kindly*) *uphold the Majesty of the people of Rome*. This was in appearance nothing troublesome; yet implied it indeed an obscure covenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *Ditionis Romanæ*, *of the Roman jurisdiction*; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Country wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage toward *Italy*; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. particularly in the *Bargusians*; *Hannibal* had found at his coming among them such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatness, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Governour over them, as over the rest of the Province between *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him also their *Lord*; that is, (as I conceive it; for I do not think he gave the Principality of their Country unto *Hanno* and his Heirs) he made him not only Lieutenant-general over them, in matters of War, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but took from them all inferiour Officers of their own, leaving them to be governed by *Hanno* at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to rejoyce at the coming of *Scipio*; with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to joyn, it being the custom of all conquered Nations in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanois*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turns of the *Spaniards* and *French*; as more sensible still of the present evil which they felt, than regardful of the greater mischief, whereinto they ran by seeking to avoid it. This bad affection of this Province, would not suffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Hannibal* had left unto him: besides which, it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his Province. Therefore he adventured a battel with *Scipio*, wherein he was overthrown and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* besieged *Stissum*, a Town hard by, and won it. But *Asdrubal* having passed *Iberus*, and coming too late to the relief of *Hanno*, with eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell upon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not far from *Tarracon*, whom he found careless, as after a victory, roaving abroad in the Country; and with great slaughter drave them aboard their ships. This done, he

ran up into the Country, where he withdrew the *Ilergetes* from the *Roman* party, though they had given Hostages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the mean season was gone to visit and aid his Fleet; where having set things in order, he returned back, and made toward *Asdrubal*; who durst not abide his coming, but withdrew himself again over *Iberus*. So the *Ilergetes* were compelled by force, having lost *Athanagia* their chief City, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increase the number of their Hostages. The *Ausetani* likewise, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were besieged in their chief Town; which they defended thirty dayes; hoping, in vain, that the sharp Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would have made the *Romans* to dislodge. But they were fain at length to yield; and for this their obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of silver. During the siege, the *Lacetani* came to help their distressed neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leaving twelve thousand of their Company dead behind them. I cannot but wonder how these *Lacetani*, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of *Scipio*, should, without any cause remembred, become *Carthaginian* on the sudden, in the next news that we hear of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of *Iberus*, having lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romanæ, subject unto Rome*, should, in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold war against *Scipio*, without any resistance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I believe, that *Asdrubal*, as it were by a charm, stirred up the *Ilergetes*, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take Arms in his quarrel; whilst himself had not the daring to stand against *Scipio*, but ran away, and saved himself beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or some *Carthaginian* Writer, would have told it thus: That *Scipio* adventuring too far into the Country, was beaten by *Asdrubal* back to his ships, whence he durst not stir until Winter came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Province, leaving some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after *Scipio* won, by returning upon them, unlooked for through a deep Snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Ilergetes*, and the rest, we may reasonably think, that they sought their own benefit; helping themselves one while by the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwise, upon sense of injuries received, or apprehension of more grievous tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, hearkning again unto the comfortable promises of those that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their own Country Laws, and not under Governours sent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may testifie: even from henceforth unto the dayes of *Augustus Cæsar*, till when they were never thorowly conquered.

The year following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victory against the *Carthaginians* in fight at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships that ran not too far on ground, he took; and thereby grew Master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this victory, above one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty estates in *Spain*, are said to have submitted themselves unto the *Romans*, or given Hostages; whereby *Asdrubal* was compelled to flye into the uttermost corners of the Land, and hide himself in *Lusitania*. Yet it followes, that the *Ilergetes* did again rebel; that *Asdrubal* hereupon came over *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though having easily vanquished the *Ilergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but stirred up against him the *Celtiberians*, that lately were become his subjects, and had given him Hostages. These took from the *Carthaginians* three Towns, and vanquished him in two battels; wherein they slew fifteen thousand of his men, and took four thousand prisoners. Then arrived *P. Scipio*, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two Brethren joyntly administred the business in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian War*; the two *Scipio*'s did *haud cunctanter, without both fear or doubt*, pass over *Iberus*, and besieged *Saguntum*. Little cause of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already subdued many Nations beyond it; and, among many other, the same *Celtiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish *Asdrubal*. *Bostar*, the Governor of *Saguntum*, a simple man, suffered himself to be perswaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good will of the Country, was by freely restoring unto them their Hostages; as resting without any pledge, assured of their faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being trusted with this message and restitution of the Hostages, carried them all to the *Roman* General; perswaded them, as he had done *Bostar*, to make the Liberality their own. Hereby the *Romans* purchased much love, if the

if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we find that all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearſing ſo many particularities, whereof I can believe ſo few. But ſince we find no better certainties, we muſt content our ſelves with theſe.

The year following was like unto this: *Aſdrubal* muſt be beaten again. The two *Scipio*'s divide their forces: *Cn.* makes war by Land, *P.* by Sea. *Aſdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten four thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe out of *Africk*: He repairs his Fleet, and provides every way to make reſiſtance. But all his chief Sea-men, and Maſters of his Ships, revolt unto the *Romans*; becauſe they had been chidden the laſt year for their negligence, which had betrayed the *Navy*. The revolt of theſe ſhip-maſters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Carpetani*, an Inland people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spain*. Theſe do much miſchief, ſo that *Aſdrubal* is fain to make a journey to them. His ſudden coming cuts off ſome of them, that were found ſcattered abroad in the fields. But they, making a head, ſo valiantly aſſail him, that they drive him for very fear, to encamp himſelf ſtrongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to give them battel. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his proviſions; and ſhortly make themſelves Maſters of the Country round about. This good ſucceſs breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Aſdrubal* comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the moſt of them, and diſperſeth the reſt; ſo that the whole Nation yieldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Aſdrubal* ſhould lead his Army forth into *Italy*; which we may wonder why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his letters in what hard caſe he was; and had ſo weakly ſupplyed him, as is ſhewed before. But thus we find it reported; and that upon the very rumour of this his journey, almoſt all *Spain* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Aſdrubal* therefore preſently ſends word to *Carthage*, That this muſt not be ſo: or, if they will needs have it ſo, that then they muſt ſend him a ſucceſſor, and well attended with a ſtrong Army, which to employ they ſhould find work more than enough; ſuch notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moved with this excuſe; *Aſdrubal* muſt needs be gone: *Himilco*, with ſuch forces as are thought expedient for that ſervice, both by Land and Sea, is ſent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Aſdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furniſh himſelf with ſtore of mony, that he might have wherewithal to win the friendſhip of the *Gauls*; through whoſe Countries he muſt paſs, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to blame, for not remembring to eaſe him of his care. But ſince it can be no better, he layes great Impoſitions upon all the *Spaniards* his ſubjects: and having gotten together as much treaſure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio*'s hearing theſe news, are careful how to arreſt him on the way. They beſiege *Ibera* (ſo called of the Rivers name running by it) the richeſt Town in all thoſe quarters, that was confederate with *Aſdrubal*; who thereupon ſteps aſide to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battel with him; which they win the more eaſily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers had rather be vanquiſhed at home, than get the victory, and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are ſlain; and few ſhould have eſcaped, but that the *Spaniards* ran away ere the battels were fully joyned. Their Camp the *Romans* take and ſpoil; whereby (queſtionleſs) they are marvellouſly enriched; all the mony that could be raked together in *Spain* being carried along in this *Italian* Expedition. This dayes event joyns all *Spain* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Country ſtood in doubt before; and puts *Aſdrubal* ſo far from all thought of travelling into *Italy*, that it leaves him ſmall hope of keeping himſelf ſafe in *Spain*. Of theſe exploits advertiſement is ſent to *Rome*, and Letters to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are, That they have neither mony, apparel, nor bread, wherewith to ſuſtain their Army and Fleet; that all is wanting: ſo as unleſs they may be ſupplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. Theſe Letters come to *Rome* in an evil ſeaſon; the State being ſcarcely able, after the loſs at *Cannæ*, to help it ſelf at home. Yet relief is ſent; how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that love and care, which the private Citizens of *Rome* bare unto the Common-wealth, ſhall be inſerted elſewhere into the relation of things, whereof the truth is leſs queſtionable. At the coming of this ſupply, the two *Scipio*'s purſue *Aſdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What elſe can we think, that remember the laſt news of him, and how fearfully he miſtruſted his own ſafety? They find him, and *Mago* and *Amilcar* the Son of *Bomilcar*, with an *Liv. lib. 23.*

Army of threescore thousand men, besieging *Illiturgi:* (which the learned *Ortelius*, and others probably conjecture to have stood, where *Carinnena* is now in the Kingdom of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgis*, afterwards called *Forum Julii*, quite another way) a Town of the *Illergetes* their neareſt Neighbours, for having revolted unto the *Romans*. The Town is greatly distressed; but most of all, for want of victuals. The *Romans* therefore break through between the Enemies Camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resisted them: and haveing victualled the place, incourage Townsmen to defend their walls as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalf. So they issue forth, about sixteen thousand against threescore thousand: and killing more of the enemies, than themselves were in number, drave all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, every one out of his quarter; and took that day, besides prisoners and other booty, fifty and eight Ensigns. *Liv. lib.* 23.

The *Carthaginian* Army, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall upon *Incibili*, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning money by war, for thus re-inforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondred, whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them: since *Asdrubal* was lately driven to poll the Country, wanting money of his own; and being beaten in his journey, had lost his wealthy carriages when his Camp was taken after the battel by *Iberus*. Howsoever it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custom) are beaten again at *Incibili:* where there were of them above thirteen thousand slain, and above three thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensigns, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them unto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius*, *Antius*, or some other Historian, to whom *Livy* gave credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one year, by winning famous victories; whereof these good Captains, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware. *Liv. ibid.*

The *Romans* notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their own side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next year, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*; and are overthrown by him. *P. Scipio*, to help these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the River. At *Castrum Altum*, a place in the mid-way between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *Publius Scipio* incampeth: and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the Country round about it is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horse have charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off clear; falling also upon some straglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows in march, they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behoveful, to retire unto some place more assured. So *Publius* withdraws himself unto *Mons victoriæ:* that rising somewhat Eastward from *Incibili*, overlooketh the Southern Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repairs unto him; and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gasco*, with a full Army, arrives to help his Companions. As they lie thus near incamped together, *P. Scipio* with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himself to an high piece of ground; where they besiege him, until his brother *Cn.* fetcht him off. After this (but I know not why) *Castulo*, a great City of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joyneth with the *Romans*; though being far distant from them, and seated on the head of the River *Bœtis*. Nevertheless the *Carthaginians* pass over *Iberus*, to besiege *Illiturgi* again, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garrison; hoping to win it by famine. We may justly wonder, what should move them to neglect the rebellion of *Castulo*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying so close by them, and to seek adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had been so grievously beaten the year before. But thither they go: and thither follows them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Town by force, breaks out upon them the next day, and in two battels kills above twelve thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with six and thirty Ensigns. This victory (doubtless) is remarkable: considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigarra:* but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Manda*; where the *Romans* are soon at their heels. There is a great battel fought, that lasted four hours, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victory: and a more notable would have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* been wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed, and twelve thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and seven and fifty Ensigns. The *Carthaginians* flie to *Auringes*;

Auringes; and the *Romans* purſue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquiſhed the *Carthaginians* again; but kils not half ſo many of them, as before; good cauſe why, for there are *fewer* of them left to fight. Notwithſtanding all theſe overthrows, the *Spaniards*, a people framed even by nature to ſet war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troops of *Aſdrubal*, who having alſo hired ſome of the *Gauls*, adventures once more to try his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten again: and loſeth eight thouſand of his men; beſides Priſoners, Elephants, Enſigns, and other appurtenances. After ſo many victories, the *Romans* are even aſhamed to leave *Saguntum* enthralled unto the *Carthaginians*; ſince, in behalf of that City, they had at firſt entred into this war. And well may we think it ſtrange, that they had not recovered it long before, ſince we may remember, that long before this they had won all the Country once and again. But it muſt not be forgotten, that they had ere now beſieged *Saguntum*; and were fain (as appears) to go their way without it: ſo as they need not to bluſh, for having ſo long forborn to do that which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to perform. At the preſent they won *Saguntum*: and reſtored the poſſeſſion thereof unto ſuch of the poor diſperſed Citizens as they can find out. They alſo waſte and deſtroy the Country of the *Turdetani*, that had miniſtred unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrel againſt the *Saguntines*. This laſt action (queſtionleſs) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be aſſured, that the *Carthaginians* would have diſturbed them if they had been able.

But overlooking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spain*, other print or token of all their brave exploits, we can perceive none, than this recovery of *Saguntum*: excepting the ſtopping of *Aſdrubals* journey; which was indeed of greateſt importance, but appertaining to their own defence. For they have landed at *Emporiæ*, an Haven Town, built and peopled by a Colony of the *Phocæans*, kin to the *Maſſilians*, friends to the *Romans*; They have eaſily won to their party, loſt, recovered, and loſt again, ſome petty bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perſwaſion, other-whiles by force, and ſometimes by their own unſetled paſſions; and now finally they have won a Town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire poſſeſſion, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may eaſily believe, that when they took *Saguntum* (if they took it not by ſurprize; which is to be ſuſpected, ſince in this Action we find no particulars remembred, as when the ſame place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in ſome notable fight. In like ſort alſo muſt we think, that all thoſe battels lately remembred, after every one of which *Aſdrubal* ſate down before ſome place, that had rebelled, or ſeemed ready to rebel, were proſperous unto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the cuſtome of Armies vanquiſhed, to carry to war from Town to Town, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themſelves within their own places of ſtrength, and therein to attend the levy and arrival of new ſupplies. And ſurely, if the *Romans* had been abſolute Maſters of the field, when they won *Saguntum*, they would not have conſumed a whole year following, in practiſing only with the *Celtiberians* the next adjoyning people. Yet made they this, little leſs than two years buſineſs. Of theſe *Celtiberians* we hear before, That they had yielded up themſelves unto the *Romans*; for ſecurity of their faith, given Hoſtages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made war againſt the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is ſtrange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and not without expreſs condition of a great ſumm, hired to ſerve in the *Roman* Camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceive; unleſs perhaps in thoſe days it were the *Roman* cuſtome, or rather the cuſtome of ſome bad Author whom *Livy* follows, to call every meſſenger, or ſtragler, that entred that camp, an Hoſtage of that people from whom he came.

The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, ſend an Army of thirty thouſand to help the *Romans*: out of which, 3000. of the fitteſt men are choſen, and carried into *Italy*, there to deal with their Country-men that follow *Hannibal* in his wars. But if any of theſe three hundred return back into *Spain*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him ſuch news of the riches and wellfare of *Hannibals* men, that all his fellows at home are the leſs unwilling to follow *Aſdrubal*, when he ſhall next have a deſire to lead them into *Italy*. Hereof we find more than probability, when theſe mercenary *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the field. The two *Scipio*'s, preſuming on this acceſs of ſtrength, divide their forces, and ſeek out the Enemies, who lie not far off with three Armies. *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Amilcar*, is neareſt at hand; even among the *Celtiberians*, at *Anitorgis*.

With

With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the fear is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being destroyed; *Mago* the Son of *Gesco*, hearing the news, will make use of their distance, which is five dayes march, and by running into the furthest part of the Country save themselves from being overtaken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better Souldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Army, leaving the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his Brother. He that hath the longer journey to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his lives end. *Mago* and *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gesco*, are not studying how to run away: they find no such necessity. They joyn their forces together, meet with *Publius Scipio*, and lay at him so hardly, that he is driven to keep himself close within his Trenches; wherein he thinks himself not will assured. Especially he is vexed by *Masanissa*, Prince of the *Massæsyli*, *Numidians*, bordering upon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chief honour of this service is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous case, *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis* a *Spanish* Prince, is coming with seven thousand and five hundred of the *Suessetani*, to joyn with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be strait shut up, and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* upon the way, leaving *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant, with a small company to defend the Camp. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first incounter. The fight continues so long, that the *Numidian* horse appear (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all sides: neither are the *Carthaginians* far behind; but come so fast upon him in a Rear, that *P. Scipio*, uncertain which way to turn, yet fighting and animating his men, where need most requireth, is struck thorow with a lance, and slain: very few of his Army escaping the same destiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty dayes after. At his meeting with *Asdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* Mercenaries all forsake him, pretending that they had war in their own Country. If *Anitorgis*, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Bucterus* takes it, a *Celtiberian* Town; this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly believe, that they were won by *Asdrubal*, and easily perswaded to take as much mony for not fighting, as they should have had for hazarding their lives. *C. Scipio* therefore being unable to stay them, and no less unable, without their help either to resist the enemy, or to joyn with his Brother, maketh a very violent retrait; herein only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. *Asdrubal* presseth hard upon him: and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gesco*, having made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his Brother after him. *Scipio* steals from them all by night, but is overtaken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stony ground, where grows not so much as a shrub, unfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill he finds of easie ascent on every side; which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Palisado. These weak defences the *Carthaginians* soon tear in sunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that saving themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoyning, escape unto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his Camp, as is before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they who were thus hemmed in on every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could break out, and shrowd themselves within woods adjoyning, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio*'s Camp, on the North side of *Iberus*, fearful (as may be supposed) of his own life; since his General, with two parts of the *Roman* Army, had little hope to remain long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a young *Roman* Gentleman of a noble Spirit; who having gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawn some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretty Army. The Souldiers, being to chuse a General by most voices, preferr this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lieutenant, as well they may. For *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gesco*, coming upon them; this *L. Martius* so encourageth his men (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable Generals lately slain) and admonisheth them of their present necessity, that he beats the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely sounds the retrait; reserving the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldness grows, in enemies lately vanquished,

vanquiſhed, and now again little better than taken: but when they ſee, that the *Roman* dares not follow his advantage, they return to their former ſecurity; and, utterly deſpiſing him, ſet neither *Corps de garde* nor Sentinel, but reſt ſecure, as if no enemy were near. *Martius* therefore animates his Souldiers with lively words; and tells them, That there is no adventure more ſafe, than that which is furtheſt from ſuſpicion of being undertaken. They are ſoon perſwaded to follow him, in any deſperate piece of ſervice. So he leads him forth by night, and ſteals upon the Camp of *Aſdrubal*; where, finding no guard, but the enemies faſt aſleep, or very drowſie, he enters without reſiſtance, fires their Cabbins, and gives a terrible alarm; ſo that all affrighted the *Carthaginians* run head-long one upon another, they know not which way. All paſſages out of their Camp, *Martius* hath prepoſſeſſed, ſo that there is no way to eſcape, ſave by leaping down the Rampart; which as many do, as can think upon it, and run away toward the Camp of *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Amilcar*, that lay ſix miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley between their two Camps he hath beſtowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horſe; ſo that into this Ambuſh they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But, leſt perchance any ſhould have eſcaped, and give the alarm before his coming; *Martius* haſtens to be there as ſoon as they. By which diligent ſpeed, he comes early in the morning upon this further Camp; which with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehenſion of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the *Roman* ſhields, foul, and bloodied with their former execution, he drives headlong into flight, all that can ſave themſelves from the fury of the ſword. Thirty ſeven thouſand of the enemies periſh in this nights work; beſides a thouſand eight hundred and thirty, taken priſoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* adds, that the Camp of *Mago* was alſo taken, and ſeven thouſand ſlain; and that in another battel with *Aſdrubal*, there were ſlain ten thouſand more; beſides four thouſand three hundred and thirty taken priſoners. Such is the power of ſome Hiſtorians. *Livie* therefore hath elſewhere well obſerved, That there is none ſo intemperate, as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battels. That, whilſt *Martius* was making an Oration to his Souldiers, a flame of fire ſhone about his head, *Livie* reports as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captain *Martius* got a great name, which he might well do, if with ſo ſmall forces, and in ſuch diſtreſs, he could clearly get off from the Enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were far leſs than that which is here ſet down.

Of theſe occurrents *L. Martius* ſent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his own good ſervice, whatſoever it was, but ſetting it out in ſuch wiſe, as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in *Spain*: which the better to intimate unto them, he ſtiled himſelf Propretor. The Fathers were no leſs moved with the tydings than the caſe required; and therefore took ſuch careful order, for ſupplying their forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the Companies levied to ſerve that Province, could be ſent away; yet could they not ſtay a tyde for defence of the City it ſelf, but ſhipped them in all haſte for *Spain*. As for the title of Propretor, which *Martius* had aſſumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his preſumption in uſurping it: foreſeeing well, that it was matter of ill conſequence, to have the Souldiers abroad make choice among themſelves, of thoſe that ſhould command Armies and Provinces. Therefore *Claudius Nero* was diſpatched away with all convenient haſte, into *Spain*: carrying with him about ſix thouſand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* horſe, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well that about theſe times, the affairs of *Rome* began to proſper in *Italy*, and offered means of ſending abroad ſuch a ſtrong ſupply: otherwiſe the victories of *Martius* would ill have ſerved, either to keep footing in *Spain*, or to ſtop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alps*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the Army, which was under *Martius* and *Fonteius*; he found ſurer tokens of the overthrows received, than of thoſe miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts unto the Senate. The *Roman* party was forſaken by moſt of the *Spaniſh* friends; whom how to reclaim, it could not eaſily be deviſed. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards *Aſdrubal* the Brother of *Hannibal*; whom he found among the *Auſetani*, near enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no iſſue, but only through a ſtrait, whereon the *Roman* ſeized at the firſt coming. What ſhould have tempted any man of underſtanding

to

to incamp in such a place, I do not find: and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, that *Asdrubal* seeing himself thus lockt up, made offer to depart forthwith out of all *Spain*, and quit the Province to the *Romans*, upon condition that he and his Army might be thence dismissed; That he spent many dayes, in entertaining parley with *Claudius* about his business; That night by night he conveyed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, he stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leaving his Camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generals in *Spain*; we shall find no less cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Country, with one of these three Chieftains, than at the strange nature of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creep out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a dark misty day. Wherefore in giving belief to such a tale, it is needful that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have been of far less vallue. Howsoever it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could do, served to purchase any new friends in *Spain*, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Propretor, took it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity were needful to work regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloved memory of *Cn.* and *Publius* likely to do good, were it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these, or upon other reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Province; and *Publius* the Son of *P. Scipio* sent proconsul into *Spain*.

This is that *Scipio*, who afterward transferred the war into *Africk*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned; especially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty, and other vertues that purchase love; of which qualities what great use he made, shall appear in the tenour of his actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, savouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanity; how he used to walk alone in the Capitol, as one that had some secret conference with *Jupiter*; how a Dragon (which must have been one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Jupiter* himself) was thought to have conversed with his Mother, entring her Chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than fables, devised by Historians, who thought thereby to add unto the glory of *Rome*: that this Noble City might seem not only to have surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serve to adorn this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter of unquestionable truth, That when a Proconsul was to be chosen for *Spain*, there durst not any Captain of the principal Citizens offer himself as Petitioner for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the City stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about four and twenty years of age, getting up on a high place where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested and obtained, that the office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreams: and either very unreasonable was the fear of all the *Roman* Captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spain* Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences, which I find in the two partial *Roman* Historians, I do not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was sent Proconsul into *Spain*; and with him was joyned *M. Junius Syllanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty *Quinquereme*-Gallies, with these they landed at *Emporia*; and marched from thence to *Tarracon* alongst the Sea-coast. At the fame of *Scipio*'s arrival, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Province; which he entertained with such a Majesty, as bred a wonderful opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly afraid of him; and so much the greater was their fear, by how

how much the leſs they could give any reaſon of it. If we muſt believe this, then muſt we needs believe, that their fear was even as great as could be: for very little cauſe there was, to be terrified with the fame of ſo young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as ſome think, all the next Year) he did nothing: but ſpent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, intreating with the *Spaniards*. His firſt enterpriſe was againſt new *Carthage:* upon which he came unexpected, with five and twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe; his Seaforces coaſting him, and moderating their courſe in ſuch wiſe, that they arrived there together with him. He aſſailed the Town by Land and Sea; and won it by aſſault the firſt day. The *Carthaginians* loſt it, by their too much confidence upon the ſtrength of it: which cauſed them to man it more ſlenderly, than was requiſite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if ſome Fiſhermen of *Tarracon* had not diſcovered unto *Scipio*, a ſecret paſſage unto the walls; whereof the Townſmen themſelves were either ignorant, or thought (at leaſt) that their enemies could have no notice. This City of new *Carthage*, reſembled the old and great *Carthage* in ſituation; ſtanding upon a demy-Iſland, between an Haven and a great Lake. All the Weſtern ſide of the walls, and ſomewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fiſher-men of *Tarracon* had ſounded; and finding ſome part thereof a ſhelf, whereon at low-water men might paſs knee-deep, or (at moſt) wading up to the Navil, *Scipio* thruſt thereinto ſome companies of his men; who recovered the top of the walls without reſiſtance: the place being left without guard; as able to defend it ſelf by the natural ſtrength. Theſe falling ſuddenly upon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the City, eaſily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the *Roman* Army. What booty was found within the Town, *Livie* himſelf cannot certainly affirm; but is fain to ſay, that ſome *Roman* Hiſtorians told lies without meaſure, in way of amplification. By that ſmall proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treaſury, we may eaſily perceive how great a vanity it was to ſay, that all the wealth of *Africk* and *Spain* was heaped up in that one Town. But therein were beſtowed all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages (or at leaſt of the adjoyning Provinces) whom *Scipio* intreated with ſingular courteſie: reſtoring them unto their kindred and friends, in ſuch gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due to ſo great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, and two petty Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Lacetani*, neareſt Neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the North-ſide of *Iberus*, forſook the *Carthaginian* party, and joyned with the *Romans*. The ſpeech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilergetes*, is much commended; for that he did not vaunt himſelf, as commonly Fugitives uſe, of the pleaſure, which he did unto the *Romans*, in revolting from their enemies; but rather excuſed this his changing ſide, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*, and invited by the honourable dealing of *Scipio*. This temperate eſtimation of his new profeſſed friendſhip, was indeed no unſure token, that it ſhould be long-laſting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as we have heard before) forſaken the *Carthaginian* party, and ſtoutly held themſelves as friends to *Cn. Scipio:* then could nothing have been deviſed more valn, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King, excuſing, as new, his taking part with the ſame, when he ſhould have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Uncle. Moſt likely therefore it is, that howſoever the two elder *Scipio's* had gotten ſome few places among theſe their Neighbours, and held them by ſtrength; yet were the *Romans* never maſters of the Country, till this worthy Commander, by recovering their Hoſtages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in ſending them home, won unto himſelf the aſſured love and aſſiſtance of theſe Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generals, when they heard of this loſs, were very ſorry: yet nevertheleſs they ſet a good face on the matter; ſaying, that a young man, having ſtoln a Town by ſurpriſe, was too far tranſported, and over-joyed, but that ſhortly they would meet with him, and put him in mind of his Father and Uncle; which would alter his mood, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Now if I ſhould here interpoſe mine own conjecture; I ſhould be bold to ſay, that the *Carthaginians* were at this time buſie, in ſetting forth towards *Italy*; and that *Scipio*, to divert them, undertook new *Carthage*, as his Father and Uncle, upon the like occaſion, ſate down before *Iberа*. And in this reſpect I would ſuppoſe, that it had not been much amiſs, if the paſſage over the Lake had been undiſcovered, and the Town held out ſome longer while. For howſoever that particular Action was the more fortunate, in coming to ſuch good iſſue upon the firſt day: yet in the generality of the buſineſs,

between *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be stayed from going into *Italy*, than that half of *Spain* should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that should hinder his journey; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* work, in that lingring War of taking and retaking Towns, whilst the main of the *Carthaginian* forces, under *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprise: even to fight in tryal of the Empire. But the *Roman* Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*: whither he ran for fear, as thinking himself ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but hear the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, coming upon *Asdrubal*; his Vant-currers charged so lustily the *Carthaginian* horse, that they drave them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, even by that small piece of service, how full of spirit the *Romans* Army was, and how dejected the Enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with the River, very steep of ascent, and not easie of access on the foreside; by which himself got up, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plain, whereon he strongly encamped himself: and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plain; into which he descended, more upon bravery, that he might not seem to hide himself within the Trenches, than for that he durst adventure his Army to the hazzard of a battail, for which this was no equal ground. But such advantage of place could not save him from the *Romans*. They climed up the Hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; drove him out of this lower Plain, up into his Camp on the Hill top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got up before them, they drave both men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to flye. Out of such a battel, wherein he had lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to have escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troops, to have marched toward the *Pyrenees*, having sent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Nevertheless, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, are reported after this to have consulted with him about this War; and finally to have concluded, that go he needs must, were it but to carry all the *Spaniards* as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to have been true, it shall appear at his coming into *Italy*; whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affairs have too long detained us.

§. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal *raised in all quarters, to the City of Rome.* Posthumius *the Roman General, with his whole Army, is slain by the Gauls.* Philip *King of* Macedon *enters into a League with* Hannibal, *against the Romans. The Romans joyning with the Ætolians, make war upon* Philip *in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their business against the Carthaginians.*

WE left *Hannibal* wintering at *Capua*: where he and his new Confederates rejoyced (as may be thought) not a little, to hear the good news from *Carthage* of such mighty aid, as was decreed to be sent thence unto him. In former times he had found work enough, to carry the *Romans* corn into his own barns, and to drive away their Cattle to *Geryon*: his victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Army; by making him master of the open field. He might perhaps have forced some walled Towns in like sort as he did *Geryon*, and the Castle of *Cannæ*: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Army must have endured the Winter and Spring following, untill corn were ripe, would have grievously punished him for such imployment of the Summer. This may have been the reason, why he forbore to adventure upon *Rome*, after his victory at *Cannæ*. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the City at his first coming; want of victuals would have compelled him to quit the enterprise. Yea many of the people that opened so hastily their gates unto him, upon the fresh bruit of his glorious success, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the event of another battel; if being, either for want of means to force the City, or of necessaries to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seem) from the walls of *Rome*, he had presented himself unto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the year; when time to force their obedience

was

was wanting, unleſs they would freely yiel it. But this great part of the care and trave was paſt, when ſo many States of *Italy* were become his: the year following, the *Samnites*, and other old enemies of *Rome*, were like to receive a notable pleaſure of their new alliance with *Carthage*, by helping to lay ſiege unto that proud City, which ſo long had held them in ſubjection. Thus the winter was paſſed over joyfully, ſaving that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to ſecond the welcome report of thoſe mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring grew on: and of the promiſed ſupply there arrived no more, than only the Elephants. How late it was ere theſe came, I find not: only we find, that after this he had above thirty of them; whereas all, ſave one, that he brought over the *Alps*, had been loſt in his journy through the Mariſhes of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuſe of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make unto *Hannibal*. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what miſchiefs the perſwaſion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwiſe, they might perhaps inform him, that it was thought a ſafer, though a farther way about, to paſs along through *Spain* and *Gaul*, as he himſelf had done; and increaſe the Army, by hyring the *Barbarians* in the journey; than to commit the main ſtrength of their City, to the hazzard of the Seas: eſpecially wanting a commodious Haven, to receive the Fleet that ſhould carry ſuch a number of Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with all needful proviſions. With theſe allegations *Hannibal* muſt reſt content; and ſeek, as well as he can, to ſatisfie his *Italian* Confederates Therefore when time of the year ſerved, he took the field: and having finiſhed what reſted to be done at *Caſilinum*, ſought to make himſelf Maſter of ſome good Haven-town thereabout; that might ſerve to entertain the *Carthaginian* Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuſe, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the ſame purpoſe, and to do what elſe was needful, he ſent *Himilco* unto the *Locrians*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucans*: not forgetting at once to aſſay all quarters of *Italy*, yea, the Iſles of *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, ſince the ſiege of *Rome* muſt needs be deferred unto another year. *Hanno* made an ill journey of it, being met, or overtaken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*: who ſlew above two thouſand of his men; with the loſs of fewer than three hundred *Romans*. But *Himilco* ſped far better. By help of the *Brutians*, his good friends, he won *Petellia*, or *Petilia*, by force; after it had held out ſome moneths. He won likewiſe *Conſentia*, and *Croton*, that was forſaken by the Inhabitants. Alſo the City of *Locri*, which was of great importance, yielded unto him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Town of *Rhegium*, over againſt *Sicil*.

The great faith of the *Petilians* is worthy to be recorded, as a notable teſtimony of the good government, under which the *Roman* ſubjects lived. As for the *Samnites*, *Campanes*, and others, whoſe earneſtneſs in rebellion may ſeem to prove the contrary; we are to conſider, That they had lately contended with *Rome* for Soveraignty, and were now tranſported with ambition: which reaſon can hardly moderate, or benefits allay. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did ſend to *Rome* for help: where their meſſengers received anſwer from the Senate, That the publick misfortunes had not left means, to relieve their Aſſociates that were ſo far diſtant. The *Petilian* Meſſengers (Embaſſadours they are termed; as were all others, publickly ſent from Cities of the *Roman* ſubjection, that had a private juriſdiction within themſelves) fell down to the ground, and humbly beſought the Fathers, not to give them away: promiſing to do and ſuffer whatſoever was poſſible, in defence of their Town, againſt the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Senate fell to conſultation again: and having throughly conſidered all their forces remaining plainly confeſſed, that it was not in their power to give any relief. Wherefore theſe Embaſſadours were willed to return home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their own ſafety, as having already diſcharged their faith to the utmoſt. All this notwithſtanding, the *Petilians* (as was ſaid) held out ſome moneths: and having ſtriven in vain to defend themſelves, when there was no apparent poſſibility gave to the *Carthaginians* a bloody victory over them; being vanquiſhed as much by famine, as by any violence of the Aſſailants.

The *Romans* at this time were indeed in ſuch ill caſe, that *Hannibal* with a little help from *Carthage*, might have reduced them unto terms of great extremity. For whereas in a great bravery, before their loſs at *Cannæ*, they had ſhewed their high minds, by entertaining the care of things far off, notwithſtanding the great war that lay upon them ſo near at hand: it now fell out miſerably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. *L. Poſthumius Albinus* their Prætor they had ſent,

with an Army of five and twenty thousand, into *Gaul*: to the *Illyrian* King *Pineus* they had sent for their tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past; willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliver Hostages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip* King of *Macedon* they had sent, to require, that he should deliver up unto them *Demetrius Pharius* their Subject and Rebel, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they hear tydings, little suitable to their former glorious conceits. *Posthumius* with all his Army was cut in pieces by the *Gauls*, in such sort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his overthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gauls*, *Litana*; thorow which he was to pass. Against his coming, the Enemies had sawed the trees so far, that a little force would serve to cast them down. When therefore *Posthumius*, with his whole Army, was entred into this dangerous passage, the *Gauls* that lay about the Wood, began to cast down the trees; which falling one against another, bore all down so fast, that the *Romans* were overwhelmed, Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before. How this tedious work of sawing so many trees, could take desired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some wind that might have blown all down before the *Romans* entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the device was subject; I do not well conceive. Yet some such thing may have been done, and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the savage condition, wherewith *Lombardie*, a Country now so civil, was infected in elder times, that of *Posthumius* his skull, being cleansed and trimmed up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principal Temple, as an holy vessel for the use of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great overthrow, when word was brought to *Rome*, the amazement was no less than the calamity. But sorrow could give no remedy to the mischief: and anger was vain, where there wanted forces to revenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none; neither do I find that any was a second time demanded; this we find, that with *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*, *Illyrian* Kings as also with *Gentius*, who raigned within a few years following, the *Romans* dealt upon even terms; entreating their assistance against *Philip* and *Perseus*; not commanding their duty, as Vassals. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further. For having assured his affairs in *Greece*, and enjoying leisure to look into the doings abroad, he sent Embassadours to *Hannibal*; with whom he made a league, upon these conditions; That the King in person should come into *Italy*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, assist the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* war, until it were finished; That *Rome*, and all *Italy*, together with all the spoil therein to be gotten, should be left intire unto the State of *Carthage*; and that afterwards *Hannibal*, with his Army, should pass into *Greece*, and there assist *Philip*, until he had subdued all his enemies (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus* and others) leaving semblably unto him the full possession of that Country, and the Isles adjoyning. But such prediſposition of Kingdoms and Provinces, is lightly controlled by the divine providence, which therein shews it self; not (as *Herodotus* falsly terms it, and like an *Atheist*) envious or malicious, but very just and Majestical in upholding that unspeakable greatness of Soveraignty, by which *It* rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadours that *Philip* sent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: and being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold lye, saying, That they were sent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and people, and offer his help in this time of great necessity. These news were so welcome, that the joy thereof took away all care of making better inquiry. So they were lovingly feasted, and freely dismissed with guides that should lead them the way, and shew them how to avoid the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus instructed concerning their journey, fell wilfully into the Camp of *Hannibal*; who entertained them after a better fashion, and concluded the business about which they came, upon the points before remembered. In their return homeward, they happened again unluckily to be descried by the *Roman* Fleet; which mistrusting them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gave them chace. They did their best to have escaped: but being overtaken, they suffered the *Romans* to come aboord; and trusting to the lye that once had served them, said it again, That having been sent from King *Philip* to make a league with the people of *Rome*, they were not able by reason of the *Carthaginians* lying between, to get any further than to *M. Valerius* the Prætor, unto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now less credible than before:

before: and (which marred all) *Geſco*, *Boſtar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were ſent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being preſently detected, made the matter apparent. Wherefore a little inquiſition ſerved to find all out: ſo that at length *Hannibals* own letters to King *Philip* were delivered up, and the whole buſineſs confected. The Embaſſadours and their followers were ſent cloſe priſoners to *Rome*; where the chief of them were caſt into priſon, and the reſt ſold for bond-ſlaves. Yet one of their ſhips that eſcaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon new Embaſſage was ſent, that went aud returned with better ſpeed; concluding, as was agreed before, only with ſome loſs of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed; thinking with what heavy weight this *Macedonian* war, in an evil hour, was likely to fall upon them, when their ſhoulders were over-burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they took a noble reſolution, and ſuitable unto that, whereby they kept off the ſtorm, that elſe would have beaten upon them from *Spain*. They judged it more eaſie with ſmall force to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their ſtrength to reſiſt him in *Italy*. And herein they were in the right. For, that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joyning with *Hannibal* in ſuch a time, would have ſufficed to ſhake the allegiance, not only of the *Latines*, and other, their moſt faithful Subjects, but even of the *Roman* Colonies, that held all priviledges of the City, it will appear by the following ſucceſs of things. *M. Valerius* the Prætor, with twenty *Quinquereme* Gallies, was appointed to attend upon the *Macedonian*, and to ſet on foot ſome commotion in *Greece*; or to nouriſh the troubles already therein begun. *Philip* was buſie about the Sea Towns, that looked towards *Italy*, ſetting upon *Apollonia*; and thence falling upon *Oricum*, which he won, and ſo returned to *Apollonia* again. The *Epirots* craved help of *M. Valerius*; or rather excepted his kind offers; who had none other buſineſs to do. The Garriſon that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was ſtrong enough to hold the Towns-men in good order, but not to keep out the *Romans*; of whoſe daring to attempt any thing againſt him, on that ſide the Sea, *Philip* as then had no ſuſpition. *Valerius* therefore eaſily regained the Town, and ſent thence a thouſand men, under *Nævius Criſpus*, an undertaking and expert Captain, which got by night into *Apollonia*. Theſe made a notable ſally, and brake into *Philip's* Trenches with ſo great ſlaughter, that they forced him to forſake his Camp, and raiſe the ſiege. The King purpoſed (as it is ſaid) to have departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, coming with his Fleet from *Oricum*, ſtopped up the mouth of the River, ſo that he was fain to burn his ſhips (which belike were no better than long boats) and depart ill furniſhed of carriages by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwaies enemy to the Crown of *Macedon*; and eaſily perſwaded them (being ſo affected, as hath elſe-where been ſhewed) to make ſtrong war on *Philip*; wherein he promiſed them great aſſiſtance from the *Romans*. That which moſt moved the troubleſome ſpirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*; after which they had gaped long, and whereof the *Roman* was as liberal in making promiſe, as if already it had been his own. So a league was made between them; and afterward ſolemnly publiſhed at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*, and by the *Romans* in their *Capitol*. The conditions were, that from *Ætolia* to *Corcyra*, in which ſpace *Acarnania* was contained, all the Country ſhould be ſubdued, and left unto the *Ætolians*, the pillage only to be given to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it ſhould be with Proviſion, to hold no longer than whilſt he abſtained from doing injury to the *Romans*, or their Aſſociates. This was indeed the only point whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promiſed as much on the *Romans* behalf, That they ſhould not make peace with the *Macedonian*, unleſs it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this league was place reſerved for the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, as to thoſe that had made or favoured the ſide of *Cleomenes* againſt the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleaſure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: the firſt of which reigned at *Pergamus* in *Aſia* the leſs, a Prince hereafter much to be ſpoken of; the other two held ſome part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were ſo far from contending with them, that gladly they ſought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of theſe Aſſociates are thruſt into the Treaty, rather to give it countenance, than for any readineſs which they diſcloſe to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Prætor, with *Dorymachus* and others, are yet a while the only men, of whom the *Roman* Generals muſt make much; as the late *French* King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had only the title of *Navarre*, was ſaid to court the Majors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard whereunto

whereunto the *Ætolian* tended. He repaired his Army, made a countenance of war upon the *Illyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infest the Kingdom of *Macedon*; wasted the Country about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, and overrunning the *Pelagonians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held suspected, came down into *Thessaly*, whence he made shew as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, he thought to stir up all the *Greeks* adjoyning, against the *Ætolians*; whom they generally detested as a nest of Robbers, troublesome to all the Country. To which purpose, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, he left *Perseus*, his Son and Heir, with four thousand men, upon their borders: with the rest of his Army, before greater business should overtake and intangle him, he made a long journey into *Thrace*, against a people called the *Medes*, that were wont to fall upon *Macedon*, whensoever the King was absent. The *Ætolians* hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the *Acarnanians*; in hope to subdue those their daily enemies, and win their little Country, ere he should be able to return. Hereto it much availed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Oeniadæ* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Towns, conveniently situated to let in an Army; and consigned them unto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenour of the contract lately made with them. But the stout resolution of the *Acarnanians* to die (as we say) every Mothers Son of them, in defence of their Country; together with the great haste of the *Macedonian* (who laid aside all other business) to succour these his friends; caused the *Ætolians* to forsake their enterprise. When this Expedition was given over, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell upon *Ancyræ*, which they took: the *Romans* assailed by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Town, and the *Romans* the spoil.

For these good services *M. Valerius* was chosen Consul at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpitius* sent in his stead, to keep the war on foot in *Greece*. But besides the *Roman* help, *Attalus* out of *Asia* came over to assist the *Ætolians*. He was chiefly moved by his own jealousie of *Philips* greatness; though somewhat also tickled with the vanity of being chosen by the *Ætolians* their principal Magistrate; which honour, though no better than titulary, he took in very loving part. Against the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had sent, being joyned with the main power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battels; and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, these his troublesome neighbours desired peace of him, and used their best means to get it. And when the day appointed for the conclusion therefore, was come: their Embassadours, in stead of making submission, proposed unto him such intolerable conditions, as ill beseemed vanquished men to offer; and might therefore well testifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any love of peace, but fear of being besieged in their own Towns, that had made them desirous of composition. This fear being taken away, by the incouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as ever; and thrust a Garrison of their own, and some *Roman* friends into *Elis*; which threatned *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut over the straight from *Naupactus*, wasted the Country in a terrible bravery; wherein *Philip* required him, coming upon them in great haste from the *Nemæan* Games (which he was then celebrating) and sending them faster away, but nothing richer than they came.

In the heat of this contention, *Prusius* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no less than *Attalus* held suspected the power of *Philip*, sent a Navy into *Greece*, to assist the *Macedonian* party. The like did the *Carthaginians*; and upon greater reason, as being more interessed in the success of his affairs. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and though he could man some two hundred ships, yet the vessels were such, as could not hold out against the *Romans Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoved him to use the help of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aid came somewhat too late; which might better at first have kept those Enemies from fastening upon any part of *Greece*, than afterward it could serve to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that Country. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea, it was needful that he should correct the *Eleans*, bad neighbours to the *Achaians* his principal Confederates. But in assailing their Town, he was encountred by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* Garrison, which drave him back with some loss. In such cases, especially where God intendeth a great conversion of Empire, Fame is very powerful in working. The King had received no great detriment in his retrait from *Elis*: rather he had given testimony of his personal valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horse was slain under him. He had also soon after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of four thousand, with some twenty thousand head of Cattel which they had brought together in a place

of

of ſafety, as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had hapned, that in his purſuit of the *Romans* forragers about *Sicyon*, his horſe running haſtily under a low tree, had torn off one of the horns, which (after the faſhion of thoſe times) the King wore in his Creſt. This was gathered up by an *Ætolian*, who carried it home, and ſhewed it as a token of *Philip's* death. The horn was well known, and the tale believed. All *Macedon* therefore was in an uproar; and not only the borderers, ready to fall upon the Country, but ſome Captains of *Philip* eaſily corrupted; who thinking to make themſelves a fortune in that change of things, ran into ſuch treaſon, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuſe. Hereupon the King returned home, leaving not three thouſand men to aſſiſt his friends the *Achæans*. He alſo took order, to have beacons erected, that might give him notice of the enemies doings, upon whom he meant ſhortly to return. The affairs of *Macedon*, his preſence quikly eſtabliſhed. But in *Greece* all went ill-favouredly; eſpecially in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus* and the *Romans*, the Town of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to help it: where alſo the ſtrong City of *Chalcis* was likely to have been loſt, if he had not come the ſooner. He made ſuch haſty marches, that he had almoſt taken *Attalus* in the City of *Opus*: this City, lying over againſt *Eubœa*, *Attalus* had won more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had uſed: now becauſe the *Roman* Souldiers had defrauded him in the ſack of *Oreum*, and taken all to themſelves; it was agreed, that *Attalus* ſhould make his beſt profit of the *Opuntians*, without admitting the *Romans* to be his ſharers. But whilſt he was buſie, in drawing as much mony as he could out of the Citizens: the ſudden tydings of *Philip's* arrival, made him leave all behind him, and run away to the Sea-ſide, where he got aboord his ſhips, finding the *Romans* gone before, upon the like fear. Either the indignity of this miſadventure, or tydings of *Pruſias* to *Bithynian* his invaſion upon the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* return home, without ſtaying to take leave of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*, won *Torone*, *Tritonos*, *Drymus* and many ſmall Towns in thoſe parts; performing likewiſe ſome actions, of more bravery than importance, againſt the *Ætolians*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had been buſie in *Peloponneſus*; but hearing of *Philip's* arrival, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certain report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, went about to chuſe two new Kings, and to conform themſelves to their old manner of government. But their eſtate was ſo far out of tune, that their hope of redreſſing things within the City, proved no leſs unfortunate, than had been their attempts of recovering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a Tyrant roſe up among them: upon whom ſucceeded this *Machanidas*, and ſhortly after came *Nabis*, that was worſe than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* and *Roman* ſide, for fear of the *Achæans*, that were the chief Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant and *Lacedæmonian*. But of theſe we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter.

Philip entring into *Achaia*, and ſeeing his preſence had brought the contentment of aſſurance to that Country; ſpake brave words to the Aſſembly of their States, ſaying, That he had to do with an Enemy that was very nimble, and made War by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Orecum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*; but could no where find them, ſuch haſt they made, for fear of being overtaken. But flight, he ſaid, was not alwaies proſperous: he ſhould one day light upon them; as ere this he ſundry times had done, and ſtill to their loſs. The *Achaians* were glad to hear theſe words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For he reſtored unto their Nation ſome Towns that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewiſe to the *Megalopolitans* their confederates, he rendred *Aliphera*. The *Dymæans*, that had been taken by the *Romans*, and ſold for ſlaves, he ſought out, ranſomed, and put in quiet poſſeſſion of their own City. Further, paſſing over the *Corinthian* Gulf, he fell upon the *Ætolians*; whom he drave into the mountains and woods, or other their ſtrongeſt holds, and waſted their Country. This done, he took leave of the *Achæans*, and returned home by Sea, viſited the people that were his ſubjects, or dependants; and animated them ſo well, that they reſted fearleſs of any threatning danger. Then had he leiſure to make war upon the *Dardanians*, ill neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom nevertheleſs he was not ſo far occupied, but that he could go in hand with preparing a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himſelf Maſter of the Sea; the *Romans* (ſince the departure of *Attalus*) having not dared to meet or purſue him, when he lately ran along the coaſt

coast of *Greece*, fast by them where they lay.

This good success added much reputation to the *Macedonian*, and emboldened him to make strong war upon the *Ætolians*, at their own doors. As for the *Romans* either some displeasure, conceived against their Confederates, or some fear of danger at home, when *Asdrubal* was ready to fall upon *Italy*; caused them to give over the care of things in *Greece*, and leave their friends there to their own fortunes. The *Ætolians* therefore being driven to great extremity, were fain to sue for peace unto *Philip*; and accept it, upon what ever conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty five gallies, came over in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, he turned aside to *Dyrrhacchium* and *Apolonia*, making a great noise, as if with these his own forces he would work wonders. But it was not long ere *Philip* came to visit him, and found him tame enough. The King presented him battel, but he refused it: and suffering the *Macedonians* to waste the Country round about, before his eyes, kept himself close within the wals of *Apollonia*, making some overtures of peace: which caused *Philip* to return home quietly. The *Romans* had not so great cause to be displeased with the *Ætolians*, as had *Philip* to take in evil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithstanding the royal offer that he made them, to serve their turn in *Italy*, and assist them, in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requital: they had not sent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient ability by Sea) it is likely they were bound either to secure the transportation of his Army, or to free his coast from the *Roman* and *Ætolian* Piracies. Only once they came to his help, which was at his last journey into *Achaia*. But they were gone again before his arrival: having done nothing, and pretending fear of being taken by the *Romans*, even at such time as *Philip* with his own Navy, durst boldly pass by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This wretchless dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seem to have been one of *Hanno* his tricks, whereof *Hannibal* so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly to hear that so great a King made offer to serve in person under *Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affairs of the world at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as envy could suggest, to perswade the *Carthaginians* unto a safe and thrifty course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their *Italian* wars so mighty a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection unto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberty. Rather they should do well to save charges, and feed the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet and some other succours. This would cost nothing, yet would it serve to terrifie the *Romans*, and compell them to send part of their forces from home, that might find this Enemy work abroad, So should the *Roman* Armies be lessened in *Italy*; and *Philip*, when once he was ingaged in the war, be urged unto the prosecution, by his own necessity: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges: yea, scarce to the labour of giving him thanks. Now if it might come to pass, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italy* should within a while be at the devotion of *Carthage*: better it were, that the City should be free, so as the troublesome *Greeks* might address their complaints unto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Judges between them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africk*, should wait upon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hateful in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no less impudent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the councel of *Hanno* and his fellows were such as this, or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their own disposition, without his advice, were too sparing, and careless, the matter (as far as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good, but rather dodged with him, even in their little courtesie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why he began the building of an hundred Gallies, as if he would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainly given credit to faithless promises. When therefore the *Ætolians* had submitted themselves already: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very fear of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to have succoured them in their necessity, he might give over the war, and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their

sakes;

ſakes but they deſpiſed him, as if the quarrel were meerly his own, and he unable to manage it.

The vanity of which their conceits would appear unto them, when they ſhould ſee, that with his proper ſtrength he had finiſhed the War, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the year following it was agreed, by the mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* ſhould retain three or four Towns of *Illyri-*, which they had recovered by this War, being part of their old *Illyrian* Conqueſt: Places no way belonging to the *Macedinian*; and therefore perhaps inſerted into the Covenants, that ſomewhat might ſeem to have been gotten. On the other ſide, the *Atintanes* were appointed to return under the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* problably conjectures) the people of the Country about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appears, that they did not give peace, as they would ſeem to have done, but accepted it, upon conditions ſomewhat to their loſs.

The Confederates and Dependants of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Achæans*, *Bœtians*, *Theſſalians*, *Acarnanians* and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* ſide were named, firſt, the people of *Ilium*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Romans* deſcent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; *Plueratus* an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Meſſenians* and *Athenians*. The *Ætolians* were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themſelves before. But the *Eleans* and *Meſſenians*, followers of the *Ætolians*, (and by them, as is moſt likely, compriſed in their league with *Philip*) were alſo inſerted by the *Romans*; that were never ſlow in offering their friendſhip to ſmall and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*; they ſtood much upon their old honour; and loved to bear a part, though they did nothing, in all great actions. Yet the ſetting down of their names in this Treaty, ſerved the *Romans* to good purpoſe: foraſmuch as they were a buſie people, and miniſtred occaſion to renew the War, when means did better ſerve to follow it.

§. XIII.

How the Romans *began to recover their ſtrength by degrees. The noble affection of the* Romans, *in relieving the publick Neceſſities of their Common-weal.*

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing ſo many enterpriſes at once, they followed all by the halves; and waſted more men and mony to no purpoſe, than would have ſerved (if good order had been taken) to finiſh the whole War, in far ſhorter ſpace; and make themſelves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This error had become the leſs harmful, if their care of *Italy* had been ſought as it ought. But they ſuffered *Hannibal* to weary himſelf with expectation of their promiſed ſupplies; which being ſtill preferred from year to year, cauſed as great opportunities to be loſt, as a Conquerour could have deſired. The death of *Poſthumius*, and deſtruction of this whole Army in *Gaul*; the begun rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuſe*; with great alterations much to their prejudice, in the whole Iſle of *Sicil*; as alſo that War, of which we laſt ſpake threatned from *Macedon*, happening all at one time; and that ſo nearly after their terrible overthrow at *Cannæ*, among ſo many revolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would utterly have ſunk the *Roman* State; had the *Carthaginians*, if not the firſt year, yet at leaſt the ſecond, ſent over to *Hannibal* the forces that was decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diverſity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, adminiſtred matter unto *Hanno*, or ſuch as *Hanno* was, whereupon to work. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to perform all that was decreed for *Italy*; yet could not that prohibition hold, when ſo many new occurrences brought each along with thim their new care; and required their ſeveral Armies. This had not been a very bad excuſe, if any one of the many occaſions offered had been throughly proſecuted: though it ſtood with beſt reaſon, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the proſperity of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* war, ſhould have been ſtrengthned; whatſoever had become of the reſt. But the ſlender Troops, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the War in *Spain*; the lingring aid which they ſent to uphold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already well-near beaten down; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongſt all theſe their attempts) their haſty catching at *Sicil*: little deſerved to be thought good reaſons of neglecting

cting the main point, whereto all the reſt had reference. Rather every one of theſe Actions, conſidered a part by it ſelf, was no otherwiſe to be allowed, as diſcreetly undertaken, or ſubſtantially followed; than by making ſuppoſition, That the care of *Italy* made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things elſe. Yet if theſe allegations would not ſerve to content *Hannibal*, then muſt he patiently endure to know, that his own Citizens were jealous of his Greatneſs, and durſt not truſt him with ſo much power, as ſhould enable him to wrong the ſtate at home.

Whatſoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himſelf to Neceſſity; to feed his *Italian* friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cumæ*, and other places: being loth to ſpend his Army in an hard ſiege, that was to be reſerved for a work of more importance. Many offers he made upon *Nola*, but alwayes with bad ſucceſs. Once *Marcellus* fought a battel with him there, yet under the very walls of the Town; having the aſſiſtance of the Citizens, that were grown better affected to the *Roman* ſide, ſince the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thouſand men *Hannibal* in that fight loſt: which was no great marvel; his forces being then divided, and imployed in ſundry parts of *Italy* at once. *Naples* was even in thoſe dayes, a ſtrong City; and required a years work to have taken it by force. Wherfore the earneſt deſire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwayes fruſtrate. Upon the Town of *Cumæ* they of *Capua* had their plot, and were in hope to take it by cunning. They ſent to the chief Mageſtrates of the *Cumans*, deſiring them (as being alſo *Campans*) to be preſent at a ſolemn ſacrifice of the Nation, where they would conſult about their general good: promiſing to bring thither a ſufficient guard, to aſſure the whole Aſſembly from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made ſhew to entertain; but privily ſent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, the *Roman* Conſul.

Gracchus was a very good man of war, and happily choſen Conſul in ſo dangerous a time. His Colleague ſhould have been *Poſthumus Albinus*, that was lately ſlain by the *Gauls*: after whoſe death *Marcellus* was choſen, as being judged the fitteſt man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman* Augures either found ſome religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at leaſt they fained ſo to have done, becauſe this was the firſt time, that ever two *Plebeian* Conſuls were choſen together. *Marcellus* therefore gave over the place; and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the late famous Dictator, was ſubſtituted in his room. But *Fabius* was detained in the City, about matters of religion or ſuperſtition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, eſpecially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Conſular Army, waited upon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*: not able to meet the enemy in field; yet intentive to all occaſions, that ſhould be preſented. The *Volones*, or Slaves, that lately had been armed, were no ſmall part of his followers. Theſe, and the reſt of his men, he continually trained; and had not a greater care to make his Army ſkilful in the exerciſes of war, than to keep it from quarrels that might ariſe by upbraiding one another with their baſe conditions.

Whilſt the Conſul was thus buſied at *Liternum*, the Senators of *Cumæ* ſent him word of all that had paſſed between them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occaſion to fleſh his men, and make them confident againſt the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himſelf into *Cumæ*: whence he iſſued at ſuch time, as the Magiſtrates of that City were expected by the *Campans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hamæ*: three miles from *Cumæ*. There lay *Marius Alfius* the chief Magiſtrate of *Capua*, with fourteen thouſand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather deviſing how to ſurprize others, than fearing himſelf to be aſſailed. The Conſul therefore, ſuffering none to go forth of *Cumæ*, that might bear word of him to the enemies, iſſued out of the Town when it grew dark: his men being well refreſhed with meat and ſleep, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights ſervice. So he came upon the *Capuans* unawares, and ſlew more than two thouſand of them, together with their Commander, loſing not above a hundred of his own men. Their Camp he took; but tarried not long to riſle it, for fear of *Hannibal*, who lay not far off. By this his providence, he eſcaped a greater loſs, than he had brought upon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hamæ*, forthwith he marched thither, hoping to find thoſe young ſouldiers, and ſlaves, buſied in making ſpoil, and loading themſelves with the booty. But they were all gotten ſafe within *Cumæ*; which partly for anger, partly for deſire of gaining it, and partly at the urgent entreaty of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* aſſailed the

next

the next day. Much labour, and with ill ſucceſs, the *Carthaginians* and their fellows ſpent about this town. They raiſed a wooden Tower againſt it; which they brought cloſe unto the walls; thinking thereby to force an Entry. But the Defendants, on the inſide of the wall, raiſed againſt this an high Tower; whence they made reſiſtance, and found means at length to conſume with fire the work of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were buſie in quenching the fire, the *Romans*, ſallying out of the Town at two gates, charged them valiantly, and drave them to their Trenches, with the ſlaughter of about fourteen hundred. The Conſul wiſely ſounded the Retreat, ere his men were too far engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readineſs to requite their ſervice. Neither would he in the pride of his good ſucceſs, adventure forth againſt the Enemy; who preſented him battle the day following, near unto the wals. *Hannibal* therefore ſeeing no likelihood to prevail in that which he had taken in hand, brake up the ſiege, and returned to his old camp at *Tifata*. About theſe times, and ſhortly after, when *Fabius* the other Conſul had taken the field; ſome ſmall Towns were recovered by the *Romans*, and the people ſeverely puniſhed for their revolt.

The *Carthaginian* Army was too ſmall, to fill with garriſons all places that had yielded; and withall to abide (as it muſt do) ſtrong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the ſupply from home, that ſhould enable him to ſtrike at *Rome* it ſelf, was driven in the mean time to alter his courſe of war: and inſtead of making (as formerly he had done) a general invaſion upon the whole Countrey, to paſs from place to place; and wait upon occaſions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Countrey of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grievouſly waſted by *Marcellus*, in the abſence of *Hannibal*; as alſo was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Conſul; when *Hannibal* having followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and received there the loſs before mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. Theſe people ſhewed not the like ſpirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done, when they contended with the *Romans*, in their own behalf, to get the Soveraignty. They held it reaſon, that they ſhould be protected by ſuch as thought to have dominion over them: whereby at once they overburdened their new Lords; and gave unto their old, the more eaſie means to take revenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intentive as neceſſity conſtrained them, to the work that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Conſulſhip: and joyned with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed unto that honour the year before. Of theſe two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield:* and *Marcellus*, the *Roman Sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and upon juſt reaſon, commended, That being himſelf Conſul, and holding the Election, he did not ſtand upon nice points of formality, or regard what men might think of his ambition, but cauſed himſelf to be choſen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the City ſtood of able Commanders. The great name of theſe Conſuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made, ſerved to put the *Campans* in fear, that *Capua* it ſelf ſhould be beſieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal*, at their earneſt entreaty, came from *Arpi* (where he lay, hearkening after news from *Tarentum*) and having with his preſence comforted theſe his friends, fell on the ſudden upon *Puteoli*, a Sea-town of *Campania*; about which he ſpent three dayes in vain, hoping to have won it. The garriſon in *Puteoli* was ſix thouſand ſtrong: and did their duty ſo well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good ſucceſs, could only ſhew his anger upon the fields there and about *Naples*; which having done, and once more (with as ill ſucceſs as before) aſſailed *Nola*, he bent his courſe to *Tarentum:* wherein he had very great intelligence. Whileſt he was in his progreſs thither; *Hanno* made a journey againſt *Beneventum:* and *T. Graccus*, the laſt years Conſul, haſting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a battel. *Hanno* had with him about ſeventeen thouſand foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the moſt part: beſides twelve hundred horſe; very few of which were *Italians*, all the reſt *Numidians* and *Moors*. He held the *Romans* work four hours, ere it could be perceived to which ſide the victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his ſouldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed ſlaves, had received from their General a peremptory denunciation, That this day or never they muſt purchaſe their liberty, bringing every man for price thereof, an enemies head. The ſweet reward of liberty was ſo greatly deſired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vain labour impoſed by their General, of cutting off the ſlain enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindred the ſervice by imployment of ſo many hands in a work ſo little concerning the victory. *Gracchus* there-

fore finding his own error, wisely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should have liberty immediately after the battel, if they won the day. This encouragement made them run head-long upon the Enemy; whom their desperate fury had soon overthrown, if the *Roman*-horse could have made their part good against the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and pressed so hard upon the *Romans* battel, that four thousand of the slaves, (for fear either of them, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatned before the battel unto those that should not valiantly behave themselves) retired unto a ground of strength; yet was he glad at length to save himself by flight, when the Gross of his Army was broken; being unable to remedy the loss. Leaving the field, he was accompanied by no more than two thousand, most of which were horse; all the rest were either slain or taken. The *Roman* General gave unto all his souldiers that reward of liberty which he had promised: but unto those four thousand, which had recoyled unto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they served in the wars, they should neither eat nor drink otherwise than standing, unless sickness forced them to break his order. So the victorious Army returned to *Beneventum*: where the newly enfranchised Souldiers were feasted in publick by the Townsmen; some sitting some standing, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the custom of slaves manumised) with caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterwards hung up in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of Liberty; which his Father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the first battel, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had lost since the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italy*: the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hamæ*, being things of small importance.

Thus the *Romans*, through industry, by little and little, repaired the great Breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Cannæ*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasury was so poor, that no industry nor art could serve to help it. The fruits of their grounds did only (and perhaps hardly) serve to feed their Towns and Armies, without any surplusage, that might be exchanged for other needful commodities. Few they were in *Italy* that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worse do than before; as living upon the same trade, and subject to the same inconveniencies, which enfeeble *Rome* it self. *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yield great profit, hardly now maintaining the *Roman* Armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold them safe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, every one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now do least for his Country, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised upon them by the *Poll*, yet must it be far less than in former times. The Senate therefore diligently considering the greatness of the war within the bowels of *Italy*, that could not be thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the peril, wherein *Sicil* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the Naturals, declining from the friendship or subjection of *Rome*; the threats of the *Macedonian*, ready to land in the Eastern parts of *Italy*, if they were not at the cost to find him work at home; the greater threats of *Asdrubal*, to follow his Brother over the *Alps*, as soon as he could rid himself of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*; and the poverty of the Common-wealth, which had not mony for any one of these mortal dangers; were driven almost even to extream want of counsel. But being urged by the violence of swift necessity, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio*'s from *Spain*; they resolved upon the only course, without the which the City could not have subsisted.

They called the people to assembly; Wherein *Quintus Fulvius* the Prætor laid open the publick wants; and plainly said, That in this exigent, there must be no taking of mony for victuals, weapons, apparel, or the like things needful to the Souldiers; but that such as had stuff, or were Artificers; must trust the Common-wealth with the Loan of their commodities and labors, until the war were ended. Hereunto he so effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or Customers, and those which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Revenues, that the charge was undertaken by private men; and the Army in *Spain*, as well supplied, as if the Treasury had been full. Shortly after this, *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, and *Publius Furius Philus*, the *Roman* Censors; taking in hand the redress of disorders within the City, were chiefly intentive to the correction of those, that had mis-behaved themselves in this present war. They began with *L. Cecilius Metellus*;

Metellus: who after the battel at *Cannæ*, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italy*, had been no better than lost. After him they took in hand those, that having brought to *Rome* the message of their fellows made prisoners at *Cannæ*, returned not back to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once back into his Camp, with pretence of taking better notice of the Captives names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; even whosoever had not served in the wars, after the term which the Laws appointed: Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had used to be) hurtful only in reputation: but greater weight was added thereunto, by this Decree of the Senate, following; *That all such as were noted with infamy by these Censors, should be transported into* Sicil, *there to serve until the end of the War, under the same hard conditions, that were imposed upon the Remainder of the Army beaten at* Cannæ. The office of the Censors was, to take the List and account of the Citizens; to chuse or displace the Senators; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) upon those whose unhoneſt or unseemly behaviour fell not within the compass of the Law. They took also an account of the *Roman* Gentlemen: amongst whom they distributed the publick Horses of service, unto such as they thought meet; or took them away for their mis-behaviour. Generally, they had the oversight of mens lives and manners: and their censure was much reverenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rank; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could do) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasury, from which others were exempted. But, besides the care of this general Tax, and matters of Morality, they had the charge of all publick Works; as mending of High-wayes, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man incroached upon the Streets, High-wayes, or other places that ought to be common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customs, and other publick Revenues to farm: so that most of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholding unto this office; as maintaining themselves by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small help to conserve the dignity of the Senate: the commonalty being obnoxious unto the Censors; which were alwayes of that Order, and careful to uphold the reputation thereof. But the Common-weal being now impoverished by War, and having small store of Lands to lett, or of Customs that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with perusing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or, if they took a view of what was requisite to be done in this kind; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein again appeared a notable generosity of the *Romans*. They that had been accustomed in more happy times, to undertake such pieces of work, offered now themselves as willingly as the Censors, as if there had been no such want: promising liberally their cost and travel; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the War. In like sort, the Masters of those slaves, that lately had been infranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbear the price of them, until the City were in better case to pay. In this general inclination of the Multitude, to relieve, as far forth as every one was able, the common necessity; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widows living under Patronate, were brought into the Treasury; and there the Questor kept a Book of all that was laid out for the sustenance of these Widows and Orphans: whilst the whole stock was used by the City. This good example of those which remained in the Town, prevailed with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their Country was in so great want.

The twelve hundred Talents wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride, yielded half so much commodity, as might be laid in ballance against these miseries, whereinto their Estate was now reduced. Nevertheless if we consider things aright, the calamities of this War did rather inable *Rome* to deal with those Enemies, whom she forthwith undertook, than abate or slacked the growth of that large Dominion, whereto she attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names we have already mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* metal grew more hard and solid: and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the City of *Athens*, when

when *Xerxes* had burnt the Town to ashes, and taken from every particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which rested in the common happiness of the universality. Certain it is, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath judiciously observed) That a State, whose dimension or stem is small, may aptly serve to be foundation of a great Monarchy, which chiefly comes to pass, where all regard of domestical prosperity is laid aside; and every mans care addressed to the benefit of his Country. Hereof I might say that our Age hath been a great example, in the united Provinces in the Netherlands; whose present riches and strength grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Towns, or almost of their Families, perceived it self to hold, whilst the generality was oppressed by the Duke of *Alva*; were it so, that the people had thereby grown as warlike, as, by extreme industry, and straining themselves to fill their publick Treasury, they are all grown wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their services by Land. Wherefore if we value at such a rate as we ought, the patient resolution, conformity to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and above all other, the great love of the Commonweal, which was found in *Rome* in these dangerous times: we may truly say, That the City was never in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being grown more large and beautiful, should in all reason have been more dear unto them; if the riches and delicacies of *Asia* had not infected them with sensuality, and carryed their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens and subjects of *Rome* could have believed their own interest to be as great, in those wars which these latter Emperours made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded upon so great vertue, could not have been thrown down by the hands of rude *Barbarians*, were they never so many. But unto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though he hath given unto Man the knowledge of those wayes, by which Kingdoms rise and fall; yet hath left him subject unto the affections, which draw on these fatal changes, in their times appointed.

§. XIV.

The Romans *win some Towns back from* Hannibal. Hannibal *wins* Tarentum. *The siege of* Capua. *Two Victories of* Hannibal. *The journey of* Hannibal *to the gates of* Rome. Capua *taken by the* Romans.

AS the people of *Rome* strained themselves to the utmost, for maintaining the War: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industry, in seeking to recover what had been lost. The Town of *Casiline*, *Fabius* besieged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and likely to have been relieved by those of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola*, had not come to the assistance of his Colleague. Nevertheless, the place held out so obstinately, that *Fabius* was purposed to give it over: saying, that the enterprise was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. He said, that many such things, as were not at first to have been undertaken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be prosecuted unto the best effect. So the siege held on: and the Town was pressed so hard, that the *Campans* dwelling therein, grew fearful, and craved parley; offering to give it up, so as all might have leave to depart in safety, whither they pleased. Whilst they were thus treating of conditions: or whilst they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diversly reported) *Marcellus* seizing upon a Gate, entred with his Army, and put all to sword that came in their way. Fifty of those that were first gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Consul, who saved them, and sent them to *Capua* in safety; all the rest were either slain, or made prisoners. If *Fabius* deserved Commendations, by holding his word good unto these fifty; I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such as escaped the heat of execution, could be excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himself after the *Roman* fashion, with some æquivocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was *Mount Marsans* in *Gascoin* taken by the Marshall *Monluc*, when I was a young man in *France*. For whilst he entertained parley about composition; the besieged ran all from their several guards, upon hasty desire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The Marshall therefore discovering a part of the Walls unguarded, entred by *Scalado*, and put all save the Governour unto the sword. Herein that

the Governour of *Mount Marſian* committed two groſs errors; the one, in that he gave no order for the Captains and Companies, to hold themſelves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee without Pledges for aſſurance given and received. Some ſuch overſight the Governour of *Caſilinе* ſeemeth to have committed; yet neither the advantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Monluc*, was very honourable. When this Work was ended, many ſmall Towns of the *Samnites*, and ſome of the *Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recovered: wherein were taken or ſlain, about five and twenty thouſand of the Enemies; and the Country grievouſly waſted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying ſick at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the mean while was about *Tarentum*, waiting to hear from thoſe, that had promiſed to give up the Town. But *M. Valerius* the *Roman* Propretor had thruſt ſo many men into it, that the Traitors durſt not ſtir. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was fain to depart, having wearied himſelf in vain with expectation. Yet he waſted not the Country, but contented himſelf with hope, that they would pleaſe him better in time following. So he departed thence toward *Salapia*, which he choſe for his wintring-place; and began to victual it when Summer was but half paſt. It is ſaid, that he was in love with a young Wench in that Town, in which regard if he began his Winter more timely than otherwiſe he required, he did not like the *Romans*; whom neceſſity inforced, to make their Summer laſt as long as they were able to travel up and down the Country.

About this time began great troubles in *Sicil*, whither *Marcellus* the Conſul was ſent, to take ſuch order for the Province, as need ſhould require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than the Conſulſhip, we will ſpeak hereafter.

The new Conſuls choſen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the Son of the preſent Conſul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the ſecond time. The *Romans* found it needful for the publick ſervice, to imploy oftentimes their beſt able men: and therefore made it lawful, during the war, to recontinue their Officers, and chuſe ſuch as had lately held their places before; without regarding any diſtance of time, which was otherwiſe required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant unto his Son: which was perhaps the reſpect, that moſt commended his Son unto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the Camp, and his Son rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelve Lictors, which carried an Axe with a bundle of Rods before the Conſul, ſuffered him, in regard of due reverence, to paſs by them on horſe-back, which was againſt the cuſtom. But the Son perceiving this, commanded the laſt of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Conſul on his feet. The Father chearfully did ſo; ſaying, *It was my mind, Son, to make tryal, whether thou didſt underſtand thy ſelf to be Conſul.* *Caſſius Altinius* a wealthy Citizen of *Arpi*, who after the battel at *Canna*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that Town, ſeeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend, came privily to this Conſul *Fabius*, and offered to render it back unto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Conſul purpoſed to follow old examples; and to make this *Altinius* a pattern to all Traitors; uſing him as *Camillus* and *Fabricius* had done thoſe that offered their faithful ſervice againſt the *Faliſci*, and King *Pyrrhus*. But *Q. Fabius* the Father, was of another opinion: and ſaid, it was a matter of dangerous conſequence, That it ſhould be thought more ſafe to revolt from the *Romans*, than to turn unto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that he ſhould be ſent to the Town of *Cales*, and there kept as priſoner; until they could better reſolve, what to do with him, or what uſe to make of him. *Hannibal* underſtanding that *Altinius* was gone, and among the *Romans*, took it not ſorrowfully; but thought this a good occaſion to ſeize upon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet that he might ſeem rather ſevere, than covetous, he ſent for the wife and children of *Altinius* into his Camp: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more ſtrictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, he condemned them as partakers of the treaſon, to be burnt alive; and took all their goods unto himſelf. *Fabius* the Conſul ſhortly after came to *Arpi:* which he won by *Scalado*, in a ſtormy and rainy night. Five thouſand of *Hannibal*'s Souldiers lay in the Town; and of the *Arpines* themſelves, there were about three thouſand. Theſe were thruſt formoſt by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; when it was underſtood, that the *Romans* had gotten over the Wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers held the Townſ-men ſuſpected; and therefore thought it no wiſdom to truſt them at their backs. But after ſome little reſiſtance, the *Arpines* gave over fight, and entertained parley with the *Romans:* proteſting, they had been betrayed by their Princes; and

were

were become ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, againſt their wills. In proceſs of this diſcourſe, the *Arpine* Prætor went unto the *Roman* Conſul: and receiving his faith for ſecurity of the Town, preſently made head againſt the Garriſon. This notwithſtanding, like it is that *Hannibal's* men continued to make good reſiſtance. For when almoſt a thouſand of them that were *Spaniards*, offered to leave their companions, and ſerve on the *Romans* ſide, it was yet covenanted, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould be ſuffered to paſs forth quietly, and return to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and ſo *Arpi* became *Roman* again, with little other loſs, than of him that had betrayed it. About the ſame time *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus* one of the Prætors: and unto *Cneus Fulvius*, another of the Prætors, an hundred and twelve Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their ſervice; upon no other condition, than to have their goods reſtored unto them, when their City ſhould be recovered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of ſmall importance: but conſidering the general hatred of the *Campans* towards *Rome*, it ſerved to diſcover the inclination of the *Italians* in thoſe times; and how their affections recoyled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of thoſe mighty ſuccours, that had been promiſed from *Carthage*. The *Conſentines* alſo, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, which had yielded themſelves to *Hannibal*, returned again to their old allegiance. Others would have followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a Publican had made himſelf a Captain, and gotten reputation by ſome petty exploits in forraging the Country, was ſlain by *Hanno*; with a great multitude of thoſe that followed him. *Hannibal* in the mean while had all his care bent upon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it ſeemed that it would ſtand him in good ſtead, for drawing over that help out of *Macedon*, which his *Carthiginians* failed to ſend. Long he waited ere he could bring his deſire to paſs: and being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to prevail by intelligence; he contented himſelf with taking in ſome poor Towns of the *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum*, found means to accompliſh their purpoſe, and his wiſh. One *Phileas*, that was of their conſpiracy, who lay at *Rome* as Embaſſadour, practiſing with the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, and ſuch as had the keeping of them, conveyed them by night out of the City. But he and his company the next day were ſo cloſely purſued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to *Rome*, where they ſuffered death as Traytors. By reaſon of this cruelty, or ſeverity, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans* more generally and earneſtly than before. As for the Conſpirators, they followed their buſineſs the more diligently, as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention ſhould happen to be diſcovered. Wherefore they ſent again to *Hannibal*; and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the ſame compoſition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico*, and *Philomenes*, two of the chief among them, uſed much to go forth of the Town on hunting by night; as if they durſt not take their pleaſure by day, for fear of the *Carthaginians*. Seldom or never they miſſed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not ſeem to have been abroad upon other occaſion: From the Camp of *Hannibal* it was about three dayes journey to *Tarentum*, if he ſhould have marched thither with his whole Army. This cauſed his long abode in one place the leſs to be ſuſpected: as alſo, to make his enemies the more ſecure, he cauſed it to be given out, that he was ſick. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were grown careleſs of ſuch his neighbourhood, and the Conſpirators had ſet their buſineſs in order; he took with him ten thouſand the moſt expedite of his horſe and foot; and long before break of day, made all ſpeed thitherward. Fourſcore light horſe of the *Numideans* ran a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for fear leſt he, and his troop following him, ſhould be diſcovered. It had been often the manner of ſome few *Numidian* horſe, to do the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governour, when he heard tell in the evening, that ſome *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, took it for a ſign, that *Hannibal* was not as yet diſlodged; and gave order, that ſome companies ſhould be ſent out the next morning, to ſtrip them of their booty, and ſend them gone. But when it grew dark night; *Hannibal*, guided by *Philomenes*, came cloſe to the Town: where, according to the tokens agreed upon, making a light to ſhew his arrival; *Nico*, that was within the Town, anſwered him with another light, in ſign that he was ready. Preſently *Nico* began to ſet upon one of the Gates, and to kill the watch-men. *Philomenes* went toward another gate: and whiſtling (as was his manner) called up the Porter; bidding him make haſte, for that he had killed a great Bore, ſo heavy, that ſcarce two men could ſtand under

under it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith entred two young men, loaden with the Bore; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter ſtood wondring at the largeneſs of the beaſt, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Bore-ſpear: and letting in ſome thirty armed men, fell upon all the watch; whom when he had ſlain, he entred the great gate. So the Army of *Hannibal* entring *Tarentum* at two Gates, went directly toward the Market place, where both parts met. Thence they were diſtributed by their General, and ſent into all quarters of the City, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, *Hannibal* willed the Conſpirators, that when any of their friends appeared in ſight, they ſhould bid him be quiet, and of good chear. All the Town was in an uproar: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was unſkilfully ſounded by a *Greek* in the Theater: which helped the ſuſpition, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to ſpoil the Town; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadel, that ſtood in the mouth of the Haven; whence he might eaſily perceive the next morning, how all had paſſed. *Hannibal* aſſembling the *Tarentines*, gave them to underſtand, what good affection he bore them; inveighed bitterly againſt the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppreſſours; and ſpake what elſe he thought fit for the preſent. This done, and having gotten ſuch ſpoil as was to be had of the Souldiers goods in the Town, he addreſſed himſelf againſt the Citadel; hoping that if the Garriſon would ſally out, he might give them ſuch a blow, as ſhould make them unable to defend the Piece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a bravery ſallying forth, gave charge upon his men: who fell back of purpoſe according to direction, till they had drawn on as many as they could, and ſo far from their ſtrength, as they durſt adventure. Then gave *Hannibal* a ſign to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpoſe: and fiercely ſetting upon the Enemy, drave him back with great ſlaughter, as faſt as he could run; ſo that afterwards he durſt not iſſue forth. The Citadel ſtood upon a Demi-Iſland, that was plain ground; and fortified only with a Ditch and Wall againſt the Town, whereunto it was joyned by a cawſey. This cawſey *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like ſort againſt the Citadel; to the end that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his help, to keep themſelves from all danger thence. His work in few dayes went ſo well forward, without impediment from the beſieged, that he conceived hope of winning the piece it ſelf, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all ſorts of engines, to force the place. But whilſt he was buſied in his works, there came by Sea a ſtrong ſupply from *Metapontum*: which took away all hope of prevailing; and made him return to his former counſel. Now foraſmuch as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the haven, and could not paſs forth, whileſt the *Romans* held the Citadel: it ſeemed likely that the Town would ſuffer want, being debarred of accuſtomed trade and proviſions by Sea: whileſt the *Roman* garriſon by help of their ſhipping, might eaſily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Againſt this inconvenience, it was rather wiſhed by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the haven; to guard the mouth of it, and cut of all ſupply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Town ſtanding in plain ground, and their ſtreets being fair and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies over land, and lanch them into the Sea without. This he undertook, and effected: whereby the *Roman* garriſon was reduced into great neceſſity; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* oftentimes otherwiſe buſied, than his affairs required.

Thus with mutual loſs on both ſides, the time paſſed: and the *Roman* forces, growing daily ſtronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately choſen Conſuls, prepared to beſiege the great City of *Capua*. Three and twenty Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and haſty growth from that want of men, and of all neceſſaries, whereinto the loſs at *Cannæ* had reduced them. But to fill up theſe Legions, they were fain to take up young Boyes that were under ſeventeen years of age: and to ſend Commiſſioners above fifty miles round, for the ſeeking out of ſuch Lads as might appear ſerviceable, and preſſing them to the Wars; making yet a Law, that their years of ſervice, whereinto they were bound by order of the City, ſhould be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning ſo young, as if they had been of lawful age. Before the *Roman* Army drew near, the *Campans* felt great want of victual, as if they had already been beſieged. This happened partly by ſloth of the Nation, partly by the

great waſte and ſpoil, which the *Romans* had in foregoing years made upon their grounds. They ſent therefore Embaſſadors to *Hannibal*; deſiring him to ſuccour them ere they were cloſed up, as they feared to be ſhortly. He gave them comfortable words, and ſent *Hanno* with an Army to ſupply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; againſt which they ſhould be ready with all manner of carriages, to ſtore themſelves with victuals, that he would provide. Neither did he promiſe more than he performed. For he cauſed great quantity of grain, that had been laid up in Cities round about, to be brought into his Camp, three miles from *Beneventum*. Thither at the time appointed, came no more than forty Carts or Wagons, with a few pack-horſes, as if this had been enough to victual *Capua*. Such was the retchleſneſs of the *Campans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them they were worſe than very beaſts; ſince hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore he gave them a longer day; againſt which he made proviſion to ſtore them throughly. Of all theſe doings word was ſent to the *Roman* Conſuls, from the Citizens of *Beneventum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius* the Conſul, taking with him ſuch ſtrength as he thought needful for the ſervice, came into *Beneventum* by night; where with diligence he made inquiry into the behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Army was gone abroad to make proviſions; that ſome two thouſand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their camp; ſo that little good order was kept: all thought being ſet upon a great harveſt. Hereupon the Conſul bade his men prepare themſelves to aſſail the enemies Camp: and leaving all his impediments within *Beneventum*, he marched thitherward ſo early in the morning, that he was there with the firſt break of day. By coming ſo unexpected, he had well near forced the Camp on the ſudden. But it was very ſtrong, and very well defended: ſo that the longer the fight continued, the leſs deſire had *Fulvius* to loſe more of his men in the attempt; ſeeing many of them caſt away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he ſaid, that it were better to go more leiſurely and ſubſtantially to work; to ſend for his fellow-Conſul, with the reſt of their Army; and to lye between *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campans* ſhould depart thence, nor the *Carthaginians* be able to relieve them. Being thus diſcourſing, and about to ſound the retrait; he ſaw that ſome of his men had gotten over the enemies Rampart. There was great booty; or (which was all one to the Souldiers) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Camp. Wherefore ſome Enſign-bearers threw their Enſignes over the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, unleſs they would endure the ſhame and diſhonour following ſuch a loſs. Fear of ſuch ignominy (than which nothing could be greater) made the Souldiers adventure ſo deſperately, that *Fulvius*, perceiving the heat of his men, changed his purpoſe, and encouraged thoſe that were ſomewhat backward, to follow the example of them that had already gotten over the Trenches. Thus the Camp was won: in which were ſlain above ſix thouſand; and taken above ſeven thouſand, beſides all the ſtore of victuals, and carriages, with abundance of booty, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This miſadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Conſuls, made them of *Capua* ſend a pittiful Embaſſage to *Hannibal*: putting him in mind of all the love that he was wont to proteſt unto their City; and how he had made ſhew to affect it no leſs than *Carthage*. But now, they ſaid it would be loſt, as *Arpi* was lately, if he gave not ſtrong and ſpeedy ſuccour. *Hannibal* anſwered with comfortable words: and ſent away two thouſand horſe, to keep their grounds from ſpoil, whileſt he himſelf was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the Citadel, partly by the diſpoſition, which he ſaw in many Towns adjoyning, to yield unto him. Among the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and being overtaken, ſuffered death for their attempt; were ſome of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Greeks*, inhabiting that Eaſtern part of *Italy*, which was called of old, *Magna Græcia*. Theſe people took to heart the death of their Hoſtages, and thought the puniſhment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as ſoon as the *Roman* garriſon was taken from them to defend the Citadel of *Tarentum*, made no more ado, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurines* would have done the like, upon the like reaſon, had not ſome companies layn in their Town; which they feared that they ſhould not be able to maſter. Nevertheleſs, they helped themſelves by cunning: inviting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were near at hand: againſt whom whileſt they proffered their ſervice to *Atinius* the *Roman* Captain, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling from him, cloſed up their gates. A little for-

formality they uſed in pretending fear, leſt the enemy ſhould break in together with the *Romans*, in ſaving *Atinius* himſelf, and ſending him away by Sea; as alſo in conſulting a ſmall while (becauſe perhaps many of their chief men were unacquainted with the practice) whether they ſhould yield to the *Carthaginian* or no. But this diſputation laſted not long: for they that had removed the chief impediment, eaſily prevailed in the reſt; and delivered up the Town to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good ſucceſs, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in thoſe quarters, whileſt the Conſuls fortifying *Beneventum* to ſecure their backs, addreſſed themſelves to the ſiege of *Capua*.

Many diſaſters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterpriſe. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of War, that had of late been twice Conſul, was ſlain, either by treachery of ſome *Lucans*, that drew him into ambuſh, or by ſome *Carthaginian* ſtragglers, among whom he fell unawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himſelf, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* ſent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneventum*, there to ſecure the back of the Army that ſhould beſiege *Capua*. But his death hapned in an ill time, to the great hinderance of that buſineſs. The Volones or Slaves lately manumiſed, forſook their Enſigns, and went every one whither he thought good, as if they had been diſcharged by the deceaſe of their Leader; ſo that it aſked ſome labour to ſeek them out, and bring them back into their Camp. Nevertheleſs, the Conſuls went forward with their work, and drawing near to *Capua*, did all acts of hoſtility, which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua* gave them an hard welcome, wherein above fifteen hundred *Romans* were loſt. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Conſuls, and had the better; inſomuch that it cauſed them to diſlodge. They removed by night, and went ſeveral waies: *Fulvius* towards *Cannæ*, *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who having led him a great walk, fetcht a compaſs about, and returned to *Capua*. It ſo fell out, that one *Marcus Centenius Penula*, a ſtout man, and one that with good commendations had diſcharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* reſted, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would work, if he might be truſted with the leading of five thouſand men. The Fathers were unwilling in ſuch a time, to reject the vertue of any good Souldier, how mean ſoever his condition were. Wherefore they gave him the charge of eight thouſand: and he himſelf being a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered up ſo many voluntaries, as almoſt doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gave proof of the difference between a ſtout Centurion, and one able to command in chief. He and his fellows were all (in a manner) ſlain, ſcarce a thouſand of them eſcaping. Soon after this, *Hannibal* had word, that *Cneus Fulvius* a *Roman* Prætor with eighteen thouſand men was in *Apulia*, very careleſs and a man inſufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore he haſted to viſit him: hoping to deal the better with the main ſtrength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he ſhould have cut off thoſe forces that lay in the Provinces about, under men of ſmall ability. Coming upon *Fulvius*, he found him and his men ſo jolly, that needs they would have fought the firſt night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he beſtowed *Mago* with three thouſand of his lighteſt armed, in places thereabout moſt fit for ambuſh. Then offered battel to *Fulvius*, he ſoon had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to eſcape alive; leaving all, ſave two thouſand of his followers, dead behind him.

Theſe two great blows, received the one preſently after the other, much aſtoniſhed the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs, all care was taken, to gather up the ſmall reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Conſuls ſhould go ſubſtantially forwards with the ſiege of *Capua*: which was of great conſequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other reſpects. The two Conſuls ſate down before the Town, and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Prætors, came with his Army from *Sueſſula*, to their aſſiſtance. They made Proclamation, That whoſoever would iſſue out of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, ſhould have his pardon, and be ſuffered to enjoy all that unto him belonged: which day being paſt, there ſhould be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliouſly rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their own ſtrength, and the ſuccours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was cloſed up, they ſent meſſengers to the *Carthaginian*; which found him at *Brunduſium*. He had made a long journey in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* Citadel: of which expectation failing, he turned to *Brunduſium*, upon advertiſement that he ſhould

be let in. There the *Capuans* met him, told him of their danger with earneſt words; and were with words as bravely re-comforted. He bade them conſider, how, a few dayes ſince he had chaſed the Conſuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would preſently come thither again, and ſend the *Romans* going as faſt as before. With this good anſwer the Meſſengers returned, and hardly could get back into the City; which the *Romans* had almoſt intrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himſelf, he was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily devoted unto his friendſhip, would hold out a long time, and thereby give him leiſure to do what he thought requiſite among the *Tarentines*, and in thoſe Eaſtern parts of *Italy*; whilſt the *Roman* Army ſpent it ſelf in a tedious ſiege. Thus he lingred, and thereby gave the Conſuls time both to fortifie themſelves at *Capua*, and to diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates in *Rome*; whilſt he himſelf purſued hopes that never found ſucceſs.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their term of office was expired, were appointed to continue the ſiege at *Capua*; retaining the ſame Armies, as Proconſuls. The Towns-men often ſallied out, rather in a bravery, than likelihood to work any matter of effect; the Enemy lying cloſe within his Trenches, as intending without other violence, to ſubdue them by famine. Yet againſt the *Campan* horſe (for their foot was eaſily beaten) the *Romans* uſed to thruſt out ſome troops, that ſhould hold them ſkirmiſh. In theſe exerciſes the *Campans* uſually had the better, to the great grief of their proud Enemy; who ſcorned to take foil at the hands of ſuch Rebels. It was therefore, deviſed that ſome active and couragious young men ſhould learn to ride behind the *Roman* men at arms; leaping up, and again diſmounting lightly, as occaſion ſerved. Theſe were furniſhed like the *Velites*, having each of them three or four ſmall darts: which alighting in time of conflict, they diſcharged thick upon the Enemies horſe; whom vanquiſhing in this kind of ſervice, they much diſheartned in the main. The time thus paſſing, and famine daily increaſing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans:* and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell upon their Camp. At the ſame time the *Capuans* iſſued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deviſe: ſetting all their multitude of unſerviceable people by the walls, which with a loud noiſe of Pans and Baſons, troubled thoſe that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* oppoſing himſelf to the *Campans*, eaſily defended his Trenches againſt them; and ſo well repreſſed them, that he drave them at length back into their City. Nevertheleſs, in purſuing them to their gates, he received a wound that accompanied him in ſhort ſpace after to his grave. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to this taſk by *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* Army. The *Roman* Camp was even at point to have been loſt; and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought three and thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or elſe (for the report varies) being ſome of them ſlain upon it, fell into the ditch, and filled it up in ſuch ſort, that their bodies ſerved as a bridge to the Aſſailants. It is ſaid, that *Hannibal* in this tumult cauſed ſome fugitives that could ſpeak Latin well, to proclaim aloud as it were in the Conſuls name, That every one of the Souldiers ſhould ſhift for himſelf, and fly betimes unto the next hills, for as much as the Camp was already loſt. But all would not ſerve. The fraud was detected; and the Army having ſitten there ſo long, had at good leiſure ſtrongly intrenched it ſelf, ſo as little hope there was to raiſe the ſiege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchaſe of *Capua* had (as was thought) with-held him from taking *Rome* it ſelf: and now his deſire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadel, had well-near loſt *Capua*; in reſpect of which, neither the Citadel, nor the City of *Tarentum* were to have been much regarded. Falling therefore into a deſperate anger with himſelf and his hard fortune, that of ſo many great victories he had made no greater uſe: on the ſudden he entertained an haughty reſolution, even to ſet upon *Rome*; and carry to the walls of that proud City, the danger of War that threatned *Capua*. This, he thought, would be a mean, to draw the *Roman* Generals, or one of them at leaſt, unto the defence of their own home. If they roſe from the ſiege with their whole Army, then had he his deſire: if they divided their forces, then was it likely, that either he or the *Campans*, ſhould well enough deal with them apart. Neither did he deſpair, that the terrour of his coming might ſo aſtoniſh the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter ſome part or other of the City. His only fear was, leſt the *Campans*, being ignorant of his purpoſe, ſhould think he had forſaken them; and thereupon forthwith yield themſelves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he ſent letters to *Capua* by a ſubtle *Numidian*; who running as a fugitive into the *Roman* Camp, conveyed himſelf thence over the innermoſt Trenches

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into the City. The Journey to *Rome* was to be performed with great celerity: no ſmall hope of good ſucceſs reſting in the ſuddenneſs of his arrival there. Wherefore he cauſed his men to have in a readineſs ten dayes victuals; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night tranſport his Army over the River *Vulturnus*. This could not be done ſo cloſely, but that the *Roman* Generals, by ſome fugitives, had notice of his purpoſe. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate; which was therewith affected, according to the diverſity of mens opinions, in a caſe of ſuch importance. Some gave counſel to let alone *Capua*, yea, and all places elſe, rather than to put the Town of *Rome* into peril of being taken by the enemy. Others were ſo far from allowing of this, as they wondred how any man could think, that *Hannibal*, being unable to relieve *Capua*, ſhould judge himſelf ſtrong enough to win *Rome*; and therefore ſtoutly ſaid, That thoſe Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would ſerve the turn well enough, to keep him out and ſend him thence, if he were ſo unwiſe as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters ſhould be ſent to *Fulvius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the preſent were in *Rome*: who, ſince they knew beſt what the ſtrength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were beſt able to judge, what was needful to oppoſe him. So it was referred unto the diſcretion of theſe Generals at *Capua*, to do as they thought behoveful: and if it might conveniently be, neither to raiſe their ſiege, nor yet to put the City of *Rome* into much adventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, the choice of his whole Army; with which he haſted toward *Rome*; leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not travel by reaſon of his wound, to continue the ſiege at *Capua*.

Hannibal having paſſed over *Vulturnus*, burnt up all his boats, and left nothing that might tranſport the Enemy, in caſe he ſhould offer to purſue or coaſt him. Then haſted he away toward *Rome*, ſtaying no longer in any one place, than he needs muſt. Yet found he the Bridges over *Liris* broken down by the people of *Fregellæ*: which, as it ſtopped him a little on his way; ſo it made him the more grievouſly to ſpoil their Lands, while the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waſte he made: his *Numidians* running before him; driving the Country, and killing or taking multitudes of all ſorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The Meſſengers of theſe news came apace, one after another into the City; ſome few bringing true advertiſements; but the moſt of them reporting the conceits of their own fear. All the Streets and Temples in *Rome* were peſtred with women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their hair, becauſe they could do none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Aſſembly; ready to give their advice, if it were aſked, or to take directions given by the Magiſtrates. All places of moſt importance were ſtuffed with ſouldiers: it being uncertain, upon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midſt of this trepidation, there came news that *Quintus Fulvius*, with part of the Army from *Capua*, was haſting to the defence of the City. The Office of a Proconſul did expire, at his return home, and entring into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might loſe nothing by coming into the City, in time of ſuch need, an Act was paſſed, That he ſhould have equal power with the Conſuls during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one ſoon after another: *Fulvius* having been long held occupied in paſſing over *Vulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiving impediment in his journey, as much as the Country was able to give. The Conſuls, and *Fulvius* incamped without the Gates of *Rome*, attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; ſo took they more careful & eſpecial order againſt all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the River *Anio*, or *Anien*, three miles from the Town; whence he advanced with two thouſand horſe, and rode along a great way under the Walls, viewing the ſight thereof, and conſidering how he might beſt approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman* Story ſaith) was driven away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults roſe in this while among the people; but were ſuppreſſed by the care and diligence of the Senators. Above the reſt, one accident was both troubleſome, and not without peril. Of *Numidians* that had ſhifted aſide, and fallen (upon ſome diſpleaſures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were ſome twelve hundred then in *Rome*; which were appointed by the Conſuls, to paſs thorow the Town, from the Mount *Aventine*, to the Gate *Colliatna*, where it was thought that their ſervice might be uſeful; among broken wayes, and Garden-walls lying in the ſuburbs. The faces of theſe men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*; bred

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ſuch miſtaking, as cauſed a great uproar among the people: all crying out that *Aventine* was taken, and the Enemy gotten within the walls. The noiſe was ſuch, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the ſtreets were ſo full of cattel, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoyning, that the paſſage was ſtopt up: and the poor *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the houſe tops, with ſtones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the deſperate multitude, that would have run out at the Gates, had it not been certain who lay under the Walls. To remedy the like inconveniences, it was ordained, *That all which had been dictators, Conſuls, or Cenſors, ſhould have authority as Magiſtrates, till the Enemy departed.* The day following *Hannibal* paſſed over *Anien*, and preſented battel to the *Romans*, who did not wiſely if they undertook it. It is ſaid, that a terrible ſhowre of rain, cauſed both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to return into their ſeveral Camps, and that this happened two dayes together, the weather breaking up and clearing as ſoon as they were departed aſunder: certain it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten dayes proviſion, could not endure to ſtay there, until his victuals were all ſpent. In which regard the *Romans*, if they ſuffered him to waſte his time and proviſions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well adviſed men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is ſaid) by ſome accident of weather, the commendations muſt be given to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibals* coming to the City, how great ſoever it was at the firſt, yet after ſome leiſure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared leſs than the firſt apprehenſion had formed them, was much and ſoon abated. Hereupon it helped well, that at the ſame time the Supply appointed for *Spain*, after the death of the two *Scipio*'s, were ſent out of the Town, and went forth at the Gate, whilſt one *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Pinck terrours*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cauſe known, or no cauſe anſwerable to the greatneſs of the ſudden conſternation; it is a good remedy to do ſomewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it ſuch as men have faſhioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cauſe his ſouldiers to diſarm themſelves, when they were all on a ſudden in a great fear of they wiſt not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a fooliſh uproar in his Army, by proclaiming a reward unto him that could tell who had ſent the Aſs into the Camp. But in this preſent example of the *Romans*, appears withall a great magnanimity; whereby they ſuſtained their reputation, and augmented it no leſs, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might ſeem to have been diminiſhed. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their enemy, and taken away the diſgrace of that fear, which clouded their valour at his firſt coming; than by making ſuch demonſtrations, when once they had recovered ſpirit, how little they eſteemed him. To this purpoſe therefore that very piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay encamped, was ſold in *Rome*: and ſold it was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had been in time of peace. This dignity coming to his ear, incenſed *Hannibal* ſo much, that he made port-ſale of the Silver-ſmiths ſhops, which were near about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his own title to the houſes within the Town were no whit worſe, than any *Roman* Citizens could be unto that piece of ground, whereon he raiſed his Tent. But this counter-practice was nothing worth. The *Romans* did ſeek to manifeſt that aſſurance which they juſtly had conceived; *Hannibal*, to make ſhew of continuing in an hope, which was already paſt. His victuals were almoſt ſpent: and of thoſe ends, that he had propoſed unto himſelf, this Journey had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore he brake up his Camp: and doing what ſpoil he could to the *Roman* Territory, without ſparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he paſſed like a tempeſt over the Country, and ran toward the Eaſtern Sea ſo faſt, that he had almoſt taken the City of *Rhegium* before his arrival was feared or ſuſpected. As for *Capua*, he gave it loſt: and is likely to have curſed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus diſabled him to relieve that fair City, ſince he had no other way to vent his grief.

2. *Fabius* returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, that whoſo would yield before a certain day, might ſafely do it. This, and the very return of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gave the *Capuans* to underſtand, that they were abandoned, and their caſe deſperate. To truſt the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, every mans conſcience of his own evil deſerts, told him, that it was a vanity: and ſome faint hope was given, by *Hanno* and *Boſtar*, Captains of the *Carthaginian* Garriſon within the Town, that *Hannibal* ſhould come again, if means could only be found, how

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to convey ſuch Letters unto him as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was undertaken by ſome *Numidians*; who running as fugitives, out of the Town into the *Roman* Camp, waited fit opportunity to make an eſcape thence with their packets. But it happened ere they could convey themſelves away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Town; and the Letters of *Boſtar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened, containing a vehement entreaty unto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forſake the *Capuans* and them. For (ſaid they) we came not hither to make War againſt *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but againſt the *Romans*: whoſe Legions, whereſoever they lye, there alſo ſhould the *Carthaginian* Army be ready to attend them; and by taking ſuch a courſe, have we gotten thoſe victories at *Trebia*, *Thraſymene*, and *Cannæ*. In fine, they beſought him, that he would not diſhonour himſelf, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another away; as if it were his only care, that the City ſhould not be taken in his full view; promiſing to make a deſperate ſally, if he would once more adventure to ſet upon the *Roman* Camp. Such were the hopes of *Boſtar* and his fellow.

But *Hannibal* had already done his beſt; and now began to faint under the burden of that War, wherein as afterward he proteſted he was vanquiſhed by *Hanno* and his Perſians, in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well be, as a thing incident in like caſes, that ſome of thoſe which were beſieged in *Capua*, had been ſent over by the *Hannonians*, to obſerve the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were ſo, juſtly might they curſe their own malice, which had caſt them into this remedileſs neceſſity. Howſoever it were, the Letters directed unto *Hannibal*, fell (as is ſhewed) unto the *Roman* Proconſuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all ſuch counterfeit fugitives, as carried ſuch meſſages, whipt them back into the Town. This miſerable ſpectacle brake the hearts of the *Campans*, ſo that the multitude crying out upon the Senate, with menacing terms, cauſed them to aſſemble and conſult, about the yielding up of *Capua* unto the *Romans*. The braveſt of the Senators and ſuch as a few years ſince, had been moſt forward in joyning with *Hannibal*, underſtood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the reſt home to ſupper; telling them, that when they had made good chear, he would drink to them ſuch an health, as ſhould ſet them free from that cruel revenge, which the Enemies ſought upon their bodies. About ſeven and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of his motion, ended their lives together by drinking poyſon. All the reſt hoping for more mercy than they had deſerved, yielded ſimply to diſcretion. So one of the Town-gates was ſet open; whereat a *Roman* Legion, with ſome other Companies, entring, diſarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to go forth into the *Roman* Camp. At their coming thither, the Proconſuls laid Irons upon them all, and commanding them to tell what ſtore of gold and ſilver they had at home, ſent them into ſafe cuſtody; ſome to *Cales*, others to *Theanum*. Touching the general multitude, they were reſerved unto the diſcretion of the Senate, yet ſo hardly uſed by *Fulvius* in the mean while, that they had little cauſe of hope or comfort in this adverſity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought even to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received; yet was he not inexorable to the *Campans*; as having loved them well in former times, and having giving his Daughter in marriage to that *Pacuvius*, of whom he ſpake before. But this facility of his Colleague, made *Fulvius* the more haſty in taking vengeance; for fear, leſt upon the like reſpects, the *Roman* Senate might prove more gentle, than he thought behoveful to the common ſafety, and honour of their ſtate. Wherefore he took the pains to ride by night unto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*; where he cauſed all the *Campan* priſoners to ſuffer death; binding them to ſtakes, and ſcourging them firſt a good while with rods; after which he ſtruck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all Towns of *Italy* the leſs apt to follow the vain hope of the *Campans*; and bred a general inclination, to return upon good conditions to the *Roman* ſide. The *Atellans*, *Calatines* and *Sabatines*, people of the *Campans*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made alſo now the like ſubmiſſion, for very fear and want of ability to reſiſt. They were therefore uſed with the like rigour, by *Fulvius*; who dealt ſo extremely with them all, that he brought them into deſperation. Wherefore ſome of their young Gentlemen burning with fire of revenge got into *Rome*; where they found means by night-time, to ſet on fire many houſes, that a great part of the City was like to have been conſumed. The beginning of the

fire

fire in divers places at once, argued that it was no casualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed unto any slave, and other sufficient reward to any free-man, that should discover who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out; and the *Campans* being detected by a slave of their own (to whom, above his liberty promised, was given about the summ of an hundred marks) had the punishment answerable to their deserts. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their Walls: and this extreme severity caused them at length to become suppliants unto the *Roman* Senate; that some period might be set unto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Only two poor women in *Capua* (of which one had been an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wives and children sold for slaves, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and reserved to further deliberation: but the generality of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certain day, and confined unto several places, as best liked the angry victors. As for the Town of *Capua*, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beauty and commodious sight: but no corporation or form of polity was allowed to be therein; only a *Roman* Provost was every year sent to govern over those that should inhabit it, and to do justice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great losses in the present War. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to shine with a more dim light than before: his oyl being far spent and that which should have revived his flame, being unfortunately shed; as shall be told in place convenient.

§. XV.

How the Carthaginians, *making a party in* Sardinia *and* Sicil, *held War against the* Romans *in those Islands, and were overcome.*

WHilst things passed thus in *Italy*, the commotions raised in *Sardinia* and *Sicil* by the *Carthaginians* and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happy end by the industrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and sudden: above thirty thousand being up in arms, ere the *Roman* forces could arrive there to suppress it. One *Harsicoras* with his Son *Hyostus*, mighty men in that Island, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, that promised the assistance of his Country. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterprise so careless, as in the rest of their main undertakings, about the same time. Yet it had been better if their care had been directed unto the prosecution of that main business in *Italy*; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would have sufficed, if they could have hindred the *Romans* from sending an Army into *Sardinia*. *Harsicoras* with his followers might well enough have served to drive out *Quintus Mutius* the Prætor; who lay sick in the Province; and not more weak in his own body, than in his train. But whilst they sought revenge of that particular injury, whereof the sense was most grievous; they neglected the opportunity of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprise was such, as may seem to have encouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For, whereas they sent over *Asdrubal*, surnamed *the Bald*, with a competent Fleet and Army, assisted in this expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Mago* a Gentleman of the *Barchine* house, and near kinsman to *Hannibal*: it so fell out, that the whole Fleet, by extremity of foul weather, was cast upon the *Balcares*; so beaten, and in such evil plight, that the *Sardinians* had even spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them.

Titus Manlius was sent from *Rome* with two and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Island, which he had taken in, and annexed unto the *Roman* Dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custom of the *Romans*, to preserve and uphold in their several Provinces, the greatness and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Province had been first subdued unto their Empire. If any injury were done unto the Provincials, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate, or whatsoever accident required the assistance of a Patron; the first Conqueror, and his race after him, were the most ready and best approved means, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very sure intelligence in every Province, and had alwayes in readiness fit men to reclaim their subjects, if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise have required

required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius* retained in obedience all that were not already broken too far out. Yet was *Harſicoras* ſo ſtrong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arm his Mariners: without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twenty thouſand, whereof we have ſpoken before: he landed at *Calaris*, or *Carallis*, where mooring his ſhips, he paſſed up into the Country, and ſought out the enemy. *Hyoſtus*, the Son of *Harſicoras*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Army left unto him by his Father, who was gon abroad into the Country, to draw in more friends to their ſide. This young Gentleman would needs adventure to get honour, by giving battle to the *Romans* at his own diſcretion. So he raſhly adventured to fight with an old Souldier; by whom he received a terrible overthrow; and loſt in one day above thirty thouſand of his followers. *Hyoſtus* himſelf, with the reſt of his broken troops, got into *Cornus*, the chief Town of the Iſland; whither *Manlius* purſued them. Very ſoon after this defeature came *Aſdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*; too late to win all *Sardinia* in ſuch haſt as he might have done, if the tempeſt had not hindred his voyage; yet ſoon enough, and ſtrong enough to ſave the Town of *Cornus*, and put a new ſpirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himſelf back to *Calaris*; where he had not ſtayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (ſuch of them as adhered to the *Roman* party) craved his aſſiſtance; their Country being waſted by the *Carthaginians*, and the rebels, with whom they had refuſed to joyn. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calaris*; where, if he had ſtayed a little longer, *Aſdrubal* would have ſought him out with ſome blemiſh to his reputation. But the fame of *Aſdrubal* and his company, appears to have been greater than was their ſtrength. For after ſome trial made of them in few ſkirmiſhes, *Manlius* adventred all to the hazard of a battle; wherein he ſlew twelve thouſand of the enemies; and took of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thouſand. Four hours the battle laſted; and victory at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Iſlanders, whoſe courages had been broken in their unproſperous fight, not many dayes before. The death of young *Hyoſtus*, and of his Father *Harſicoras*, that ſlew himſelf for grief, together with the captivity of *Aſdrubal* himſelf with *Mago* and *Hanno* the *Carthaginians*, made the victory the more famous. The vanquiſhed Army fled into *Cornus*, whither *Manlius* followed them, and in ſhort ſpace wonn the Town. All other Cities of the Iſle that had rebelled, following the example of *Cornus*, and yielded unto the *Roman*; who, impoſing upon them ſuch increaſe of tribute, or other puniſhment, as beſt ſorted with the nature of their ſeveral offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to *Calaris* with a great booty, and from thence to *Rome* leaving *Sardinia* in quiet.

The war in *Sicil* was of greater length, and every way more burdenſome to *Rome*: as alſo the victory brought more honour and profit, for that the *Romans* became thereby, not only ſavers of their own, as in *Sardinia*, but Lords of the whole Country, by annexing the City and dominion of *Syracuſe*, to that which they enjoyed before. Soon after the battle at *Cannæ*, the old King of *Syracuſe* died; who had continued long a ſtedfaſt friend unto the *Romans*, and greatly relieved them in this preſent war. He left his Kingdom to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteen years of age; *Gelo* his Son, that ſhould have been his heir, being dead before. To this young King his ſucceſſor, *Hiero* appointed fifteen tutors; of which the principal were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themiſtius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The reſt were ſuch, as he judged moſt likely to preſerve the Kingdom, by the ſame Art, whereby himſelf had gotten, and ſo long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus* waxing weary of ſo many coadjutors, began to commend the ſufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his years; and ſaid, that he was able to rule the Kingdom without help of any Protector. Thus by giving over his own charge, he cauſed others to do the like; hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands; which came to paſs in a ſort, as he deſired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aſide all care of government, gave himſelf wholly over to his pleaſures: or, if he had any regard of his Royal dignity, it was only in matter of exterior ſhew; as wearing a Diadem, with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people, that had never ſeen the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his Son. But much more he offended them, when by his inſolent behaviour, ſuitable to his outward pomp, he gave proof, that in courſe of life, he would revive the memery of Tyrants dead long ſince, from whom he took the pattern of his habit. He grew proud, luſtful, cruel, and dangerous to all that were about him; ſo that ſuch of his late tutors as could eſcape him by flight, were glad to live in baniſhment: the

reſt, being moſt of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their own hands, to avoid the danger of his diſpleaſure, that ſeemed worſe than death it ſelf. Only *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraſo*, continued in grace with him, and were his Counſellours, but not of his Cabinet. Theſe, howſoever they agreed in other points, were at ſome diſſention about the main point of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them were wholly for the Kings pleaſure, which was ſet on change: but *Thraſo*, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very earneſt to continue the amity with *Rome*. Whilſt as yet it remained ſomewhat doubtful which way the King would incline, a conſpiracy againſt his perſon was detected by a Groom of his; to whom one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would ſpeak any thing: but yielding (as it ſeemed) in the end, unto the extremity of the torture, he confeſſed, that he had been ſet on by *Thraſo*; whom he appeached of the treaſon, together with many more, that were near in love or peace unto *Hieronymus*. All theſe therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conſpirators, walked boldly in the ſtreets, and never ſhrunk for the matter: aſſuring themſelves, that the reſolution of *Theodorus* would yield to no extremity. Thus they all eſcaped, and ſoon after found means to execute their purpoſe. The King himſelf, when *Thraſo* was taken out of the way, quickly reſolved upon ſiding with the *Carthaginians*, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when firſt they grow Maſters of themſelves, love to ſeem wiſer than their Fathers, by taking different courſes. And the Liberality of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great neceſſity, had of late been ſuch, as might have been termed exceſſive, were it not in regard of his providence; wherein he took order for his own eſtate, that depended upon theirs. But the young Nephew taking little heed of dangers far off, regarded only the things preſent; the weakneſs of *Rome*, the prevalent fortunes of *Carthage*, and the much money that his Grand-father had laid out in vain, to ſhoulder up a falling houſe. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*; who readily entred into good correſpondence with him, that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* born, but Grand-children of a baniſhed *Syracuſian*. Theſe grew into ſuch favour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they liſted. So that when *App. Claudius* the *Roman* Prætor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacy, between the people of *Rome*, and the King of *Syracuſe*; his meſſengers were diſmiſſed with an open ſcoff. For *Hieronymus* would needs have them tell him the order of the fight at *Cannæ*, that he might thereby learn how to accommodate himſelf, ſaying, that he could hardly believe the *Carthaginians*; ſo wonderful was the victory, as they reported it. Having thus diſmiſſed the *Romans*, he ſent Embaſſadours to *Carthage*, where he concluded a league: with condition, at firſt, that a great part of the Iſland ſhould be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he ſhould reign over all *Sicil*; and the *Carthaginians* reſt ſatisfied with what they could get in *Italy*. At theſe doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly ſtir; partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoved not the *Romans* to entertain more quarrels than were enforced upon them by neceſſity; and partly (as may ſeem) for that the reputation, both of himſelf, and of his City, had received ſuch blemiſh, by that which happened unto him in his journey, as much diſcountenanced him when he came into *Sicil*, and forbade him to look big. The money that *Hiero* had beſtowed formerly upon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieve them in their neceſſity, this *Appius* was to carry back unto him; it being refuſed by the *Roman* Senate, with greater bravery than their preſent fortune would allow. But inſtead of returning the mony with thanks, as he had been directed, and as it had been noiſed abroad that he ſhould do; the war againſt *Philip* King of *Macedon* (whereof we have ſpoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aſide vain-glory, and ſend word after him, that he ſhould conſign that mony over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whoſe voyage into *Greece*, the City had not otherwiſe wherewith to bear the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Family is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious oſtentation of the *Roman* magnanimity, into ſuch a pitiful tune of thanks-giving, as muſt needs have bred ſorrow and commiſeration in ſo true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of paſtime and ſcorn, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whilſt *Hieronymus* was more deſirous of war, than well reſolved how to begin it;

it; his own death changed the form of things, and bred a great innovation in the State of *Syracuſe*; which thereby might have proſpered more than ever, had it been wiſely governed. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we ſpake before, were ſent about the Country with two thouſand men, to ſolicite the Towns, and perſwade them to ſhake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himſelf with an Army of fifteen thouſand horſe and foot, went to *Leontium* a City of his own Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Iſland fall to him in all haſte; and accept him for Soveraign. There the Conſpirators took him on the ſudden, as he was paſſing thorow a narrow ſtreet: and ruſhing between him and his guard, ſtruck him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed; and the ſound of that word ſo joyfully anſwered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronimus* had little courage to revenge their *Maſters* death. Yet, for fear of the worſt, a great largeſs was promiſed unto the Souldiers, with rewards unto their Captains; which wrought ſo effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned up, the Army as in deteſtation of his bad life, ſuffered his carkaſs to lye unburied. This news ran quickly to *Syracuſe*; whither ſome of the Conſpirators, taking alſo of the Kings horſes, poſted away; to ſignifie all that had paſſed, to ſtir up the people to liberty, and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he or his followers would make offer to uſurp a tyranny. The *Syracuſians* hereupon preſently took arms, and made themſelves Maſters of their own City. *Andronodorus* on the other ſide fortified the Palace, and the Iſland; being yet uncertain what to do: between deſire of making himſelf a ſoveraign Lord, and fear of ſuffering puniſhment as a Tyrant, if his enterpriſe miſcarried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cheriſhed him in his hopes; putting him in mind of that well-known Proverb, which *Dionyſius* had uſed; *That a Tyrant ſhould keep his place, till he were haled out of it by the heels, and not ride away from it on horſe-back*. But fear, and better counſel, prevailed ſo far, that *Andronodorus*, having ſlept upon the matter, diſſembled his affections, and deferred his hope unto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a ſpeech unto the people; telling them that he was glad to ſee, how prudently they behaved themſelves in ſo great a change; that he had ſtood in fear, leſt they would not have contianed themſelves within the bounds of diſcretion; but rather have ſought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that, ſince he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to raviſh their liberty perforce, but to wed it unto them for ever; he was willingly come to them forth of his ſtrength, and ſurrendered up the charge committed unto him, by one that had been an evil Maſter both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made, and Prætors choſen (as in former times) to govern the City, of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chief. But ſuch was his deſire of Soveraignty, and ſo vehement were the inſtigations of his wife, that ſhortly he began to practiſe with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captains of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himſelf ſtrong by their help, that were leaſt pleaſed with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had been with the *Syracuſian* Prætors, and told them, that being ſent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they, according to inſtructions of their Captain, had done him, whilſt he lived, what ſervice they could; and that now they were deſirous to return home. They requeſted therefore that they might be friendly diſmiſſed, and with a convoy, that might keep them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and ſet them ſafe at *Locri*. This was eaſily granted; both for that the *Syracuſian* Magiſtrates were well contented to earn thanks of *Hannibal*, with ſuch a little courteſie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Town quickly of this troubleſome couple, which were good Souldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwiſe lewd men. It was not the deſire of theſe two *Sicilians*, to be gone ſo haſtily as they made ſhew; they were more mindful of the buſineſs for which *Hannibal* had ſent them. Wherefore they inſinuated themſelves into the boſomes of ſuch as were moſt likely to fill the Army with tumult, eſpecially of the *Roman* fugitives, and thoſe that had cauſe to miſtruſt what ſhould become of themſelves, when the *Romans* and *Syracuſians* were come to agreement. Such inſtruments as theſe, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as alſo of many other, to help him in his dangerous attempt. He found *Themiſtius*, that had married *Harmonia*, the Siſter of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like paſſions of his own, and of his wife. But ſeeking to increaſe the number of his adherents, he revealed the matter to one, that revealed all to the reſt of the Prætors. Hereupon it followed, that he, & *Themiſtius*, entring into the Senate, were ſlain out of hand: and afterward accuſed to the people, of all the evil

which they had done, whileſt *Hieronymus* lived, as by his authority; and now ſince attempted, in ſeeking to uſurp the tyranny themſelves. It was alſo declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were acceſſary to this dangerous treaſon: and that the unquiet ſpirits of theſe women would never ceaſe to work, until they had recovered thoſe royal ornaments and Soveraign power, whereof their family was now diſpoſſeſſed. Theſe daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were alſo condemned to dye, and executioners preſently ſent by the enraged people, to take away their lives. *Demarata* and *Harmonia* had perhaps deſerved this heavy ſentence: but *Heraclea*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Soſippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the haſty execution of this raſh judgment. Her huſband *Soſippus* was a lover of the Common-wealth; and in that reſpect ſo hated by *Hieromymus*, that being ſent Embaſſadour to King *Ptolomy*, &c. he durſt not return home, but ſtayed in *Egypt* as a baniſhed man. This conſideration when it was too late, together with ſome pitiful accidents accompanying the ſlaughter, ſo affected the multitude, that (pardoning themſelves) all cryed out upon the Authors of ſo foul a butchery. Being thus incenſed againſt the Senate; and knowing not otherwiſe how to ſatisfie their anger, they called for an election of new Prætors, in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themiſtius*, that were lately ſlain: meaning to ſubſtitute ſuch in their places, as the Senators ſhould have little cauſe to like. At the election were preſent a great rout, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of ſouldiers that preſſed into the throng. One of theſe named *Epicides* Prætor; another named *Hippocrates:* and the leſs that the old Prætors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a general cry forced them to be accepted. Theſe being made Prætors did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, between the *Syracuſians* and the *Romans*. But having ſtriven in vain, and ſeeing that the people ſtood in fear of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus* that was lately come into *Sicil*; they gave way unto the time, and ſuffered the old league of *Hiero* to be re-confirmed, which afterward they purpoſed to diſſolve by practice. The *Leontines* had ſome need of a garriſon; and to them was ſent *Hippocrates* the Prætor, attended by ſuch fugitives, and mercenary ſouldiers, as were moſt burdenſome to *Syracuſe*. Thither when he came, he began to do many acts of hoſtility againſt the *Romans:* firſt in ſecret, afterward more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly underſtanding the purpoſe of theſe two brethren, ſent word unto the *Syracuſians*, that they had already broken the league; and that the peace would never be kept ſincerely, untill this turbulent pair of brethren were expelled the Iſland. *Epicides*, fearing to ſuſtain the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more deſirous to ſet forward the war, than to excuſe any breach of peace; went himſelf unto the *Leontines*, whom he perſwaded to rebel againſt the *Syracuſians*. For he ſaid, that ſince they had all of late ſerved one Maſter, there was little reaſon why the *Leontines* ſhould not be enfranchiſed by his death, as well as the *Syracuſians*; yea or much rather, all things conſidered; ſince in their ſtreets the Tyrant was ſlain, and liberty firſt proclaimed. Wherefore, ſince they of *Syracuſe* were not contented to enjoy the Freedom purchaſed among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reaſon, that they ſhould bear Dominion over thoſe that had broken the Chain, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his advice was, that ſuch their arrogancy ſhould be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by preſcription. Hereunto occaſion was given by one article of the League, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracuſians*. For it was agreed, *That all which had been ſubject to* Hiero *and* Hieronymus, *ſhould henceforth be Vaſſals unto the State of Syracuſe*. Againſt this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their own due; *Epicides* told them, that in this novelty of change, they had fit opportunity to recover the freedom, which their fathers had loſt not many ages before. Neither was it unreaſonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had been ſubdued by the ſame hand, which took liberty from the *Syracuſians*. But ſeeing they had long ſince yielded unto *Syracuſe*, and been ſubject unto that City, by what form ſoever it was grounded; this claim of liberty was rather ſeaſonable, than juſt. Nevertheleſs, the motion of *Epicides* was highly approved: inſomuch that when meſſengers came ſoon after from *Syracuſe*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done againſt the *Romans*; and to denounce unto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they ſhould get them gone, either to *Locri*, or whither elſe they liſted, ſo that they ſtayed not in *Sicil:* word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requeſted the *Syracuſians*, to make any bargains for them with the

Romans,

Romans, nor thought themſelves bound to obſerve the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory anſwer was forthwith reported unto *Marcellus* by the *Syracuſians*; who offered him their aſſiſtance in doing juſtice upon the *Leontines* their Rebels; with condition, That when the Town was taken, it might be theirs again. *Marcellus* required no better ſatisfaction: but forth-with took the buſineſs in hand, which he diſpatched in one day. At the firſt aſſault *Leontium* was taken, all ſave the Caſtle; whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled: and ſtealing thence away by night, coveighed themſelves into the Town of *Herbeſus*. The firſt thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had won the Town, was the ſame, which other *Roman* Captains uſed after victory, to ſeek out the fugitive *Roman* ſlaves and renegado's, whom he cauſed all to die: the reſt both of the Townſmen and Souldiers, he took to mercy, forbearing alſo to ſtrip or ſpoyl them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrary ſort. It was ſaid, that he had ſlain Man, Woman and Child, and put the Town to ſack. Theſe news met the *Syracuſian* Army upon the way, as it was going to joyn with *Marcellus*, who had ended his buſines before. About eight thouſand Mercenaries there were, that had been ſent forth of *Syracuſe*, under *Soſis* and *Dinomines*, two of the Prætors; to ſerve againſt the *Leontines* and other rebels. Theſe Captains were honeſt men, and well affected to their Country: but the Souldiers that followed them, had thoſe diſeaſes, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow ſouldiers (as now they termed thoſe againſt whom they went) had been ſo cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors therefore thought it beſt, to turn their unquiet thoughts another way, and ſet them awork in ſome place elſe: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no need of their ſervice. So towards *Herbeſus* they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this miſchief, deviſing what further harm they might do; but now ſo weakly accompanied, that they ſeemed unable to eſcape the puniſhments belonging to their offences paſt. Hereof the two brethren were no leſs well aware: and therefore adventured upon a remedy little leſs deſperate than their preſent caſe. They iſſued forth of *Herbeſus* unarmed, with Olive branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and ſo preſented themſelves to the Army. Six hundred men of *Crete* were in the vantguard; that had been well uſed by *Hieronymus*: and ſome of them greatly bound unto *Hannibal*, who had taken them priſoners in the *Italian* war, and lovingly diſmiſſed them. Theſe *Cretians* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good chear, ſaying, That no man ſhould do them harm, as long as they could uſe their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a ſtand; and the rumour of this accident ran ſwiftly from man to man, with general approbation. The Prætors thought to help the matter by ſeverity, which would not ſerve. For when they commanded theſe two traitors to be laid in Irons, the exclamation was ſo violent againſt them, that fain they were to let all alone, and return, uncertain what courſe to take, unto *Megara*, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deviſed a trick, whereby to help himſelf, and better the uncertain caſe wherein he ſtood. He cauſed Letters of his own penning, to be intercepted by ſome of his moſt truſty *Cretans*, directed (as they made ſhew) from the *Syracuſian* Prætors to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the ſword among the *Leontines*: but that it further behoved him, to make the like diſpatch of all the mercenaries belonging to *Syracuſe*; which were offenſive, all of them in general, to the liberty of the City, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epiſtle was openly rehearſed, the uproar was ſuch, that *Soſis* and his fellow Prætor, were glad to forſake the Camp, and fly for their lives. All the *Syracuſians* remaining behind, had been cut in pieces by the enraged Souldiers, if the two Artificers of the ſedition had not ſaved their lives; rather to keep them as pledges, and by them, to win their friends within the Town, than for any good will. They perſwaded alſo a miſchievous knave, that had ſerved amongſt the *Leontines*, to juſtifie the bruit of *Marcellus* cruelty, and to carry home the news to *Syracuſe*, as an eye-witneſs. This incenſed not only the multitude, but ſome of the Senate; and filled the whole Town with cauſeleſs indignation. In good time (ſaid ſome) was the avarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected: who had they in like ſort gotten into *Syracuſe*, would have dealt much worſe, where their greedy appetites might have been tempted with a far greater booty. Whilſt they were thus diſcourſing, and deviſing how to keep out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Army came to the gates,

gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, unleſs for want of help, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Prætors, with the beſt and wiſeſt of the Senate, would fain have kept him out: but the violence of the ſouldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-ſtrong fury of thoſe within the Town, that laboured to break it open. So he entred, and immediately fell upon the Prætors, whom (being forſaken by all men) he put to the ſword, and made ſlaughter of them and their followers till night. The next day he went openly to work: and, after the common example of Tyrants, gave liberty unto all ſlaves and priſoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worſt and baſeſt ſort, made himſelf and his brother Prætors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuſe*.

When *Marcellus* was advertiſed of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to ſit ſtill, and attend the further iſſue. He ſent Embaſſadors to *Syracuſe*, that were not admitted into the Haven, but chaſed out as enemies. Then drew he near with his Army: and lodging within a mile and a half of the Town, ſent before him, ſome to require a parlee. Theſe were entertained without the walls by the two new Prætors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpoſe to do hurt, but in favour of the *Syracuſians*, which were oppreſſed by Tyrants; and to puniſh thoſe that had murdered and baniſhed ſo many of the principal Citizens. Wherefore they required that thoſe worthy men, their Confederates, which were chaſed out of the Town, might be ſuffered to return and enjoy their own; as alſo that the Authors of the great ſlaughter lately committed, might be delivered up. Hereto *Epicides* briefly anſwered, that if their errand had been to him, he could have told what to ſay to them: but ſince it was directed unto others, they ſhould do well to return, when thoſe to whom they were ſent, had the government in their hands. As for the War which they threatned, he told them, they ſhould find by experience, That to beſiege *Syracuſe* was another manner of work, than to take *Leontium*. Thus he ſent them gone; and returned back into the City. Immediately began the ſiege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected, the quick and eaſie winning of *Leontium*, did put *Marcellus* in hope, that ſo long a circuit of walls as compaſſed *Syracuſe*, being manned with no better kind of Souldiers, than thoſe with whom he had lately dealt, would in ſome part or other, be taken at the firſt aſſault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his beſt both by Land and Sea. Nevertheleſs all his labour was diſappointed, and his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill ſucceſs of two or three of the firſt aſſaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any ſtrength of the City, that bred ſuch deſpair of haſty victory. But there lived at that time in *Syracuſe Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the requeſt of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinſman, had framed ſuch engines of war, as being in this extremity put in uſe, did more miſchief to the *Romans* than could have been wrought by the Canon, or any inſtruments of Gun-powder; had they in that age been known. This *Archimedes* diſcourſing once with *Hiero*, maintained that it were poſſible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were ſome other earth, or place of ſure footing, whereon a man might ſtand. For proof of this bold aſſertion, he performed ſome ſtrange works; which made the King entreat him to convert his ſtudy unto things of uſe: that might preſerve the City from danger of enemies. To ſuch Mechanical works, *Archimedes*, and the Philoſophers of thoſe times, had little affection. They held it an injury done unto the liberal ſciences, to ſubmit learned Propoſitions, unto the workmanſhip, and gain, of baſe handy-crafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an Authour: who greatly blamed ſome Geometricians, that ſeemed unto him to prophane their ſcience, by making it vulgar. Neither muſt we raſhly taſk a man ſo wiſe as *Plato*, with the imputation of ſupercillious auſterity, or affected ſingularity in his reprehenſion. For it hath been the unhappy fate of great inventions to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreams, before they were publiſhed: and being once made known, to be undervalued; as falling within compaſs of the meaneſt wit; and things that every one could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his diſcovery, with the much different ſorts of neglect, which he under-went before and after it) in a familiar and moſt homely example we may ſee moſt apparent proof. He that looks upon our *Engliſh Brewers*, and their ſervants, that are daily exerciſed in the Trade; will think it ridiculous to hear one ſay, that the making of *Malt* was an invention, proceeding from ſome of an extraordinary knowledge in natural Philoſophy. Yet is not the ſkill of the inventors any whit the leſs, for that the labour of workmanſhip grows to be the trade

trade of ignorant men. The like may be ſaid of many handy-crafts: and particularly in the Printing of Books; which being deviſed and bettered by great ſcholars and wiſe men, grew afterward corrupted by thoſe, to whom the practice fell; that is, by ſuch as could ſlubber things eaſily over, and feed their workmen at the cheapeſt rate. In this reſpect therefore, the Alchymiſts, and all others that have, or would ſeem to have any ſecret ſkill, whereof the publication might do good unto mankind; are not without excuſe of their cloſe concealing. For it is a kind of injuſtice, that the long travels of an underſtanding brain, beſide the loſs of time, and other expence, ſhould be caſt away upon men of no worth; yield leſs benefit unto the Author of a great work, than to meer ſtrangers; and perhaps his enemies. And ſurely, if the paſſion of Envy have in it any thing allowable and natural, as having Anger, Fear, and other like Affections: it is in ſome ſuch caſe as this; and ſerveth againſt thoſe, which would uſurp the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to indue them. Nevertheleſs, if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every one ought to bear unto the generallity of mankind, after the example of him *that ſuffereth his Sun to ſhine upon the juſt, and unjuſt:* it will appear more commendable in wiſe men, to enlarge themſelves, and to publiſh unto the world, thoſe good things that lay buried in their own boſoms. This ought ſpecially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it ſome dangerous cunning, that may be perverted by evil men to a miſchievous uſe. For if the ſecret of any rare *Antidote*, contained in it the ſkill of giving ſome deadly and irrecoverable poiſon: much better it were, that ſuch a Jewel remain cloſe in the hands of a wiſe and honeſt man, than being made common, bind all men to uſe the remedy, by teaching the worſt men how to do miſchief. But the works which *Archimedes* publiſhed, were ſuch attended unto very commendable ends. They were Engines, ſerving unto the defence of *Syracuſe*; not fit for the *Syracuſians* to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppreſſion of others. Neither did he altogether publiſh the knowledge, how to uſe them, but reſerved ſo much to his own direction; that after his death more of the ſame kind were not made, nor thoſe of his own making were employed by the *Romans*. It ſufficed unto this worthy man, that he had approved unto the vulgar, the dignity of his Science; and done eſpecial benefit to his Country. For to enrich a Mechanical trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was beſides his purpoſe.

Marcellus had cauſed certain of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be faſtened together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wall. Againſt theſe *Archimedes* had ſundry devices; of which any one ſort might have repelled the aſſailants: but all of them together ſhewed the multiplicity of his great wit. He ſhot heavy ſtones, and long pieces of timber, like unto the yeards of ſhips; which brake ſome of the Gallies by their force and weight. Theſe afflicted ſuch as lay far off. They that were come nearer the walls, lay open to a continual volly of ſhot, which they could not endure. Some with an Iron grapple were taken by the prow, and hoyſted up, ſhaking out all the men, and afterwards falling down into the water. Some by ſtrange Engines were lifted up into the Air, where turning round a while, they were broken againſt the walls or caſt upon the rocks: and all of them were ſo beaten, that they durſt never come to any ſecond aſſault. In the like ſort was the Land-Army handled. Stones and timber, falling upon it like hail, did not only over-whelm the men, but brake down the *Roman* Engines of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to give over the aſſault. For the remedy hereof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could early before day get near unto the walls, they ſhould be (as it were) under the *point-blank*, and receive no hurt by theſe terrible Inſtruments; which were woond up hard to ſhoot a great compaſs. But this vain hope coſt many of the aſſailants lives: For the ſhot came down right upon them; and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great ſlaughter of them, all the way as they fled (for they were unable to tarry by it) even till they were gotten very far off. This did ſo terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any piece of timber, or a ropes end, upon the wall, they ran away, crying out, That *Archimedes* his Engines were ready to diſcharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome theſe difficulties, or to take away from his men, that fear, againſt the cauſe whereof he knew no remedy. If the Engines had ſtood upon the walls, ſubject to firing, or any ſuch annoyance from without; he might have holpen it by ſome device, to make them unſerviceable. But all, or the moſt of them were out of ſight, being erected in the ſtreets behind the walls; where *Archimedes* gave directions how to uſe them. Wherefore the *Romans* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Town all proviſion of victuals, both by Land and by Sea.

This

This was a very desperate piece of work. For the enemies having so goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likely so soon to be consumed with famine, as the besiegers to be wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a City, having no probability to carry it. Yet, for want of better counsel to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the mean while, *Himilco*, Admiral of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicil*, being by *Hippocrates* advertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*, and there so dealt with the Senate, that five and twenty thousand Foot, three thousand Horses and twelve Elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make war upon the *Romans* in *Sicil* by Land. He took many Towns; and many that had anciently belonged unto the *Carthaginians* did yield unto him. To remedy this mischief and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, began to turn unto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Army, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. He took *Telorus* and *Herbesus*, which yielded unto him. He took also *Megara* by force and sackt it: either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*, or else becaus *Rome* was at this time poor, and his Army must have somewhat to keep it in heart. His especial desire was to have saved *Agrigentum*: whither he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned back toward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for fear of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumspection that he used, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead against a danger that he had nor mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuse* unto his brother, had lately issued out of the City, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, intending to joyn his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell upon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an easie victory against the dispersed and half unarmed *Syracusians*. The reputation hereof helped a little to keep the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, joyning with *Hippocrates*, ran over all the Island at his pleasure, and presented battail to *Marcellus*, even at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuse*, and victualled the City. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so again, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and safely arrived at *Marcellus* his Camp: yet many places revolted unto the *Carthaginians*, and slew or betrayed the *Roman* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus*, leaving some of his Army before *Syracuse*, that he might not seem to have given over the siege, went unto *Leontium*, where he lay intentive to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of besieging *Syracuse*, or to turn all his forces to *Agrigentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*: as unable to prevail; and he himself was of an eager disposition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not feisible, an enterprise that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the City by force or famine; yet was he not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfull his desire. Especially he assayed to prevail by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracusian* Gentlemen that were in his Camp; exhorting them to practice with their friends that remained in the City. This was not easie for them to do, becaus the Town would hearken to no parlee. At length a slave unto one of these banished men, making shew to run away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*; where he talked in private with some few, as he had been instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to have intelligence within the City: whence the Conspirators used to send him advertisement of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were grown to the number of fourscore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance, all was discovered; and they like Traitors put to death. In the mean while, one *Damasippus* a *Lacedæmonian*, that had been sent out of the Town as an Embassador to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very desirous to ransome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not far from the walls. There, one of the *Romans* looking upon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Art of Geometry, fell to numbring

numbring the ſtones: and making an eſtimate of the height, judged it leſs than it had been formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who cauſing better notice to be taken of the place; and finding that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it, made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakeſt part of the Town, and therefore the moſt ſtrongly guarded: neither was there hope to prevail by force againſt *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by ſurpriſe. But a fugitive out of the Town brought word, that a great feaſt was to be held unto *Diana*, which was to laſt three dayes: and that, becauſe other good chear was not ſo plentiful within the City, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the people, had made the more large diſtribution of wine. A better opportunity could not be wiſhed. Wherefore *Marcellus* in the dead of the Feſtival night, came unto the walls, which he took by *Scalado*. *Syracuſe* was divided into four parts (or five, if *Epipolæ* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as diſtinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten ſome pieces, he had the commodity of a better and ſafe longing, with good ſtore of booty; and better opportunity than before, to deal with the reſt. For there were now a great many, as well of thoſe in *Acradinia* and the Iſland, inner parts of the Town, as of thoſe that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken unto compoſition, as being much terrified by the loſs of thoſe parts, which the *Romans* had taken and ſackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harm, or none they did, unto thoſe that were ſheltred under ſtrong houſes: although it may ſeem, that the inner walls were not altogether unfurniſhed of his help; ſince they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The *Roman* fugitives and Renegadoes, were more careful than ever to defend the reſt of the City: being ſure to be rewarded with cruel death, if *Marcellus* could prevail. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was ſent away to *Carthage*, to bring help from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell upon the old Camp of the *Romans*, whilſt *Epicides* ſallied out of *Acradinia* upon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made ſuch defence in each part, that the Aſſailants were repelled. Nevertheleſs they continued to beſet *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as ſtraightly beſieged, as he himſelf did beſiege the Town. But the peſtilence at length conſumed, together with the two Captains, a great part of the Army, and cauſed the reſt to diſlodge. The *Romans* were (though ſomewhat leſs) afflicted with the ſame peſtilence, inſomuch that *Bomilcar* did put the City of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were ſent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no deſire to do his Country ſervice: but his courage was not anſwerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachinus* with a ſtrong fleet: where he ſtayed; being loth to double the Cape; for that the winds did better ſerve the enemy than him. Thither ſailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuſe*: to acquaint him with the neceſſities of the City; and to draw him on. With much intreaty, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was ready for him, he ſtood off into the deep; and ſailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicil* farewell. Then durſt not *Epicides* return into *Syracuſe*, but went to *Agrigentum*: where he expected the iſſue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good news.

The *Sicilian* Souldiers that remained alive of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as near as they could ſafely, unto *Marcellus*, and ſome of them, in a ſtrong Town three miles off. Theſe had done what good they could to *Syracuſe*, by doing what hurt they could unto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the State of *Sicil* was given as deſperate by the *Carthaginians*: they ſent Embaſſadours to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themſelves, and for the Town. Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gave ear: for he had ſtayed there long enough; and had cauſe to fear, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither ſtrong again. He therefore agreed both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; that they ſhould be Maſters of their own, enjoying their liberty and proper laws; yet ſuffering the *Romans* to poſſeſs whatſoever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death, new Prætors choſen; and the gates even ready to be opened unto *Marcellus*: when ſuddenly the *Roman* fugitives diſturbed all. Theſe perceiving their own condition to be deſperate, perſwading the other Mercenary Souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained only for themſelves, and betrayed the Army to the *Romans*. Wherefore they preſently took Arms, and fell upon the new choſen Prætors; whom they ſlew, and made election of ſix Captains that ſhould command over all. But ſhortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; excepting only the fugitives. The Treaty was therefore again ſet on foot, and wanted

little of concluſion: which yet was delayed; either by ſome fear of the Citizens, that had ſeen (as they thought) proof of the *Roman* avarice in the ſack of *Epipolæ Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by ſome deſire of *Marcellus* to get the Town by force, that he might uſe the liberty of a Conqueror, and make it wholly ſubject to *Rome*. *Mericus* a *Spaniard* was one of the ſix Captains that had been choſen in the laſt commotion: a man of ſuch faith, as uſualy is found in Mercenaries; holding his own particular benefit above all other reſpects. With this Captain, *Marcellus* dealt ſecretly: having a fit inſtrument, of the ſame Nation, one *Belligenes*, that went in company with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, daily paſſing to and fro. This craſty Agent perſwaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spain*: and that if ever he purpoſed to make his own fortune good, either at home in *Spain*, or any where elſe; it was now the only time to do it; by conforming himſelf to the will of the *Roman* General. By ſuch hopes the *Spaniſh* Captain was eaſily won, and ſent forth his own brother among the *Syracuſian* Embaſſadours to ratifie the covenant with *Marcellus*.

This under-hand dealing of *Marcellus* againſt the *Syracuſians*, cannot well be commended as honeſt: neither was it afterwards throughly approved at his coming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had been ſuch, as deſerved not to be requited with the ruine of his Country: much leſs, that the miſeries of his people, oppreſſed (though partly through their own folly) by an Army of Mercenaries, ſhould miniſter unto the people of *Rome*, advantage againſt them. The poor Citizens could not make good their parts againſt the hired Souldiers; and therefore were fain to yield unto the time, and obey thoſe Miniſters of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Army. But as long as they were free after the death *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicides*: it had been their chief care to maintain amity with the people of *Rome*. They had lately ſlain many the principal of *Epicides* his followers; and many of themſelves had alſo been ſlain, both lately and in former times, becauſe of this their deſire unto the peace. What though it were true, that the Raſcality, and ſome ill adviſed perſons; joyned with the ſouldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occaſion of the ſlaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in thoſe parts of their own City which was taken? Ought therefore the Roman General, in a treaty of peace held with the *Syracuſians*, to make a bargain under-hand againſt them, with a Captain of the Mercenaries? Theſe things were objected againſt *Marcellus*, at his return home: but the Senators thought it a great deal better, to comfort the *Syracuſians* with gentle words, and promiſe of good uſage in time to come; than to reſtore the booty, and give over the Dominion of a City, ſo great, wealthy, ſtrong, and many wayes important. Nevertheleſs if we conſider the many inconvenienes and great miſchiefs whereunto *Syracuſe* was obnoxious; both by evil neighbours, and by that very form of policy, after which it was governed we may truly affirm, that it received no ſmall benefit, by becoming ſubject unto *Rome*. For thereby it was not only aſſured againſt all forraign enemies, domeſtical conſpiracies, and ſuch Tyrants as of old had reigned therein: but freed from the neceſſity of baniſhing, or murdering, the moſt worthy Citizens; as alſo from all factions, inteſtine ſeditions, and a thouſand the like miſeries, that were wont to grow out of the jealouſie, wherein they held their liberty in vain. Neither enjoyed that City, from her firſt foundotion, any ſuch long time of happineſs, as that wherein it flowriſhed, when it reſted ſecure under the protection of *Rome*; and was no more moleſted, by the diſeaſe of ambition; wherewith by *Marcellus* his victory it was throughly cured. But ſuch benefit, ariſing from wrongs done, ſerves not to make injuſtice the more excuſable: unleſs we ſhould approve the anſwer of that thief, who being found to have ſtollen a ſilver cup from ſick man, ſaid, *He never leaves drinking*.

By the reaſon of *Marcius*, the *Roman* Army was let into poſſeſſion of all *Syracuſe*: wherein, the booty that it found, was ſaid to have been no leſs, than could be hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it ſelf; that maintained war by Land and Sea againſt them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuſe* was marvellouſly adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left untouched; ſave only the houſes of thoſe baniſhed men, that had eſcaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* Camp. Among other pitiful accidents; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, even by *Marcellus* himſelf. He was ſo buſie about his Geometry, in drawing figures, that he hearkened not to the noiſe, and uproar in the City; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* took heavily the death of him; and cauſed his body to be hourourably buried. Upon

on his Tomb (as he had ordained in his life-time) was placed a *Cylinder* and a *Sphere*, with an inſcription of the proportion between them; which he firſt found out. An invention of ſo little uſe, as this may ſeem, pleaſed that great Artiſt better, than the deviſing of all thoſe Engines, that made him ſo famous. Such difference is in the judgement of learned men, and of the vulgar ſort. For many an one would think the money loſt, that had been ſpent upon a Son, whoſe ſtudies in the Univerſity had brought forth ſuch fruit, as the proportion between a *Sphere* and a *Cylinder*.

After the taking of *Syracuſe*, all the Towns in *Sicil* yielded unto the *Romans*, except *Agrigentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Agrigentum* lay *Epicides* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately ſent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good pieces of ſervice, had added ſome credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* ſide; and withall made his own name great. By his perſwaſions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* adventured to meet *Marcellus* without the Town, and not behave themſelves as men expecting to be beſieged. Neither was he more valiant in counſel, than in execution. Once and again he ſet upon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped, and drove them fearfully into their Trenches. This bred envy in *Epicides* and *Hanno*; eſpecially in *Hanno*, that having been lately ſent from *Carthage*, with commiſſion and authority from the State, thought himſelf wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that he had ſent unto him this *Mutines*, to be his companion, and to take upon him, like as good a man as himſelf. The indignity ſeemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to ſtep aſide into *Heraclea*, for the pacifying ſome troubles there among the *Numidians*; adviſed (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the enemy, until his return. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight; and offered battel unto *Marcellus*, before he ſought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuſe*, as need required; which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deal with thoſe that came againſt them. But whatſoever diſproportion was between the two Armies; far greater were the odds between the Captains. For howſoever the people of *Carthage* would give authority by favour; yet could they not give worth and ability, in matter of war. The *Numidians*, having before conceived ſome diſpleaſure againſt their Captains; and being therefore ſome of them gone away to *Heraclea*, were much more offended, when they ſaw that the vain-glorious envy of *Hanno* carried him unto the fight, upon a fooliſh deſire to get victory, without the help of *Mutines* their Country-man. Wherefore they ſent unto the *Roman* General, and bade him be confident; for that it was not their purpoſe to ſhew themſelves his enemies that day, but only look on, and ſee the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten by whom they had been miſuſed. They made good their promiſe, and had their deſire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their meſſage, did ſo luſtily ſet upon the enemies, that he brake them at the firſt charge; and with the ſlaughter of many thouſands, drove them back into *Agrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could have been contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of War than himſelf, and not to have hazarded a battel without need; the *Romans* would ſhortly have been reduced into terms of great difficulty in their *Sicilian* War. For *Marcellus* was ſhortly after to leave the Province; and ſoon upon his departure, there landed in the Iſland a ſupply of eight thouſand foot, and three thouſand *Numidian* horſe, that were ſent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Army drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Army conſiſting (for the moſt part) of the Legions of *Cannæ*, took it very hainouſly, that no good ſervice done, could bring them into the favour of the Senate; but that, as baniſhed men, they were ſent far from home, and not ſuffered to return back to *Rome* with their General. *Mutines* had pacified his Countrey-men the *Numidians*, and like an honeſt man, did what he could for thoſe whom he ſerved, without contending againſt the fooliſh pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might have been, if the Army lately overthrown had been entire. *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Prætor, uſed all diligence, both to pacifie his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered thoſe Inland towns that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from over-running all the Country; yet he hindred the Country from revolting unto *Mutines*. Above threeſcore Towns, great and ſmall, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*: of which *Agrigentum* was the principal, and far bigger than any of the reſt. Thence iſſued *Mutines* as often as he pleaſed, in deſpight of the *Romans*: not only to the ſuccour of his own adherents, but to the great waſte of thoſe that followed the contrary part. But *Hanno*, inſtead of being pleaſed with all theſe good ſervices, was filled more and more with en-

vy, againſt the man that performed them. He had (belike) received inſtruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to ſuffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to have a ſhare in the honour of theſe *Sicilian* Wars: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently ſupplied; whilſt *Italy* was neglected, that ſhould have been regarded more than all the reſt Wherefore to ſhew his authority, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint unto him an Aſſiſtant, or Director: He took away from *Mutines* his charge, and gave it to his own Son; thinking thereby to diſcountenance the man, and make him little eſteemed, as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary: and this ſpightful dealing occaſioned the loſs of whatſoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*. For the *Numidians* were ſo incenſed by the indignity offered unto their Country-man, being ſuch a brave Commander, that they offered him their ſervice to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth abſolutely at his own diſpoſition. *M. Valerius Lævinus*, the *Roman* Conſul, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brook theſe indignities; but being neither a *Carthaginian*, nor favoured by thoſe that bore all the ſway in *Carthage*: He thought it the wiſeſt way, to play the beſt of his own game, and forſake that City, which was likely to periſh by the evil counſel that governed it. He did not therefore, as his Country-men had lately done, content himſelf to ſee his Adverſaries reap the bitter fruits of his own malicious over-weening: and to ſuffer that harm, in doing whereof he would not bear a part; but conſpired againſt them to deliver up *Agrigentum*, and to help to expel them utterly out of *Sicil*. The Conſul was glad of his friendſhip; and carefully followed his advertiſements. Neither was there much cunning needful, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had undertaken: For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly ſeize upon a gate; whereat they let in ſome *Roman* Companies, that lay near in a readineſs for the purpoſe. *Hanno*, when firſt he heard the noiſe, thought it had been no worſe matter, than ſome ſuch tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had been well acquainted with of late. But when, making haſte to pacifie the trouble, he ſaw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among thoſe diſcontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betook himſelf to flight: and ſaving himſelf, with *Epicides*, in a ſmall Bark, ſet ſail for *Africk*; leaving all his Army and Adherents in *Sicil*, to the mercy of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued Maſters of the whole Iſland.

Lævinus the Conſul having taken *Agrigentum*, did ſharp execution of juſtice upon all the Citizens. The principal of them he ſcourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the reſt of them he ſold for ſlaves, and confiſcated their goods; ſending home to *Rome* the mony that was raiſed of the booty. This was indeed a time, wherein *Rome* ſtood in no leſs neceſſity of gold, than of ſteel: which may have been the reaſon, why *Lævinus* dealt ſo cruelly with the *Agrigentines*. Nevertheleſs, the fame of ſuch ſeverity bred a terror among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*, ſo that in great haſte they ſought to make their peace. About forty Towns yielded themſelves quickly unto the *Romans*; twenty were delivered up by Treaſon; and ſix only ſtayed to be wonn by force. Theſe things done, *Lævinus* returned home to *Rome*; carrying with him about four thouſand men from *Agatirna*; that were a company of out-laws, bankrouts, and baniſhed men accuſtomed to live by ſpoil of others in theſe troubleſome times. He beſtowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exerciſe their own occupation againſt the *Brutians*; a thieviſh kind of people, that were enemies unto thoſe of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he lived in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipio's* in their journey againſt *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is ſaid) very eſpecial ſervice. So by this enterpriſe of *Sicil*, the *Carthaginians* waſted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have been employed in *Italy*: leaving yet unto the *Romans*, in the end of this war, the entire poſſeſſion of this Iſland; which they wanted when it began.

§. XVI.

How the War paſſed between the Romans *and* Hannibal *in* Italy, *from the taking of* Capua *to the great victory of* Metaurus.

SHortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good ſervices done in the Iſland of *Sicil*, he had granted unto him the honour of the leſſer Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denyed him: becauſe he had not finiſhed the war, but was fain to leave his Army behind him in the Province. He ſtayed not long in *Rome*, before he was again choſen Conſul together with *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who ſucceeded

ceeded him in the Government of *Sicil*, and was, at the time of his election, making war againſt King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great Complaint was made againſt the Conſul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracuſians*, for that which he had done unto them: they alledging their great friendſhip to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their City did never willingly break the alliance; excepting when it was oppreſſed by ſuch Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome*, than to all good men that lived in *Syracuſe*. The Conſul, on the other ſide, reckoned the labours & dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to bemoan themſelves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their neceſſity; and not unto the *Romans*, whom they had kept out. Thus each part having ſome good matter to alledge, the Senate made ſuch an end of the controverſie, as beſt agreed with the benefit of their own Common-wealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not reſtoring the booty that he had taken, nor making the *Syracuſians* free from their ſubjection, but comforting them with gentle words, and hopeful promiſes, as hath been ſhewed before. The two new Conſuls *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, were appointed to make war, as their lots ſhould fall out; the one in *Italy*, the other in *Sicil*. The Iſle of *Sicil* fell unto *Marcellus*; which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracuſians* (whoſe cauſe had not as yet been heard in the Senate) might not ſeem hindred by fear, from uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his buſineſs with them was diſpatcht, he gently undertook the patronage of them: which remained long in his Family, to the great benefit of their Country in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Conſul, was ſent into *Sicil*, whoſe doings there have been already rehearſed: but *Marcellus* was employed againſt *Hannibal*.

Before the Conſuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with preſſing of Souldiers to the war, and moſt of all, with getting Mariners for their Navy. They were all of the poorer ſort, that uſed to be employed in Sea-ſervices, eſpecially in rowing. Theſe could not live without preſent wages: neither was there mony enough in the Treaſury to give them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they ſhould be ſet out at the expence of private men; who in this neceſſity of the State, were driven to ſuſtain all publick charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into ſedition; had not the Conſuls deferred the matter unto further conſideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or do, in a caſe of ſuch extremity. For manifeſt it was, that the multitude had already indured ſo much, as well it could undergo; and ſomewhat more, than could with honeſty have been impoſed upon it. Nevertheleſs it was impoſſible to maintain the war againſt the *Carthaginians*; or to keep the *Macedonian* out of *Italy* without a ſtrong fleet. Wherefore, ſome were of opinion; That ſince the common Treaſure was ſo empty, the people muſt be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden upon them. At laſt the Conſuls began to ſay, That no perſwaſions would be ſo effectual with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Conſuls, like it was that the people alſo would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, that every one of them ſhould bring forth, and put into the Treaſury, all the mony that he had; and that no Senator ſhould keep any veſſel of gold, or plate whatſoever; excepting one Salt-ſeller, and a Bowl wherewith to make their offerings unto the gods; as alſo a Ring for himſelf, with ſuch other tokens of ingenuity for his wife and children, as every one did uſe, and thoſe of as ſmall value as might be. This advice of the Conſuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and haſtily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonalty refuſe to do that, which their betters had openly done before them. For ſince the publick neceſſity could no otherwiſe be holpen; every one was contented, that his private eſtate ſhould run the ſame fortune with the Common-wealth, which if it ſuffered wrack, in vain could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper ſubſtance. This magnanimity deſerved well that greatneſs of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Army and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the City againſt *Hannibal*; and *Lævinus* toward *Sicil*. The Army of *Hannibal* was greatly diminiſhed by long and hard ſervice: neither did his *Carthaginians* ſeem to remember him, and think upon ſending the promiſed ſupply, or any ſuch proportion as he needed. His credit alſo among his *Italian* friends, was much wakened, by the loſs of *Capua*: which gave them cauſe to look unto themſelves; as if in his help there were little truſt to be repoſed, when they ſhould ſtand in need. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he muſt thruſt Garriſons into

to all the Towns that he ſuſpected, and thereby ſo diminiſh his Army, that he ſhould not be able to keep the field; or elſe he muſt leave them to their own fidelity, which now began to waver. At length his jealouſie grew ſo outragious, that he ſacked and waſted thoſe places that he was unable to defend: thinking that the beſt way to enrich himſelf; and make unprofitable to his enemies, the purchaſe from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him: and ſome of thoſe, whom before he had leaſt cauſe to doubt. The Town of *Salapia* yielded unto *Marcellus*; and betrayed unto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horſe, the beſt of all that ſerved under *Hannibal*; which was a greater loſs, than the Town it ſelf. *Blaſius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his deſire to effect; without getting the conſent of one *Daſius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Daſius* in private, and was by him accuſed unto *Hannibal*. But when he was convented and charged of Treaſon, he ſo ſtoutly denyed it, and by way of recrimination, ſo vehemently preſſed his accuſer with the ſame fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deviſed out of meer malice; knowing wel what enemies they were; and ſeeing that neither of them could bring any proof of what he affirmed. This notwithſtanding, *Blaſius* did not ceaſe to preſs his adverſary anew, and urge him from time to time, with ſuch lively reaſon; that he who could not be believed by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the favour of *Marcellus*. Preſently after this, the Conſul took by force, *Maronæa* and *Meles*, Towns of the *Samnites*; wherein he ſlew above three thouſand of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not look to all at once; but was fain to catch advantages, where he might get them; the *Romans* now being grown ſtronger in the field than he. The beſt was, that his *Carthaginians*, having wearied themſelves with ill ſpeed in many petty enterpriſes, and laid aſide all this while the care of *Italy*, to follow buſineſs of far leſs importance; had now at length reſolved, to ſend preſently the great ſupply, that had been ſo long promiſed and expected. This, if they had done in better ſeaſon; *Rome* it ſelf might have been ſtrucken down, the next year after that great blow received at *Cannæ*. But ſince that which is paſt cannot be amended; *Hannibal* muſt force himſelf to make a good countenance; and tell his followers; that this mighty ſuccour would come time enough. For *Maſaniſſa* was at *Carthage* with five thouſand *Numidians*, ready to ſet ſail for *Spain*; whither, when he came, it was appointed that *Aſdrubal* ſhould forthwith take his journey into *Italy*, of which there had been ſo much talk. Theſe news did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their beſt; and the *Romans*, to prevent the threatning miſchief, and win as much as they could upon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his Brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his own, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Prætor, lay near unto *Herdonea*, to get the Town by practice. It was not long ſince, near unto the ſame place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had loſt his Army. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; and came to *Herdonea* ere *Fulvius* heard news of his approach. As ſoon as he came, he offered battel to the *Roman* Prætor; who accepted it with more haſte than good ſpeed. The *Roman* Legions made good reſiſtance a while, till they were compaſſed round with the *Carthaginian* horſe. Then fell they to rout, and great ſlaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himſelf, with twelve *Tribunes* or *Coronels*, were loſt: of the common Souldiers, that were ſlain, the number is uncertain; ſome reporting ſeven, others thirteen thouſand. The Town of *Herdonea*, becauſe it was at point to have yielded unto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did ſet on fire: and putting thoſe to death that had practiſed with the Enemy, carried away the multitude; whom he beſtowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Conſul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of good chear; for that he would ſhortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and overtaking him at *Numiſtro* in the Countrey of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battel: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, laſted until night, and ended, by reaſon of the darkneſs, with uncertain victory. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venuſia* they met, and had many ſkirmiſhes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often; and ſought to bring the enemy within danger of ſome ambuſh. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battel, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon fair ground.

Thus paſſed the time away, until *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were choſen Conſuls. *Fabius* conſidering how much the *Roman* affairs were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purpoſed

purpoſed that year to beſiege *Tarantum*: which if he could win; like it was, that ſcarce one good City would afterwards remain true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued them command of thoſe Legions that ſerved under him the year before) to preſs the *Carthaginian* ſo hard, as he might have no leiſure to help *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himſelf, to deal with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannuſium*, and thence from place to place: deſiring ever to come to battail, but upon equal terms. The *Carthaginian* had not mind to hazzard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertain his enemy with ſkirmiſh; as being deſirous to keep his Army ſtrong until the coming of *Aſdrubal*. Yet could he not avoid the importunity of *Marcellus*, nor brook the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bade his men to be luſty, and to beat ſoundly this hot-ſpirited *Roman* Captain, that would never ſuffer them to be at quiet; until they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him blood. Hereupon followed a battail; wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; took ſix Enſigns; and ſlew of the *Romans* almoſt three thouſand, among which were ſome of mark. *Marcellus* was ſo impatient of his diſhonour, that he rated his men, as Peſants, and baſe cowards: telling them, that they were the firſt of the *Roman* Legions; which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plain force and manhood, without being circumvented by any ſtratagem. with theſe and many other the like words, which they were aſhamed to hear, he did ſo vex them; that thinking themſelves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than ſuch diſpleaſure of their General; they beſought him to pardon them, and lead them forth once again to fight. He did ſo: and placing thoſe Companies formoſt, that had loſt their Enſigns the day before, bade them be careful to win a victory; whereof the news might be at *Rome*, before the report of their ſhameful overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to ſee that nothing could make this Enemy quite: and therefore was ready to fight again; ſince all other motives, continued the ſame, and his men had been heartned by the late victory. But the *Romans* were ſtirred up with deſire of revenge, and of repairing their honour loſt, which affections gave a ſharp edge unto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were grown dull, and weary by ſeeing themſelves diſappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithſtanding their late victory, as ready to moleſt them as before. In this ſecond battail *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchaſed at ſo dear a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cauſe to vaunt, the ſecond night. For if eight thouſand of the *Carthagians* were ſlain, and three thouſand of the *Roman* ſide, in this next battail, the difference was no greater, than even to recompence the late received overthrow: eſpecially ſince the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was ſo great, as diſabled *Marcellus* from purſuing *Hannibal*; who diſlodged by night. Nevertheleſs it ſufficed, that *Fabius* the Conſul hereby got leiſure, to follow his buſineſs at *Tarentum* without any diſturbance. *Fulvius* the other Conſul about the ſame time, took in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volcentes*, that willingly yielded themſelves, and betrayed the Garriſons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Towns: whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving ſort; gently rebuking them for their errours paſt, without puniſhing thoſe that had been authors, or buſide doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* thieves, which *Lævinus* had lately brought from *Agaterna*, was then alſo ſet on work to beſiege *Caulonia*, a Town of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might ſerve to divert *Hannibal*, from the ſuccour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Conſul, having taken *Manduria* a Town of the *Salentines*, ſate down before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that ſeemed needfull to carry it either by aſſault or long ſiege. Of the Garriſons in the Town, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a Captain of their own Nation. This Captain fell in love with a *Tarentine* wench; whoſe brother ſerved under *Fabius*. Hereof ſhe gave notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* ſide; by telling him how rich, and of what great account her lover was. But her brother made the Conſul acquainted with theſe news: and ſaid, that if the *Brutian* were far in love, he might perhaps be won, by intreaty of his Miſtris, to do what ſhe would have him. The Conſul hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his ſouldier to convey himſelf into the Town as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his deſire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captain: and partly by his own perſwaſions, partly by the flattering intreaty of his ſiſter; wan him to betray the Town to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the buſineſs, and

and resolved how to order it; the same Souldier got out of the Town by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him in which part that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gave an alarm to the City; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captains in the Town, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himself with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captain, helped the *Romans* to get up, and break open the next gate, whereat the Army was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* Souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as hapneth in like cases, where the main confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Nico*, *Democrates* and *Philomenes*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, used now the last of their courage in dying against the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garrison within the Town, offered himself prisoner: hoping to be well used, because of his hospitality that had passed between his Father and the Consul. But he was slain by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword, in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutian*, was thought to have been made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that he might seem to have won the Town by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithful dealing, and keeping his word. The booty found in *Tarentum* was very great: wherefore the *Roman* Treasury, whither it was carried, had great need. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities that were in the City, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of some Idols that seemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting: he said, Let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angry gods.

Hannibal being gotten clear from *Marcellus*, fell upon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming: but he was so near, that they were fain to betake them to a hill, which served to no other purpose, than to bear off the first burnt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yielded. When this business was done, he hasted away to relieve *Tarentum*. But when he came within five miles of the City, he had news that it was lost, This grieved him: yet he said no more than this, *The* Romans *have also their* Hannibal; we have lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seem to turn back amazed, or in any fear of the victorious Consul; he incamped a few dayes together, so near as he was unto *Tarentum*: and thence departed to *Metapontum*, bethought himself how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chief of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them all offences past. These letters were sent by two young men of the same City; who did their errand so well, that the Consul wrote back by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure made ready his ambushes for the wary *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were given; or whether indeed (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*; the journy to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed again: but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they discovered all.

This year was happy to the *Romans*, in all their wars: for they got every where, save only at *Caulonia*; where they had lost a company of such lewd fellows, that it may seem good fortune, to have been so rid of them. But their common poverty, and disability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italy*: of which, twelve refused to contribute any longer to the Wars. For it was considered; that the Legions of *Cannæ*, and those unhappy Companies that had been beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were transported into *Sicil*; where they lived, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten years together they had been exhausted with levies of men, and impositions of money: in every of which years they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could fear; or rather the best that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes, those that had escaped. It was there-

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fore likely to come to paſs within a while, that they ſhould be all conſumed: ſince new ſouldiers were daily preſſed forth of their Towns; and the old ones never returned. Such talk was frequent among thoſe of the Colonies: eſpecially where they that were tranſported into *Sicil*, had moſt compaſſionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Towns, to the number of twelve, That they ſhould boldly deny unto the *Romans* their farther help. This was thought the likelieſt way to obtain peace: whereof otherwiſe they ſaw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* lived. When the Conſuls heard the Embaſſadors of theſe Towns make ſuch declaration, and proteſt their diſability of giving any further help; they were much amazed. They willed the Embaſſadors to return home, and bring a better anſwer, foraſmuch as this was none other than treaſon: they bade them to conſider, that the people were not *Campans* or *Tarentines*, but the off-ſpring of the *Romans*; and no leſs partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-City. But all would not ſerve, the Embaſſadors continuing to proteſt, that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither men, nor mony. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eighteen Colonies, did not imitate theſe twelve; but ſhewed themſelves willing to undergo whatſoever ſhould be laid upon them, without ſhrinking under the burden. This their offer was ſo highly pleaſing to the Conſuls; that the Embaſſadours of thoſe faithful Colonies, were brought unto the Senate, and produced into the Aſſembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good ſervices, this their preſent love unto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly beſtowed upon them; with promiſe, that it ſhould not be forgotten. As for the Embaſſadours of thoſe twelve Colonies, that refuſed to contribute; it was thought beſt, neither to detain them in the City, nor yet to diſmiſs them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their own conſideration of their ill deſerving.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of theſe twelve people would have wrought in thoſe that were ſo willing to help the State, if *Aſdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*. For then muſt the *Romans* have betaken themſelves wholly to their own defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their ſubjects, they employed their forces in the conqueſt of *Italy*, with hopeful and fortunate ſucceſs. Nevertheleſs, they were fain to open their moſt private treaſury; and thence take out the gold that had been laid up to ſerve them in caſes of greateſt extremity. Of the mony thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the Conſul, to ſet him well out againſt the *Tarentines*; all the reſt was ſent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Army; and to provide that *Aſdrubal* might not paſs from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not ſpend all his mony; finding ſuch eaſie ſucceſs at *Tarentum*, as was ſhewed before. But to ſtop the journey of *Aſdrubal*; neither the mony ſent into *Spain*, nor any victories won by *Scipio* could ſuffice. Nevertheleſs, it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this year, and the next were ſpent, before his coming; and they better prepared, than at leſs warning they could have been, to entertain him. Here it were not amiſs to note, that ſince the *Romans*, being in ſo great a neceſſity of mony, were driven to furniſh the Army in *Spain*, with the greateſt part of all their ſtock that was left: it muſt needs be, that either the booty taken in new *Carthage*, was far leſs than fame had reported it; or elſe that *Scipio* had not as yet won it: howſoever *Livie* rather inclines to thoſe, who ſay that he got it ſoon after his arrival.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintus Criſpinus*, were choſen Conſuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In their year it was, that *Aſdrubal* took his journey out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* until the year following. after the great battle at *Cannæ*, *Hannibal* had loſt much time about *Cumæ* and *Naples*, in ſeeking to make himſelf Maſter of a good haven; for the landing of thoſe ſuccours that were promiſed from *Carthage*. The hope that he repoſed in *Philip*, cauſed him to turn his principal care to the Eaſtern parts of *Italy*; where he made ready a fair entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had been ready to come; but ſince his hope was vaniſhed, and the long promiſed ſuccour of *Aſdrubal* was (though far later than had been expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deal with the people of *Hetruria*, through whoſe Countries his Brother was to paſs, that therein he might make a party againſt the *Romans*. The loſs of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Towns, might have terrified all other of the *Italian* Towns, from harkning to any ſolicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the poverty of the *Romans*, and the wearineſs of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army coming than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*; did imbolden many of the *Hetrurians*, eſpecially the *Are-*

times, to take such counsel as they thought most expedient for themselves, without regard of their fidelity to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of this conspiracy, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consul into *Hetruria*: whose coming did so terrefie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the year following they were devising how to break out: as contrarywise the *Roman* Propretors, partly by terrour of severe judgments and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills, and took many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong War upon *Hannibal* without more temporising: perswading themselves, that in battel they should be too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Town: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the siege of *Locri*; one of the best Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*: and brought thither all sorts of Engines; sending for a Fleet out of *Sicil* to help him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieve the City: the fame of whose approach, made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprise, and retire unto his Colleague, that lay at *Venusia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*; to whom the Consuls daily offered battel. This great man of War had no need to stand upon his reputation: which was already so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed unto fear; but rather deemed as part of his wisdom. He entertained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, and sought to take them at some advantage; reserving his own numbers as full as he could, unto a time of greater imployment. In this lingring manner of War, *Marcellus* took no pleasure: but sought to compell the Enemy to battel, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet about *Sicil*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to assail the Town of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began, to trifle away the time at *Venusia*. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to go by land to the assistance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behind him. He laid an ambush in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*, whereinto the *Romans* fell: and having lost above three thousand of their Company, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprise, and save their own lives within *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, it was the desire of *Hannibal* to waste their Army by little and little: which to do, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an Hillock, overgrown with wood, that seemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there undiscerned, might fall upon such as should straggle from the *Roman* camp; and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians*: whom he willed to keep themselves close, and attend their best advantage. To this piece of ground the Consuls thought it fit to remove their camp: *Marcellus* thinking that he never lay near enough unto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the son of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principal men: and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinel gave warning of their approach to his fellows who discovered not themselves, until they had surrounded the Consuls and their train. The Consuls, as necessity compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their camp that was near at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weak assistance of no more than forty horsemen, that were of the Colonie of *Fregellæ*. These *Fregellans* abode by the Consuls, and did what they could to have brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken thorow with a Lance, and fell down dead; then began every one to shift for himself, and escape as they might, *Crispinus* the other Consul, had his deaths wound, being stricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recovered their camp: The rest of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundle of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slain or taken. To the dead body of the Consul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gave honourable Funeral, according to the custom of those times: and bestowing his ashes in a silver pot, covered it with a crown of gold; and so sent them to young *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this, *Crispinus* bethought himself, how that the signet Ring of *Marcellus* was faln into the custody of *Hannibal*; who might use it to his own purposes, ere that which had hapned were well known abroad. Wherefore he sent word unto all the Towns about; that his Colleague was slain, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wishing them in that regard, to give no credit unto any letters therewithal signed. This providence of *Crispinus* was not more than requisite.

requiſite. For his meſſenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another Meſſenger arrived there ſent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and ſealed with the captive Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpoſe to come the ſame night unto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garriſon ſhould be in a readineſs, for ſuch imployment as he ſhould think needful. The device was plain, and no leſs plain was the revengeful mind which he bare againſt that City; becauſe of his brave *Numidian* companies that had therein been betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themſelves, how to take their enemy in his own ſnare. They ſent back the Meſſenger, which was a *Roman* fugitive, without letting him perceive any ſign of diſtruſt in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readineſs, for the entertainment of ſuch a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troop of *Roman* fugitives armed *Roman*-like, leading the way. Theſe all talking Latine together, called unto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Conſul was there. The gate was opened fair and leiſurely, and the Port-cullis drawn up no higher than needs it muſt be, to let them enter. But when ſix hundred of them were gotten in, down fell the Port-cullis again: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themſelves; being laid at on all hands by the *Salapines*, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus over-reached with this ſtratagem, haſted away to *Locri*; whereunto *Cincius* the Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Cicil*, did lay hard ſiege. The firſt appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcurrors, made the *Romans* in all confuſed haſte, run to their ſhips: leaving all their engines, and whatſoever was in ther Camp, to the enemies diſpoſition.

The *Roman* Senate hearing of theſe accidents, ſent unto *Criſpinus* the ſurviving Conſul, and requeſted him to name a Dictator that might take charge of the Commonwealth, and diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates, with other buſineſs; whereunto himſelf was diſabled by his hurts. He did ſo: and ſoon after died. Then was it thought needful, that new Conſuls ſhould be choſen out of hand: foraſmuch as two *Roman* Armies lay ſo near unto the Enemy, without any General. Eſpecially it was deſired, that Election ſhould be made of ſuch men as were not only valiant, but well adviſed: ſince the beſt, and moſt fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by loſing himſelf ſo ſtrangely, had given them a fair warning, not to commit their Army unto raſh heads. Among thoſe that ſtood for the Conſulſhip, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the moſt eminent. He was of great Nobility, a good Souldier, and one, whoſe many ſervices in this preſent War, did forcibly commend unto the place. Yet he ſeemed a little too violent; and one, whoſe temper needed the allay of a more ſtaid wit. The Fathers therefore endeavoured to joyn unto him in the Conſulſhip, *M. Livius*: one that had born the ſame office long before. This *M. Livius* had been Conſul with *L. Æmilius Paulus*, in the year foregoing the beginning of this War. After their Conſulſhip, wherein they did good ſervice, they had both of them been called into judgement by the people: and this *Livius* condemned; *Æmilius* hardly eſcaping. Though it hath been once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it again: how it pleaſed God to upbraid the unthankful *Romans*, with the malicious judgement, given by their multitude upon honourable men. For in the battel at *Cannæ*, it was apparent what lamentable effects the memory of their injuſtice wrought: when *L. Æmilius* rather choſe to yield to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greateſt overthrow that ever fell upon the State of *Rome*, than by reſiſting the pernicious courſes of *Terentius Varro*, to caſt himſelf anew upon the danger of the popular fury. As for *M. Livius*, he is even now ready, and will ſo continue, to tell the people of their faults in a divers manner. Eight years together after his condemnation, had he been abſent out of the City, and lived in his Country Grange ſtill vexing himſelf with the indignity of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, being Conſuls two or three years ago, had brought him into *Rome*: where he lived private in diſcontented ſort, as might appear, both by his careleſneſs in apparel, and by the wearing of his long hair and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Cenſors, to poll his hair, and come into the Senate: where he uſed to ſit ſilent, and ſignifie his aſſent or diſlike to what was propoſed, either in ſhort formal words, or in paſſing from ſide to ſide, when the houſe was divided. At length it hapned, that in ſome buſineſs weightily concerning one that was his kinſman; he ſtood up and made a ſet ſpeech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had been. The Senate was much altered ſince he had left it; many brave men were loſt;

new ones were choſen; ſuch as rather ſerved to fill up the number, than to anſwer to the dignity of the place: and they that were left of ancient ſtanding, had even ſpent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore all began to ſay; that it was great pitty, ſo worthy and able a man as this *Livius*, had been all this while forgotten; one of whom the Common-wealth ſtood in great need, yet had not uſed in this dangerous war. Now ſeeing that the Conſuls ought, one of them, to be choſen a *Patrician*, the other of neceſſity a *Plebeian*: and ſince neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Lævinus*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be joyned with *Claudius Nero*: every one was of opinion, that there could not be choſen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Livius*. But *Livie* would not endure to hear of this. He ſaid it was unreaſonable, that one condemned as a diſhoneſt man, ſhould afterwards be choſen Ruler of the City. If they had done ill to truſt him with one Conſulſhip, what meant they then to offer him another? With theſe and the like phraſes he reſiſted their deſires: till by perſwaſions and examples rehearſed, of ſuch as had patiently digeſted injuries done by the people, and repayed good for evil; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Emblem, with which *Themiſtocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: reſembling himſelf to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men break in fair weather; but run under it for ſhelter in a ſtorm. Such unthankfulneſs to well deſerving men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spain* his dealing with the Duke of *Alva*. For although he had committed the Duke to priſon, upon ſome ſmall offence conceived, without all regard of his former deſerts: yet when his intended Conqueſt of *Portugal*, required the ſervice of a man, more than ordinarily ſufficient; he ſtood no longer upon the ſcanning of late diſpleaſures; but employed the ſame Duke, whom he had newly diſgraced. This is wiſdom often taught by neceſſity.

It was a dangerous year toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Levius* were choſen Conſuls. *Aſdrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited only, to have the wayes of the Alps thawed by warm weather, for his paſſage into *Italy*. The *Romans* uſed at this time the ſervice of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not employment for many more, if they had known how to levy and maintain them. Of theſe which they had, four ſerved in *Spain*, two in *Sicil*, and two in *Sardinia*: the reſt were ſo diſpoſed, in ſeveral parts of *Italy*, where need ſeemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Conſuls. But the Conſuls were men of execution; and would not be tyed to the punctual obſervance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Livius* would not ſtir out of *Rome*, againſt ſo mighty a power as followed *Aſdrubal*, untill he had firſt obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be ſpared from other imployments; and thoſe, or the moſt of them, choſen Companies. It was true, that two Legions appointed to ſerve under *Lucius Portius* a Prætor of that year, among the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Livius*; to whom the War againſt *Aſdrubal* was allotted. So might alſo two other Legions, that were among the *Salentines*, near unto *Tarentum*, unto another of the Prætors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Army, thar was ſent againſt *Hannibal*. Nevertheleſs, the Conſuls, by the eſpecial inſtance of *Livie*, did obtain, that all might be left to their own diſcretion. For news came that *Aſdrubal* was already paſſing the Alps; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Country about *Genua*, with their neighbour people, were in readineſs to joyn with him; and *L. Portius* ſent word, that he would adventure no further, than he ſafely might. When all was ordered as themſelves thought beſt, the two Conſuls went forth of the City; each his ſeveral way. The people of *Rome* were now quite otherwiſe affected, than they had been, when *L. Æmilius Paulus*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, were ſent againſt *Hannibal*. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them diſpatch, and win the victory betimes: but rather they ſtood in fear, leſt all diligence, wiſdom and valour ſhould prove too little. For ſince few years had paſſed, wherein ſome one of their Generals had not been ſlain; and ſince it was manifeſt, that if either of theſe preſent Conſuls were defeated, or put to the worſt; the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith joyn, and make ſhort work with the other: it ſeemed a greater happineſs than could be expected, that each of them ſhould return home Victor; and come off with honour, from ſuch mighty oppoſition, as he was like to find. With extream difficulty had *Rome* held up her head, ever ſince the battle of *Cannæ*: though it were ſo, that *Hannibal* alone, with little help from *Carthage*, had continued the War in *Italy*. But there was now arrived another Son of *Amilcar*;

Amilcar; and one, that in his preſent Expedition, had ſeemed a man of more ſufficiency than *Hannibal* himſelf. For whereas in that long and dangerous march, thorow barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Mountains, that were thought unpaſſable, *Hannibal* had loſt a great part of his Army: this *Aſdrubal* in the ſame places, had multiplied his numbers; and gathering the people, that he found in the way, deſcended from the Alps like a rowling Snow-ball, far greater than he came over the Pyrenees at his firſt ſetting out of *Spain*. Theſe conſiderations, and the like, of which fear preſented many unto them; cauſed the people of *Rome*, to wait upon their Conſuls out of the Town, like a penſive train of Mourners: thinking upon *Marcellus* and *Criſpinus*; upon whom in the like ſort they had given attendance the laſt year; but ſaw neither of them return alive, from a leſs dangerous War. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gave his accuſtomed advice to *M. Livius*, that he ſhould abſtain from giving or taking battel, untill he well underſtood the Enemies condition. But the Conſul made him a froward anſwer, and ſaid, that he would fight the very firſt day: for that he thought it long, till he ſhould either recover his honour by victory; or by ſeeing the overthrow of his own unjuſt Citizens, ſatisfie himſelf with the joy of a great, though not an honeſt revenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Aſdrubal* received in *Spain* by *Scipio*, a little before he took his Journey into *Italy*; ſuch mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Hiſtorian *Livie*. Yet I think it not amiſs to add in this place, what may be be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his Hiſtory concerning that accident: *Aſdrubal* had wreſtled with many difficulties in *Spain*; by reaſon of thoſe Captains that were ſent from the City of *Carthage*, to joyn with him in the adminiſtration of that Province: they being, as it may ſeem, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to ſay, thus far forth Traytors, that they preferred the advantage of their own ſide, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy Son of *Amilcar*, and how they hindred his courſes undertaken, it cannot be known; ſince of thoſe Books, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled theſe matters, there are to us remaining only a few broken pieces. But by the ſpightful dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicil* with *Mutines*, a better man of War than himſelf, whom *Hannibal* had ſent into the Iſland: we may conceive, that againſt the Brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needful, by theſe miſchievous Partizans of *Hanno*, to uſe the violent oppoſition of more earneſt malice. Nevertheleſs, *Aſdrubal* was a good Patriot; and therefore endured patiently ſuch indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digeſt. His Journey into *Italy* being reſolved upon: he lay with part of the Army at *Betula*, not far from the Mines of Silver; whence he was to furniſh his Expeditions. Thither came *Scipio*; and drave him out of his Camp; though he were ſtrongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captains could or would come to his aſſiſtance. The overthrow ſeems not to have been ſo great, as it muſt have been ſuppoſed, if no way lay open to thoſe that fled. Rather it appears, that *Aſdrubal* dealt like a provident man, and ſeeing that his Camp was likely to be forced, ſent away all his mony with the Elephants before him: but ſtayed behind himſelf to ſuſtain the *Romans* a while, until his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his deſire, afterwards he gathered his broken troops together; and retired in ſuch ſort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to purſue him, and ſo paſſed over *Tagus*. Then taking unto him the forces aſſigned for his expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenees: leaving the care of *Spain* unto his Brother *Mago*, and to *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Geſco*; that thought himſelf the fitteſt man for the adminiſtration thereof. Fain would *Scipio* have ſtopped him in his Journey, by ſending to defend againſt him the ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether *Aſdrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had ſent to keep the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard paſſages commonly ſorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any ſuch impediment. Coming into *Gaul*, and following the ſteps of his Brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, ſo well affected, either to him or to his mony, that no paſſages were defended againſt him, nor any ſort of reſiſtance made; but he, and his Army well entertained, and their number much increaſed, by acceſs of ſuch as were deſirous to take his pay. Of theſe he had the better choice: for that he was driven to winter in their Country; whilſt that the paſſages of the Alps were cloſed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewiſe, that had ſo greatly moleſted *Hannibal* in his Journey over the Alps, were eaſily won to take part with *Aſdrubal*, when he travelled thorow their Country. For theſe poor men, at the firſt coming of *Hannibal*, were verily perſwaded, that it was his purpoſe to rob them of their

new ones were choſen; ſuch as rather ſerved to fill up the number, than to anſwer to the dignity of the place: and they that were left of ancient ſtanding, had even ſpent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore all began to ſay; that it was great pitty, ſo worthy and able a man as this *Livius*, had been all this while forgotten; one of whom the Common-wealth ſtood in great need, yet had not uſed in this dangerous war. Now ſeeing that the Conſuls ought, one of them, to be choſen a *Patrician*, the other of neceſſity a *Plebeian*: and ſince neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Laevinus*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be joyned with *Claudius Nero*: every one was of opinion, that there could not be choſen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Livius*. But *Livie* would not endure to hear of this. He ſaid it was unreaſonable, that one condemned as a diſhoneſt man, ſhould afterwards be choſen Ruler of the City. If they had done ill to truſt him with one Conſulſhip, what meant they then to offer him another? With theſe and the like phraſes he reſiſted their deſires: till by perſwaſions and examples rehearſed, of ſuch as had patiently digeſted injuries done by the people, and repayed good for evil; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Emblem, with which *Themiſtocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians:* reſembling himſelf to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men break in fair weather; but run under it for ſhelter in a ſtorm. Such unthankfulneſs to well deſerving men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spain* his dealing with the Duke of *Alva*. For although he had committed the Duke to priſon, upon ſome ſmall offence conceived, without all regard of his former deſerts: yet when his intended Conqueſt of *Portugal*, required the ſervice of a man, more than ordinarily ſufficient; he ſtood no longer upon the ſcanning of late diſpleaſures; but employed the ſame Duke, whom he had newly diſgraced. This is wiſdom often taught by neceſſity.

It was a dangerous year toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* were choſen Conſuls. *Aſdrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited only, to have the wayes of the Alps thawed by warm weather, for his paſſage into *Italy*. The *Romans* uſed at this time the ſervice of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not employment for many more, if they had known how to levy and maintain them. Of theſe which they had, four ſerved in *Spain*, two in *Sicil*, and two in *Sardinia:* the reſt were ſo diſpoſed, in ſeveral parts of *Italy*, where need ſeemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Conſuls. But the Conſuls were men of execution; and would not be tyed to the punctual obſervance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Livius* would not ſtir out of *Rome*, againſt ſo mighty a power as followed *Aſdrubal*, untill he had firſt obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be ſpared from other imployments; and thoſe, or the moſt of them, choſen Companies. It was true, that two Legions appointed to ſerve under *Lucius Portius* a Prætor of that year, among the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Livius*; to whom the War againſt *Aſdrubal* was allotted. So might alſo two other Legions, that were among the *Salentines*, near unto *Tarentum*, unto another of the Prætors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Army, thar was ſent againſt *Hannibal*. Nevertheleſs, the Conſuls, by the eſpecial inſtance of *Livie*, did obtain, that all might be left to their own diſcretion. For news came that *Aſdrubal* was already paſſing the Alps; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Country about *Genua*, with their neighbour people, were in readineſs to joyn with him; and *L. Portius* ſent word, that he would adventure no further, than he ſafely might. When all was ordered as themſelves thought beſt, the two Conſuls went forth of the City; each his ſeveral way. The people of *Rome* were now quite otherwiſe affected, than they had been, when *L. Æmilius Paulus*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, were ſent againſt *Hannibal*. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them diſpatch, and win the victory betimes: but rather they ſtood in fear, leſt all diligence, wiſdom and valour ſhould prove too little. For ſince few years had paſſed, wherein ſome one of their Generals had not been ſlain; and ſince it was manifeſt, that if either of theſe preſent Conſuls were defeated, or put to the worſt; the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith joyn, and make ſhort work with the other: it ſeemed a greater happineſs than could be expected, that each of them ſhould return home Victor; and come off with honour, from ſuch mighty oppoſition, as he was like to find. With extream difficulty had *Rome* held up her head, ever ſince the battle of *Cannæ:* though it were ſo, that *Hannibal* alone, with little help from *Carthage*, had continued the War in *Italy*. But there was now arrived another Son of

Amilcar;

Amilcar; and one, that in his preſent Expedition, had ſeemed a man of more ſufficiency than *Hannibal* himſelf. For whereas in that long and dangerous march, thorow barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Mountains, that were thought unpaſſable, *Hannibal* had loſt a great part of his Army: this *Aſdrubal* in the ſame places, had multiplied his numbers; and gathering the people, that he found in the way, deſcended from the Alps like a rowling Snow-ball, far greater than he came over the Pyrenees at his firſt ſetting out of *Spain*. Theſe conſiderations, and the like, of which fear preſented many unto them; cauſed the people of *Rome*, to wait upon their Conſuls out of the Town, like a penſive train of Mourners: thinking upon *Marcellus* and *Criſpinus*; upon whom in the like ſort they had given attendance the laſt year; but ſaw neither of them return alive, from a leſs dangerous War. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gave his accuſtomed advice to *M. Livius*, that he ſhould abſtain from giving or taking battel, untill he well underſtood the Enemies condition. But the Conſul made him a froward anſwer, and ſaid, that he would fight the very firſt day: for that he thought it long, till he ſhould either recover his honour by victory; or by ſeeing the overthrow of his own unjuſt Citizens, ſatisfie himſelf with the joy of a great, though not an honeſt revenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Aſdrubal* received in *Spain* by *Scipio*, a little before he took his Journey into *Italy*; ſuch mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Hiſtorian *Livie*. Yet I think it not amiſs to add in this place, what may be be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his Hiſtory concerning that accident: *Aſdrubal* had wreſtled with many difficulties in *Spain*; by reaſon of thoſe Captains that were ſent from the City of *Carthage*, to joyn with him in the adminiſtration of that Province: they being, as it may ſeem, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to ſay, thus far forth Traytors, that they preferred the advantage of their own ſide, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy Son of *Amilcar*, and how they hindred his courſes undertaken, it cannot be known; ſince of thoſe Books, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled theſe matters, there are to us remaining only a few broken pieces. But by the ſpightful dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicil* with *Mutines*, a better man of War than himſelf, whom *Hannibal* had ſent into the Iſland: we may conceive, that againſt the Brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needful, by theſe miſchievous Partizans of *Hanno*, to uſe the violent oppoſition of more earneſt malice. Nevertheleſs, *Aſdrubal* was a good Patriot; and therefore endured patiently ſuch indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digeſt. His Journey into *Italy* being reſolved upon: he lay with part of the Army at *Ectula*, not far from the Mines of Silver; whence he was to furniſh his Expeditions. Thither came *Scipio*; and drave him out of his Camp; though he were ſtrongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captains could or would come to his aſſiſtance. The overthrow ſeems not to have been ſo great, as it muſt have been ſuppoſed, if no way lay open to thoſe that fled. Rather it appears, that *Aſdrubal* dealt like a provident man, and ſeeing that his Camp was likely to be forced, ſent away all his mony with the Elephants before him: but ſtayed behind himſelf to ſuſtain the *Romans* a while, until his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his deſire, afterwards he gathered his broken troops together; and retired in ſuch ſort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to purſue him, and ſo paſſed over *Tagus*. Then taking unto him the forces aſſigned for his expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenees: leaving the care of *Spain* unto his Brother *Mago*, and to *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Geſco*; that thought himſelf the fitteſt man for the adminiſtration thereof. Fain would *Scipio* have ſtopped him in his Journey, by ſending to defend againſt him the ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether *Aſdrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had ſent to keep the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard paſſages commonly ſorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any ſuch impediment. Coming into *Gaul*, and following the ſteps of his Brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, ſo well affected, either to him or to his mony, that no paſſages were defended againſt him, nor any ſort of reſiſtance made; but he, and his Army well entertained, and their number much increaſed, by acceſs of ſuch as were deſirous to take his pay. Of theſe he had the better choice: for that he was driven to winter in their Country; whilſt that the paſſages of the Alps were cloſed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewiſe, that had ſo greatly moleſted *Hannibal* in his Journey over the Alps, were eaſily won to take part with *Aſdrubal*, when he travelled thorow their Country. For theſe poor men, at the firſt coming of *Hannibal*, were verily perſwaded, that it was his purpoſe to rob them of their

Extract. e Polyb. l. 3. Liv. l. 11.

their cattel; and to make ſpoil of that little wealth which they had painfully ſcraped together out of the deſolate rocks. But now in proceſs of time, they were better informed. Therefore, underſtanding that there were two mighty Cities far diſjoyned aſunder, which made War upon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the Alps did only lye in the way: they gladly condeſcended to take their part in the fortune of the invaders. The like affection upon greater cauſe, was afterward found in the *Ciſalpine Gauls*. The *Ligurians* alſo joyned with *Aſdrubal*: and ſo would the *Hetrurians* have done, if he had arrived in their Country. There was no other *Roman* Army near, than *L. Portius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great fear. Therefore did *Aſdrubal*: ſet upon *Placentia*, a *Roman* Colony: in hope to make his coming the more terrible, by the deſtruction of that Town. But there he loſt a great deal of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterpriſe: by undertaking which, he gave the *Roman* Conſuls leaſure to make ready for him; and cauſed his Brother *Hannibal* (who upon the firſt bruit of *Aſdrubal* he ſo timely, and eaſily paſſing the Alps, was about to leave his wintring Camps, and go forth to meet with him) to ſit ſtill a while, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haſte.

C. Claudius Nero the *Roman* Conſul, made what ſpeed he could to meet with *Hannibal*, and ſtop him from joyning with his Brother. He had about forty thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: with which he dayly offered battel to the *Carthaginians*; and had of him the better in many ſkirmiſhes. *Hannibal* was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, unto the Country of the *Brutians*, there to encreaſe his forces; which were otherwiſe too weak for the Journey intended. Afterward coming to *Grumentum*, a Town of the *Lucans*; he there fought unproſperouſly with *Nero* the Conſul. Nevertheleſs, he got off, and marched away to *Venuſia*. But *Nero* followed him, and had there again the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to return to *Metapontum*: where joyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Army, he aſſayed again, to make way by force to his Brother. So he paſſed onward, and came again to *Venuſia*, having *Nero* ſtill at his heels. Thence went he over the River *Aufidus*, to *Canuſium*, where he ſate down, not far from the place, in which he had obtained his moſt memorable victory. There alſo did *Nero* ſit down by him: and both of them reſted, without making offer to fight. It ſeemed perhaps unto *Hannibal*, who knew the Country very well; that his Brother might with little impediment, overcome the way to *Canuſium*: where, if he could once again deal with both the Conſuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reaſon to hope for ſuch another victory, as once he had gotten in the ſame open Country. If this had ſo faln out; *Rome* would have been undone for ever. But the *Carthaginians* ſhould not have need to wiſh any ſecond victory, in the naked *Campans* about *Cannæ*; If ſuch an Army as this which *Aſdrubal* now brings, had come to ſecond *Hannibal*, when he was in full ſtrength; and the *Romans* not able to keep the field. Wherefore this worthy General had good reaſon afterward to ſay that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the ſupply, did beat him out of *Italy*; which elſe no power of the *Romans* could have done.

Whilſt *Nero* waited upon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Army that was coming to their ſuccour: he was advertiſed of *Aſdrubal* his approach; by Letters and Meſſengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. Theſe gave notice, that *Aſdrubal* had left the ſiege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his Brother; notwithſtanding all oppoſition that could be made by *Livie* the Conſul. Of theſe news *Claudius Nero* was nothing joyful. For if *Hannibal* could once be joyned as head, unto that great body of an Army, which *Aſdrubal* brought with him: it was moſt apparent, that howſoever the fortune of *Rome* ſhould avoid, for the preſent, any great calamity; yet the very continuance of ſo ſtrong a war at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithful Aſſociates, to faint under the burden; as twelve of the thirty *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore he reſolved, that it were better to make any deſperate adventure, than to ſuffer the conjunction of two ſuch malevolent Planets: whoſe peſtilent influence, if not on the ſudden, yet within few years, was like to work moſt lamentable effects. It ſeemed apparent, that his Colleague was unable to ſtay the progreſs of *Aſdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readineſs, that could do ſervice in ſuch a needful caſe; excepting thoſe, that were already imployed under the two Conſuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tye himſelf to his own charge, which was the war againſt *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoved him, to help where

where more neceſſity required; and to carry part of his forces unto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet ſince the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* Brethren, was far more dangerous to the *Roman* Common-wealth: it ſeemed the beſt way to put Fortune in truſt, with that which was of the leſs importance. Six thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe he therefore took, that were the very choice of his Army: and making ſhew, as if he would only ſtep aſide, to do ſome ſmall piece of ſervice near at hand; away he poſted as faſt as he could, to aſſiſt his fellow-Conſul. His Meſſengers ran before him, to give warning to all Towns by which he was to paſs, that they ſhould be ready to meet him with victuals, and all other neceſſaries for his Army. *Livius* the other Conſul, at that time, lay encamped near unto *Sena Gallica*; and *Aſdrubal*, within half a mile of him. In ſix dayes *Nero* had finiſhed his Journey thither; and when he drew near, ſent Meſſengers before him, to give notice of his coming. *Livie* thought it fitteſt that he ſhould ſtay in ſome place of covert until dark night, and then enter ſecretly into the Camp: leſt the Enemy, perceiving this acceſs of ſtrength, ſhould accordingly frame his counſels. This was done; and a token given, that the Colonels, Captains, and all Souldiers, as well horſe as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him, ſhould be lodged and entertained by men of their own ſort. Their Company was ſomewhat increaſed by Voluntaries that joyned with him on the way. Nevertheleſs it was not needful that the Quarter which received them, ſhould be enlarged; ſince they had brought with them nothing but their arms. The next day they held a Counſel of war: wherein ſome were of opinion, that it were beſt for theſe new arrived Companies to refreſh themſelves a few days after their weary Journey, before they ſhould be drawn forth to battel. But againſt this, *Nero* was very earneſt: and beſought his Colleague, to make uſe of him out of hand; that he might betimes return to his own Camp, ere *Hannibal* ſhould have notice of his abſence. The Souldiers alſo of *Nero* were full of ſpirit; perceiving that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs: foraſmuch as the battel would not have been undertaken, without this their coming to help. Finally, it was agreed when the Counſel brake up, that the ſign of battel ſhould be hung out; which was commonly a Purple Coat over the Generals Pavilion.

Aſdrubal was no leſs willing than the *Romans* to come to battle, having long deſired it, and hitherto not found occaſion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Army, to behold the Enemies countenance: it ſeemed to him, that they were more than they had been; and ſome of their arms and horſes looked as though they had wanted dreſſing, after a long Journey. Hereupon he began to withdraw his Army back into the Camp: and gave order, that if no priſoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth; yet ſhould there good obſervation be made, whether the Enemies Camp were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might ſhew their forces to be encreaſed. The Camp, as hath been ſaid, was not extended: but the trumpet, that ſounded only once in the Quarter of *L. Portius* the Prætor, did now, contrary to former cuſtom, ſound twice in the Quarter of *Livius* the Conſul. Hereat *Aſdrubal* greatly muſed: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders, held this for a ſure token, that the other Conſul was there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were alive, and in good caſe, he was not able to conjecture: but thought it the beſt way, to go leiſurely to work, till he might be better informed. Upon confidence in his own forces, he had not cared hitherto, how near he lay to the *Romans*; nor troubled himſelf perhaps with over-ſtrongly fortifying his own Camp. Yet when he now perceived, that ſomewhat was fallen out beſide his expectation, he changed his reſolution; and held it no diſhonour to remove a little further off. So he diſlodged ſecretly by night, intending to get over the River *Metaurus*; whereby to keep himſelf as long as he could, from neceſſity of battel. But whether it were ſo, that his guides did ſteal away from him in the dark, ſo that he could not find the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heavy, and hindred his ſpeed: far he had not gone, ere the Conſul *Nero* was at his heels with all the *Roman* horſe, and ſtayed him from paſſing any further. Soon after came *L. Portius* with the light armature: whom the other Conſul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battel. *Aſdrubal*, ſeeing himſelf overtaken with neceſſity to fight, omitted no care and circumſpection. His *Gauls*, in whom he repoſed leaſt confidence, he placed in his left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemy ſhould not, without much difficulty, be able to climb: in the right wing he ſtood himſelf with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* he placed

placed in the midſt; and his Elephants he beſtowed in the front of his battels. On the *Roman* ſide, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* of the left, and *Porcius* of the battel. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well underſtood, how much depended upon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of ſafety there was unto the vanquiſhed. Only the *Romans* herein ſeemed to have had the better in conceit and opinion; that they were to fight with men deſirous to have fled from them. And, according to this preſumption, came *Livius* the Conſul with a proud bravery, to give charge on the *Africans*, by whom he was ſo ſharply entertained, that the victory ſeemed very doubtful. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were ſtout Souldiers, and well acquainted with the manner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* alſo were a hardy Nation, and not accuſtomed to give ground; which they needed the leſs, or were able now to do, being placed in the midſt. *Livius* therefore, and *Porcius* found ſtrong oppoſition: and with great ſlaughter on both ſides, prevailed little or nothing. Beſides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants that brake their firſt ranks; and put them in ſuch diſorder, as the *Roman* Enſigns were driven to fall back. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vain againſt a ſteep Hill, was unable to come to blowes with the *Gauls*, that ſtood oppoſite unto him, but out of danger. This made *Aſdrubal* the more confident; who, ſeeing his own left wing ſafe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impreſſion on the other ſide, upon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero* perceiving that the place wherein he ſtood, was ſuch as would compel him to remain idle till the fight were ended; took a part of his forces and led them round behind the forces of *Porcius* and *Livius*: which having compaſſed, he fell upon *Aſdrubal*, and charged him in the flanck. Here began the victory to be manifeſt on the *Roman* ſide. For *Nero*, finding none to reſiſt him in front, ran all along the depth of *Aſdrubal* his battle: and falling upon the ſkirts thereof, diſordered the Enemies, and put all to rout. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on every ſide, the greateſt part was ſlain. The *Ligurians* and *Gauls* eſcaped as they could; and ſaved themſelves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, four were taken alive: the reſt were ſlain: ſome by the Enemies weapons, others by their own guides that rode them. For when any of them, being ſore wounded, began to wax unruly, and ruſh back upon their own battels following them, the guide had in readineſs a Mallet and a Chizzel, wherewith he gave them a ſtroke between the ears, in the joynt of the neck, next unto the head, wherewith he killed the beaſts upon a ſudden. This ſpeedy way of preventing ſuch harm as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to do to the ſquadrons following them, is ſaid to have been the device of *Aſdrubal* himſelf, who died in this battel.

Great commendations are given to *Aſdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Livie*. He is ſaid at all times to have ſhewed himſelf worthy of *Amilcar* his Father, and *Hannibal* his Brother; to have ſtriven with great patience againſt many difficulties, whereinto he fell by the means of thoſe Captains that were ſent from *Carthage* into *Spain*; to have performed in this laſt battel all duties of a worthy General; and finally, when he ſaw the loſs irrepairable, to have ridden manfully into the thickeſt of his Enemies; where, fighting bravely, he was ſlain. Of the number that died with him in this battel, the report of *Livie* and *Polybius* do very much diſagree. For *Livie* ſaith, that the *Carthaginians* had no leſs an overthrow, than was that which they gave to the *Roman* at *Cannæ*: that fifty ſix thouſand of them were ſlain, five thouſand and four hundred taken priſoners, and above four thouſand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had captives with them, delivered and ſet at liberty. He ſaith alſo, that of the *Romans* and their Aſſociates there were ſlain eight thouſand: and of the booty, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kinds, but in gold and ſilver. Concerning the booty, *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to have been as rich as *Livie* reporteth it; for *Aſdrubal* came well ſtored with mony. But *Polybius* (who had no deſire to make this battel of *Metaurus*, a parallel unto that of *Cannæ*) reports no more than about ten thouſand of the *Carthaginian* ſide; and two thouſand of the *Roman*, to have been ſlain. The number of the priſoners he doth not mention: but only ſaith, That ſome of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive; and that all the reſt died in the battell. Whereby it may ſeem that they were all *Barchines*: foraſmuch as they preferred the honour of themſelves, and of their Country, above their lives.

The joy of this victory was no leſs in *Rome*, than had been the fear of the event. For ever ſince it were known in what ſort *Nero* had left his Army, the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his coming thither. Men thought it ſtrange, that the Conſul ſhould make ſuch a great adven-

ture

ture, as thus to put the one half of all the *Roman* forces unto hazzard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* ſhould chance to have notice of this his departure, and either purſue him, or ſet upon the Army that ſtaid behind, much weakned, and without a General? Thus did they talk; yet reſerving their cenſure unto the ſucceſs; with liberty to approve or condemn, according to the iſſue. In the mean time the people filled the Market-place, the Women ran to the Tumples with Vows and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in councel, waiting ſtill ready at hand upon the Magiſtrates; as if ſome great matter were likely to fall out, that would aſk every ones help. In brief, they were all ſo full of melancholy, that when the firſt news of victory came, there were not many that would believe it. Afterwards, when Meſſengers arrived from the Conſuls, with Letters contained all that had paſſed, there was not only great and joyful concourſe of all ſorts of men unto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their private buſineſs; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborn to do) & attending their own affairs in ſuch wiſe, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*.

Nero returning to his Camp, threw forth openly the head of *Aſdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*: and producing his *African* priſoners bound, ſent two of them looſe to give *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. Theſe two priſoners might have ſerved well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of the miſad venture, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Aſdrubal*: eſpecially ſince *Hannibal*, in honourable, and far different manner, had given burial to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea, to all the *Roman* Generals, whoſe carkaſſes fell into his hands. But it may ſeem, that howſoever the People of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous diſpoſition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their love unto the Common-weal: yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more civil, and leſs prone to the inſolency of revenge. The beſt excuſe of this outrage done by *Nero*, is that he hoped much more by the ſudden terrour of ſuch a ſpectacle, than by the ſimple relation of that which paſſed, to make a deep impreſſion of fear into the *Carthaginians*. It may alſo be ſaid, That he forgot himſelf, being over-joyed with the greatneſs of his proſperity. For it was the battel of *Metaurus* that weighed down the ballance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the loweſt Ebbe, ceaſed not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal* having loſt in this unhappy fight (beſides the worthy Gentleman his brother) all the hope that ſo long ſuſtained him in *Italy*, withdrew himſelf into the Country of the *Brutians*: and thither he cauſed all the *Lucans*, that were of his party, to remove; as likewiſe all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend ſo many places, as he held at the preſent, becauſe they lay too far aſunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a leſſer compaſs, in the utmoſt corner of *Italy*, it being a country of much faſtneſs, and the people exceedingly devoted to his ſervice. In this buſineſs *Nero* gave him no memorable impediment: either becauſe *Hannibal* was too ſtrong for him, having all his forces united; or becauſe it is likely that this remove of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their harveſt was gathered in: at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Livius* the other Conſul tarried among the *Ciſalpine Gaules* untill the end of ſummer; there to ſet things in ſuch order, as he thought requiſite: which done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Province, but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well diſcharge the place. For this cauſe he deſired leave to return home; and that he might bring his Army with him. The Senate well underſtood his meaning: which was to have the honour of triumph as he well deſerved. But foraſmuch as it was well known, what intereſt *Nero* had in the late victory: order was ſo given, that not only *Livie* with his Army ſhould come home; but likewiſe *Nero*, though leaving his Army behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pomp whereof, *Livie* made the greater ſhew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; becauſe in his Province, and upon his day of command, the victory was gotten: his Army alſo being preſent at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horſe-back, and without ſuch attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victory was in a manner wholly aſcribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generals, the due acknowledgement of their good ſervice. For they were commended unto the People, as men worthy to be choſen Conſuls: and Conſuls they were choſen for the year following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory in their Conſulſhip. Nei-

ther indeed from this year, which was the thirteenth of the preſent war, until the eighteenth year wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italy*; ſave only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by ſurpriſe. For *Hannibal* wanted ſtrength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little mind to provoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him, that though all about him went to ruine, yet in him alone, they thought there was force enough to hold himſelf upright. And ſurely, very notable are the commendations given unto him by *Polybius*, whom *Livie* therein follows. That making war upon a People, of all other the moſt war-like, he obtained ſo many victories by his own good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of ſo many ſundry Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians* and *Greeks*, which were neither in Language, Laws, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in ſuch good order, that they never fell to ſedition among themſelves, or againſt their General. But that which *Livie* adds hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he ſuſtained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, upon the hungry ſoil of the *Brutians*: which when it was beſt manured in time of peace, could hardly ſuffice to nouriſh the Inhabitants. It's therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Army in ſuch order and obedience, rather than by any greatneſs of reward and booty; ſince after the death of *Aſdrubal*, he made no invaſion upon the wealthier parts of *Italy*; but held himſelf ſtill among the poor *Brutians*. Where we muſt leave him; until he be drawn into *Africk* by *Scipio*; whoſe doing will henceforth entertain, and lead us unto the end of this War.

§. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio *the* Roman *made entire conqueſt of* Spain.

†. I.

How the Carthaginians *were driven by* Scipio *from the Continent into the Iſle of* Gades.

MAgo and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, took upon them the charge of *Spain*, when *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Amilcar* departed thence into *Italy*. Theſe agreed together, that *Mago* ſhould make a voyage to the *Baleares*; there to levy a ſupply of men; and *Aſdrubal* withdraw himſelf into *Luſitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill means to follow; being altogether unacquainted in thoſe parts. *Mago* had ſoon ended his buſineſs, and returned into *Spain*: where he met with one *Hanno* (the ſame perhaps that had lately been imployed in *Sicil*) who brought new forces out of *Africk*; and came to ſucceed in place of *Aſdrubal* the *Barchine*. It is not unlikely that *Spain* was now the better, and more readily furniſhed with men and all things needfull from *Carthage*: when that ſon of *Amilcar*, whoſe authority had been greateſt, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approve it ſelf, againſt that noble race of Warriors; when it ſhould appear, that things did proſper much the better by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon deſire to make good ſome ſuch opinion raiſed of him at home, or whether upon confidence in the forces that he brought over: *Hanno* took the field, and led *Mago* with him; as purpoſing afreſh to ſet upon the *Romans*. So he entered into the country of the *Celtiberians*, not very far from new *Carthage*: where, by money and over perſwaſions, he levied above nine thouſand men.

P. Scipio in the mean while contained himſelf in the Eaſtern parts of *Spain*: attentive, as it may ſeem to the proceedings of *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Amilcar*; againſt whom he is reported by ſome Writers to have ſent part of his forces into *Italy*, to the aſſiſtance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the Conſuls. But hearing of the levy made by *Hanno* and *Mago* among the *Celtiberians*, he ſent *M. Syllanus* the Propretor, with ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. *Syllanus* got intelligence by ſome fugitive *Celtiberians*, who became his guides, that their Country-men incamped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great diſorder: as men fearing no danger, becauſe they were at home. Wherefore as cloſely as he was able, he drew neer to theſe *Celtiberians*: and falling upon them on the ſudden, gave them ſuch an overthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* coming to their ſuccour, inſtead of heartning and re-inforcing them, became partakers of the loſs. *Mago* ſaved himſelf with all the horſe, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thouſand: and in ten daies journey brought them ſafe to *Aſdrubal*. The reſt of the *Africans* were either ſlain or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill luck to be taken priſoner; though he kept himſelf out of the fight until all was loſt. As for the *Celtiberians*, they knew better how to make ſhift; and

and ſaved moſt of themſelves by running into the woods.

It could not otherwiſe be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein *Italy* ſtood, by the coming thither of *Aſdrubal*. Ten thouſand foot, and eighteen hundred horſe he did therefore ſend out of *Spain* (as it is reported by ſome Authors to the defence of his own Country; or was perhaps, about to ſend them: and thereupon remained at new *Carthage*, intentive to the neceſſity and ſucceſs of his Country-men at home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long before the end of the Summer, then might he well adventure, to take in hand the entire conqueſt of *Spain*; which muſt needs be much alienated from the *Carthagininas*, by the report of ſuch an overthrow. The *Spaniſh* Souldierds that ſerved under *Hannibal*, & thoſe that had been ſent over into *Africk*, were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Country was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noiſed abroad, that all which hath followed *Aſdrubal* into *Italy*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal* with his Army was cloſed up in a ſtraight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behove the *Spaniards* to conform themſelves unto the will of the Vectors. That it was the ſucceſs of things in *Italy*, which gave ſuch confidence unto *Scipio*; it was the more probable, becauſe he took not this great enterpriſe in hand, untill the Summer was almoſt ſpent. *Aſdrubal* therefore uſed the benefit of the ſeaſon; and by diſpoſing his Army into many garriſons, hindred the Enemy from doing any great exploit before winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the year, cauſed *Scipio* to return back: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother *L. Scipio* took by aſſault the Town of *Oringis*.

Againſt the next years danger, *Aſdrubal* prepared a great Army: and ſpared not coſt, nor travel, in ſtrengthening himſelf, for the tryal of his laſt fortune in *Spain*. With ſeventy thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and two and thirty Elephants, he took the field: which number I believe, that he could hardly have raiſed, without boldly denying the truth of thoſe reports that came from *Italy*. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* Legions too weak to encounter with ſuch a multitude. Wherefore he judged it needful to uſe the help of his *Spaniſh* friends. But the death of his Father and Uncle, that were caſt away by the treaſon of ſuch falſe Auxiliaries, made him on the other ſide very doubtful of relying upon thoſe, that might perhaps betray him in his greateſt need. Yet ſince one *Colchus*, that was Lord of eight and twenty Towns, had promiſed him the laſt Winter, to raiſe three thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe for his ſervice: he reſolved to make uſe of thoſe, and ſome few others, that might help to make a ſhew; and yet not be able to do any great harm, if they would revolt. So with five and forty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, he ſought out the Enemy; near unto whom he incamped. At his firſt coming, *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* fell upon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whilſt he was making his lodgings. But he laid certain troops of horſe in covert: which, breaking upon them unexpected, cauſed them to fall off. They made at firſt an orderly retreat: but being more hardly preſſed, they ſhortly betook themſelves to plain flight. After this incounter, which added ſome courage to the *Romans*, and abated the preſumption of the *Carthaginians*, there were daily ſkirmiſhes between the horſe and light armature, on both ſides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Aſdrubal* drew forth his Army, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to ſhew that he durſt fight, yet not proceeding any farther. Thus they continued many dayes: *Aſdrubal* being ſtill the firſt that iſſued forth in the morning; and the firſt that, in the evening, withdrew himſelf into his Trenches. The *Spaniſh* Auxiliaries were placed on both ſides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midſt, with their Elephants before them; and oppoſite to theſe on the other ſide were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at far diſtance, many dayes together: it grew to be the common opinion; that they ſhould ſhortly meet in the ſame form, and be matched on each part, with the enemies long before deſigned. But *Scipio*, when he purpoſed indeed to fight, altered the form of his Army; and withall, came forth earlier than he had been wont. He cauſed his men and horſes to be well fed betimes in the morning before day: and then ſent forth his horſe and light armature, to train out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies empty: uſing herein the ſame trick, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his Father in the battel of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he beſtowed in the wings; his *Spaniards* in the battel. *Aſdrubal* ſent forth his horſe in all haſte, to entertain the *Romans*; whilſt he himſelf arranged his men, in their wonted order at the Hill foot, upon which he

incamped. In the ſkirmiſhes of the horſe it could not be diſcerned which part had the better: ſince, being over-prelied on either ſide, they had a ſafe retrait unto their foot; and one troop ſeconding another by courſe, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: becauſe his men, having well fed themſelves, were like to hold out better than the enemy. But about noon he cauſed his wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battel of *Spaniards* far behind them, that came on leiſurely, according to direction. The *Spaniſh* Mercenaries that ſtood in *Aſdrubal* his wings, were no way comparable, ſave only in number, to the *Latine* and *Roman* Souldiers that came againſt them; for they were freſh Souldiers, levied in haſte; and fighting only in reſpect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flank, at the ſame time, by the *Roman Velites*, and by ſome cohorts, that were appointed to wheel about for the ſame purpoſe, they were ſorely preſſed, and with much difficulty made reſiſtance. The *Carthaginians* would fain have ſuccoured them; but that they durſt not ſtir out of their places, becauſe of the *Spaniſh* battel which was coming againſt them; though it were as yet far off. Thus the beſt part of *Aſdrubal* his Army ſtood idle, until the wings were broken. For, had he adventured to meet with the *Spaniards*, he muſt have caſt himſelf into the open ſpace that lay before him between the *Roman* wings: to the depth whereof when he had arrived, he ſhould have found himſelf incloſed in ſuch ſort, as was the Conſul *Paulus* at the battel of *Cannæ*. Wherefore he did only imploy his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his Enemies, than to his friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer be ruled as their guides: but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or thoſe perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In proceſs of the fight, the Romans who had well refreſhed their bodies in the morning, endured luſty; when the others began to faint with travel and heat of the day. Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly; and gave not over, till they had forc't the enemy to change his place, and run from him. *Aſdrubal* did his beſt to have made an orderly retreat; and afterward again to have cauſed his men to turn head at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not ſuffer the victory to be ſo extorted from them: neither was it eaſie to put freſh courage into the vanquiſhed, led by the obſtinate paſſion of fear, which hearkens to no perſwaſion. The Camp of *Aſdrubal* had that day been taken, if a ſtorm of rain, which fell violently on the ſudden, and bred ſome ſuperſtition in the *Romans*, had not cauſed them to give over.

The ſame night *Aſdrubal* gave no reſt to his men; but cauſed them, hungry, and over-laboured as they were, to take pains in fortifying the Camp; wherein he feared to be aſſaulted. But little aſſurance could he have in the ſtrength of his Trenches, when he had loſt the hearts of his *Spaniſh* ſouldiers. One *Attanes*, that was Lord of the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his ſubjects: many followed this example; and ſoon after two ſtrong Towns were yielded up to *Scipio*, and the Garriſons betrayed. It ſeems that the perverſe fortune of this late battel, whereupon *Aſdrubal* had ſet his reſt, bred in the *Spaniards* a diſpoſition, to believe the more eaſily thoſe reports which they heard from *Italy*. For henceforward, they never did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Aſdrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himſelf, and marched away faſter than ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning, and overtaking the *Carthagnians* with his horſe, cauſed them ſo often to make ſtand, that they were at length attatched by the *Roman* Legions. Here began a cruel ſlaughter: for there was no reſiſtance made, but all fell to rout, ſave only ſeven thouſand that with *Aſdrubal* himſelf recovered a very ſtrong piece of ground, which they fortified in haſte. The place he made ſhift a while to defend: but wanting there neceſſaries to ſuſtain himſelf long, he was forſaken by ſome of thoſe few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he reſolved to make ſhift for one; and ſtealing from his Company by night away to the Sea ſide, that was not far thence, he took ſhipping; and ſet ſail for *Gades*. When *Scipio* underſtood that *Aſdrubal* was thus gone, he left *Syllanus* with ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, to beſiege their (Camp, which was not taken in haſte, for *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* ſtaid in it) whileſt he with the reſt of the Army did what was needfull in the Country abroad. It was not long ere *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* followed *Aſdrubal* to *Gades*: and their Army diſperſed it ſelf; ſome flying over to the *Romans*, others taking what way they like. So upon all the Continent of *Spain*, there were only three Towns left, *Illiturgi*, *Caſtulo*, and *Aſtapa*, that made continuance of war againſt the *Romans*: of which only *Caſtulo* had a *Carthaginian* Garriſon, conſiſting of,

of ſuch as had ſaved themſelves by flight in the late overthrows. Hereby it ſeems that the report of thoſe Hiſtorians was ill grounded, who ſaid, that *Caſtulo* yielded long ſince unto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* took a wife in that City. For this was one of the laſt three towns that held out on the *Carthaginian* ſide. *Illiturgi* had ſometimes been inclinable to the *Romans*; if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earneſtly the *Carthaginian* fortune, it not only rebelled, but with great cruelty betrayed and ſlew the poor men that eſcaped thither from the overthrows. *Aſtapa* was a Town that ſtill adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worſe, had thriven by the ſpoil of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not until the next year) *Scipio* went againſt theſe, and took himſelf *Illiturgi*, and *Caſtulo*: *Illiturgi* by aſſault, and with a general ſlaughter of the Inhabitants; *Caſtulo*, by treaſon of one *Cerdubellus*. *Aſtapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather deſtroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raiſed in the Market place: whereinto was thrown all the gold, and ſilver, with whatſoever elſe was precious; the women and children ſtanding by it under a ſure guard, that ſhould kill and burn them if the *Romans* got into the Town. This proviſion being made, all the Inhabitants that could bear Arms, ruſhed forth deſperately, and fell upon the *Roman* Camp; where ſtriving beyond their power, they were every one ſlain. Then was the Town forthwith ſet on fire, by thoſe that had taken charge to do it: and many of the *Romans* conſumed with the flame; whilſt they ruſhed over-haſtily to catch the gold and ſilver, which they ſaw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Aſdrubal being beaten into the Iſland of *Gades*, found no cauſe of long ſtay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, with ſeven Gallies: leaving *Mago* behind him, to wait upon occaſion, if any ſhould be offered. He viſited in his way home, *Syphax*, King of the *Maſæſili*, a people of the *Numidians*; hoping to win him to the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his evil Angel, in the Kings port: who landing at the ſame time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio* having driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spain*, did forthwith bethink himſelf, how to finiſh the war, by putting them to the like diſtreſs in *Africk*. Hereunto it ſeemed that the help of *Syphax* would be much available: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and ſuſtained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might eaſily be moved to ſeek revenge. He had alſo been beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that ſent him over a Captain into *Africk*; who inſtructed him ſo well in marſhalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Upon theſe reaſons, the *Numidian* King ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, and made league with the City in time of great extremity. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the War, which he intended in *Africk*, upon the friendſhip of this ill neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cauſe he ſent over *C. Lælius* his Embaſſador, to deal with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italy*, and had nothing now at all to do in *Spain*, eaſily perſwaded the King to take part with thoſe that had the better, and were without queſtion his better friends. Only *Syphax* requeſted that the *Roman* General ſhould viſit him in perſon, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treaty. Hereto *Scipio* condeſcended; thinking the friendſhip of ſo great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not far diſtant from *Spain*, well worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he took Sea, and arrived in the Kings Port, at the ſame time with *Aſdrubal*. This would have been very dangerous unto him, had he been deſcryed by his enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven they forbear to make offer one upon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; ſeeing at one time, two ſuch Captains of two moſt powerful Cities, came to deſire his friendſhip. He would have brought them to treat of peace: But the *Roman* excuſed himſelf, by want of ſuch Commiſſion from the Senate. He feaſted them together: and ſhortly diſmiſſed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into Covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

†. II.

Funeral games held by Scipio. *A Duel between two Spaniſh Princes. A digreſſion concerning Duels.*

Scipio returning into *Spain*, and reſting that Winter, took vengeance the next year, upon thoſe of *Illiturgi*, *Caſtulo*, and *Aſtapa*, as hath been ſaid before. The conqueſt of the Country being then in a manner at an end; he performed at new *Carthage*, with great ſolemnity, ſome Vows that he had made, and honoured the memory of his Father and Uncle, with funeral games, eſpecially

ly of those that fought at sharp, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needful that he should trouble himself with preparing slaves for that spectacle, to hazard their lives, as was used in the City of *Rome*: for there were enow, that either offered, themselves as Voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes, to give proof in single combat, of the valour that was in their several Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to deferr the decision of their Controversies, to tryal of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were *Corbis* and *Orsua*; Cosen-germans: that contended for the principality of a Town called *Ilea*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers son: wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house, after the manner of our *Irish Tampstry*. But the father of *Orsua* stood lately seized of the principality: which though himself received by the death of his elder brother, yet this his Son would not let it go back, but claimed to hold it as heir unto his father, and old enough to rule. Fain would *Scipio* have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, that all their friends and kindred had already laboured in vain, to take up their quarrel; and that neither God nor Man, but only *Mars*, their god of battel, should be Umpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilful at his weapon, easily vanquished the fool-hardiness of the younger.

Such combates have been very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kind of fight. We read of many performed before the War of *Troy*; by *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two more at the War of *Troy*, the one between *Paris* and *Menelaus*; the other between *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want their examples of them among the *Hebrews*: whereof that between *David* and *Goliah*; and others performed by some of *Davids* Worthies, against those that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Unto the same kind appertains the fight between twelve of the Tribes of *Juda*, and as many of the *Benjamites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion upon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, against the three brethren, *Curatii*, that were *Albans*. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*; and shortly after: of *Valerius Corvinus*, with two Champions of the *Gauls*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of less importance, as having only reference to bravery. In *England* there was a great Combat fought between *Edmond Ironside*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*, for no less matter than the Kingdom. The use of them was very frequent in the *Saxon* times; almost upon every occasion, great or small. In the reign of *Edward* the third, who sustained the party of *Mountfort*, against the Earl of *Bloys*, contending for the Dutchy of *Britain*; there was a fight for honour of the Nations, between thirty of the *Britons*, and thirty *English*: two of which *English*, were *Calverlie*, a brave Captain; and that Sir *Robert Knolles* is, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* wars, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *English French* and *Italian* Histories. Most of them have been combats of bravery, and of *gayeté de cœur*, as the *French* term it; for honour of several Nations; for love of Mistresses; or whatsoever else gave occasion unto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either upon accusation for life, or upon trial of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kind, was that, of which we speak even now, between *Corbis* and *Orsua*. Unto these (me thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat upon Wager; such as were that between *David* and *Goliah*, or that between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*, in which without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, is adventured upon the head of Champions. Upon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed between the Lord *Henry* of *Boulinbrook* Duke of *Hereford*, and *Moubray* Duke of *Norfolk*. There was a combat performed by Sir *John Ansley* and one *Cattrington*: whom *Ansley* charged with treason: and proved it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought between *Robert* of *Mountfort*, and *Henry* of *Essex*. The like also, between a *Navarrois*, and one *Welsh* of *Grimsby*, whom the *Navarrois* accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had belyed him, and was therefore drawn and hanged. Whether our tryal by battel do determine, that the false accuser, if he be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had been due to the offender, if the accusation had been proved; I cannot affirm. But we every where find, That if he which is accused of treason, or according to the customs of *Normandy*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of places (offences punish-

An. 21. R. 2.

An. 3. R. 2.

An. 9. Hen. 2.

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ed by death) be overcome, He ſhall ſuffer the pains appointed for thoſe crimes. In combats for tryal of right, it is not ſo: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in perſon, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Paramour* and *Low*, or offered to do, in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. And in this caſe, he that is beaten or yieldeth, loſeth only his cauſe, not his life. Neither are the combats upon accuſation, or tryal of right, fought in open field, as are thoſe of bravery; but in *Camp cloſe*, that is, within rails. Now this trial by combat was ſo ordinary in *France*, before the time of *S. Lewis* and *Philip the fair* his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, had power to grant it within his own Juriſdiction. And it ſeemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the * *Memorials of the Chamber of Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect; That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by conſent of the Lord, were taken up, each of the parties ſhould pay two ſhillings ſix pence; but if it were performed, then ſhould the party vanquiſhed forfeit an hundred and twelve ſhillings. And upon this cuſtom grew the *French* Proverb, which they uſe when as any man hath had an hard and unjuſt judgement; ſaying, That *He was tryed by the Law of Loray, or Berne; ou le battu oaye l' amende*, where he that is beaten gives the recompence. Of theſe frequent trials by battel that great learned man *Ivo*, Biſhop of *Chartres* did often complain, and ſpecially againſt the *French* Church-men: as appears by * his Letters to the Biſhop of *Orleans*, to the Arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert* Archbiſhop of *Sens*, and to others; wherein he rebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified ſuch challenges of combat. But this liberty and kind of tryal, was retrencht by *S. Lewis*, and *Philip the fair*; ſo that no man could decree or grant it, ſave the King himſelf. It hath ſince been granted, though more ſparingly, by the *French* King, as to the Lord of *Carogues*, againſt *Jaques le Gris*; and to *Julian Romero* the *Spaniard*, againſt *Moro* his countryman; wherein Sir *Henry Knevet*, Father to the Lord *Knevet* now living, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victory; and laſtly to the Lord of *Chaſt*. Now in thoſe challenges, upon accuſation of Treaſon, Murder, or other offence deſerving death (and in thoſe only) the rule held, That *le defendeur eſtoit tenu de propoſer ces deffences par un dementir*; *The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuſer the Lye*: otherwiſe it was concluded, that the defendant did *taiſible-ment confeſſer le crime*; *ſilently confeſs the crime*. But after ſuch time as *Francis* the *French* King, upon ſome diſpute about breach of Faith, had ſent the *Lye* unto the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, thereby to draw him to a perſonal combat; every petty companion in *France*, in imitation of their Maſter, made giving of the *Lye* mortality it ſelf; holding it a matter of no ſmall glory, to have it ſaid, That the meaneſt Gentleman in *France* would not put up, what the great Emperor *Charles* the fifth had patiently endured.

From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of thoſe occaſions that were known to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Tryal of Right, the Wager upon Champions, or the Objection and Refutation of capital offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of half ſo many Duels, as are founded upon meer private Anger, yea, or upon matter *ſeeming* worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duelliſts. So that in theſe daies, wherein every man takes unto himſelf a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint perſonal combats, the giving of the *Lye*, which ought to be the Negation only in accuſations for life, is become the moſt fruitful root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word ſo terrible, and a wrong ſo unpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that gives it. Thus the faſhion, taken up in haſt by the *French* Gentlemen, after the pattern of their King, is grown to be a cuſtome: whence we have derived a kind of Art and Philoſophy of quarrel; with certain grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are reduced. Yea, there are (among many no leſs ridiculous) ſome ſo myſtical curioſities herein, as that it is held a far greater diſhonour, to receive from an enemy a ſlight touch with a Cane, than a ſound blow with a Sword; the one having relation to a ſlave, the other to a ſouldier. I confeſs that the difference is pretty: though for my own part, if I had had any ſuch ſtalianated enemy in former times, I ſhould willingly have made with him ſuch an exchange; and have given him the point of honour to boot,

But let us examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the *Lye*; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the moſt tender in receiving it. I ſay, that the moſt of theſe, who preſent death on the points of their ſwords to all that give it them; uſe nothing ſo much in their converſation and courſe of life, as to ſpeak and ſwear falſly. Yea, it is thereby, that they ſhift and ſhuffle

ſhuffle in the World, and abuſe it. For how few are there among them, which, having aſſumed and ſworn to pay the moneys and other things they borrow, do not break their word and promiſe, as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not *Lyars by Record*, by being ſued in ſome Court or other of Juſtice, upon breach of word or bond? For he which hath promiſed that he will pay money by a day, or promiſed any thing elſe, wherein he faileth; hath directly lied to him to whom the promiſe hath been made. Nay, what is the profeſſion of love that men make now-adaies? What is the vowing of their ſervice, and of all they have, uſed in their ordinary complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid not good morrow, or ſalute, other than a courteous and Court-like kind of lying? It is (ſaith a wiſe *French* man, deriding therein the Apiſh cuſtome of his Country) *un marché & complot fait enſemble, ſe mocquer, mentir, & piper les un les autres*; *A kind of merchandiſe, and complot made among them, to mock, lelye, and deride each other*: and ſo far now-adaies in faſhion, and in uſe; as he that uſeth it not, is accounted either dull or Cynical. True it is notwithſtanding (omitting the old diſtinction) that there is great difference between theſe mannerly and complemental lyes, with thoſe which are ſometime perſwaded by neceſſity upon breach of promiſe; and thoſe which men uſe out of cowardize and fear; the latter confeſſing themſelves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other ſtiled the moſt villanous. But now for the *Lye* it ſelf, as it is made the ſubject of all our deadly quarrels in effect, to it I ſay, That whoſoever giveth another man the *Lye*, when it is manifeſt that he hath lyed, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainouſly taken, than to tell him, he hath broken any promiſe which he hath otherwiſe made. For he that promiſeth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promiſed, that he will perform it; and, in not performing it, he had made himſelf a Lyar. On the other ſide, He that gives any man the *Lye*, when he himſelf knowes that he, to whom it is given, hath not lyed; doth therein give the *Lye* directly to himſelf. And what cauſe have I, if I ſay that the Sun ſhines when it doth ſhine, and that another fellow tels me I lye, for it's midnight; to proſecute ſuch an one to death, for making himſelf a fooliſh Ruffian and a lyar in his own knowledge? For he that gives the *Lye* in any other diſpute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or Life; gives it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extream rudeneſs to tax any man in publick with an untruth (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice againſt whom the untruth is uttered:) But all that is rude, ought not to be civillized with death. That were more to admire and imitate a *French* cuſtome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the councel of God. But you will ſay, that theſe diſcourſes ſavour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to fear God or hell: whereas he that is truly wiſe, and truly valiant, knowes that there is nothing elſe to be feared. For againſt an Enemies ſword, we ſhall find ten thouſand ſeven-penny-men (waged at that price in the wars) that fear it as little, or perchance leſs, than any profeſt Sword-man in the world. *Diligentiſſima in tutela ſui Fortitudo*; *Fortitude is a diligent preſerver of it ſelf*. It is (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) a mediocrity between doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem pœna*; *ſic nec fortem pugna, ſed cauſa: As it is not the puniſhment that makes the Martyr: ſo it is not fighting that declares a valiant man: but fighting in a good cauſe*. In which, whoſoever ſhall reſolvedly end his life, reſolvedly in reſpect of the cauſe, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrey: as he may juſtly be numbred among the Martyrs of God; ſo may thoſe that die with malicious hearts, in private combats, be called the Martyrs of the Devil. Neither do we indeed take our own revenge, or puniſh the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conqueſt of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would be revenged, cauſe to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death upon our own conſcences; *Animaſq; in vulnere ponere*; *And to drown our ſouls in the wounds and blood of our enemies*. Hereupon you will again aſk me, if I condemn, in generous and noble ſpirits, the defence of their honours, being preſt with injuries? I ſay that I do not, if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the Eternal Law: and the Laws of all Chriſtian Kings and States; do favour him that is aſſailed, in the ſlaughter of the aſſailant. You will ſecondly aſk me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honour to ſatisfie the challenger in private combat? I anſwer, that he is not: becauſe (omitting the greateſt, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and oppoſite to that, which they call the point of honour; The Law which hath dominion over it, which

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can judge it, which can deſtroy it; except you will ſtile thoſe Acts honourable, where the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, ſeeing the Laws of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to ſecond the Conqueror, and the Laws of God appointed the Devil to ſecond the Conquered, dying in malice: I ſay, that he is both baſe and a fool, that accepts of any *Cartel* ſo accompanied. To this, perchance it will be anſwered, That the Kings of *England*, and other Chriſtian Kings, have ſeldome taken any ſuch advantage over men of quality, who upon even terms have ſlain their private enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combuſtion they have not often done it; ſo did our Noble-men and Gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, ſue unto the King, to approve themſelves by battel and publick combat. For as they dared not to brave the Law; ſo did they diſdain to ſubmit themſelves unto the ſhameful revenge thereof; the ſame revenge (becauſe it deteſteth murder) that hath declared againſt a common Cut-purſe or other Thieves: Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for ſuch offenders: yet it is not the man-ſlayer freed from his pardon. For theſe two remedies hath the party grieved notwithſtanding; that is, to require juſtice by Grand Aſſize, or by battel, upon his appeal, which (ſaith Sir *Thomas Smith*) is not denyed; and he further ſaith (for I uſe his own words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the man-ſlayer) be convinced either by great Aſſize or by Battel, upon that appeal; the man-ſlayer ſhall die notwithſtanding the Princes pardon. So favourable (ſaith the ſame learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the Law of our Realm, to juſtice & to the puniſhment of blood violently ſhed. It may further be demanded, how our Noblemen and Gentlemen ſhall be repaired in honour, where an enemy, taking the ſtart either in words or blows ſhall lay on them an infamy unſufferable: I ſay, that a Marſhals Court will eaſily give ſatisfaction in both. And if we hold it no diſgrace to ſubmit our ſelves for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, and Lands; and for all things elſe by which the lives of our ſelves our wives, and children, are ſuſtained, to the Judges of the Law; becauſe it may be felony to take by violence even that which is our own: why ſhould we not ſubmit our ſelves unto the Judges of honour in caſes of honour; becauſe to recover our reputation by ſtrong hand, may be murder? But yet again, it may be objected, that the loſs of honour ought to be much more fearful unto us, than either the loſs of our goods, of our lands, or of our lives; and I ſay ſo too. But what is this honour, I mean honour indeed, and that which ought to be ſo dear unto us: other than a kind of Hiſtory, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficulty or danger, and undertaken for the publick good? In theſe he that is imployed and truſted, if he fail in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other baſe affection; it is true that he loſeth his honour. But the acting of a private combat, for a private reſpect, and moſt commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of vertue, becauſe it is contrary to the Law of God, and of all Chriſtian Kings: neither is it difficult, becauſe even and equal in perſons and arms: neither for a publick good, but tending to the contrary; becauſe the loſs or mutilation of an able man, is alſo a loſs to the Common-weal.

Sir Thomas Smith in his Common-wealth of England.

Now that a Marſhall of *England* hath power to ſave every mans fame and reputation, as far as reputation may ſuſtain injury by words, I think no man doubteth. For to repent us of any evil words that we have given, and to confeſs that we have done him wrong, unto whom we have given them, is a ſufficient ſatisfaction; and as may fall out, more than ſufficient. For he that gives ill words in choler, and ſuddenly denyes them, or repents himſelf of them upon adviſement hath the diſadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blows, which are indeed not to be given but to thoſe that are ſervile, whether ſufficient recompence will be made for them, it ſhall appear by a notable example of a moſt worthy Gentleman *Monſier de Pleſſis*, that was ſtricken in *France* not long ſince by a Baron of the ſame nation. The ſatisfaction which was given him by a judgement of the Conſtable and Marſhals of *France*, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Conſtable gave judgement, *M. de Pleſſis* was ſet in a chair under the degrees where the Conſtable and Marſhals ſate: the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneel before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a ſword with the point towards himſelf, and in his left hand the like cudgel or baſtinado, wherewith he had ſtricken *M. de Pleſſis*, both which weapons he delivered into *Pleſſis* hands, ſubmitting himſelf to ſuch revenge, as it ſhould pleaſe him to take with either of thoſe weapons; the Conſtable and Marſhals having formerly left it to the will of *Pleſſis*, to uſe his own diſcretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reaſon to pleaſe himſelf, as one beforehand in point of honour, (who ſtruck *M. de Pleſſis*

like a Ruffian coming behind him, and having the advantage of company, and his horſes ready, ſhifted himſelf away on the ſudden; but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himſelf in this ſhameful manner:) or whether *Monſter de Pleſſis* (of whoſe valour no man doubted) had not far juſter cauſe to reſt ſatisfied, ſince he might at his pleaſure have beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him: let any wiſe man judge. To this if it be ſaid, That the Baron was conſtrained to make his ſubmiſſion that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no diſgrace unto him: I anſwer, that one may ſay as well, that it is no diſgrace to a Thief, when he is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, becauſe his repentance alſo is conſtrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no grace in reſpect of a force, but in reſpect of the fact: which (but for our ſins to God) makes all repentance ſhameful: becauſe all forced repentance is inflicted upon us for ſomewhat unworthy of a Gentleman, and of an honeſt man. Nay, voluntary repentance it ſelf, as it hath relation to men, ariſeth either out of the fear of the ill that may befall us, or out of the acknowledgement of our own weakneſs. Certainly as wiſe men, and valiant men do rather deride petty injuries or ſudden injuries, that are not offered from malice fore-thought, than revenge them: ſo men, apt to quarrel, do commonly ſuſpect their own valour; and rather deſire, that thereby the world ſhould believe them to be of great daring, than know any ſuch reſolution in themſelves. For he that knows himſelf indeed to be an honeſt man ſcorns to hunt after opinion.

Now the ſame power which the Conſtable and Marſhals of *France* have, hath alſo a Marſhal of *England*, or his Deputies: by whoſe judgement in all diſputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preſerved; we may therefore as well ſubmit our ſelves to the Judge of honour in all diſputes of honor, as we do ſubmit our ſelves in all controverſies of livelihood and life, to the Judges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the inſtitution of this Court of Chevalrie in *England*, in *France*, and elſewhere: was no leſs charitable than politick. For the blood of man, violently ſpilt, doth not bring forth *hony bees* as that of Bulls doth, which ſting but the fingers, or the face: but it produceth that monſtrous beaſt, *Revenge*, which hath ſtung to death, and eaten up, of ſeveral nations, ſo many noble perſonages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatning the wrath of God upon ſupream Governours, than the permiſſion.

His Majeſty therefore (which *Henry* the IV. of *France* alſo endeavoured) hath done a moſt Kingly and Chriſtian-like deed in *Scotland*, which the moſt renowned of all his Prædeceſſors could never do: in beating down and extinguiſhing that hereditary proſecution of malice, called *the deadly feud*; a conqueſt, which ſhall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power for evermore. And we have cauſe to hope, that his royal care ſhall be no leſs happy in præventing the like miſchief, which threatens *England*, by the audacious, common, and brave, yet outragious vanity of Dueliſts.

Unto this that I have ſpoken of lying, and of man-ſlaughter, it muſt be added, That each of theſe are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproof and vengeance proportionably, more or leſs, in their ſeveral degrees. There is much difference between Lies of neceſſity upon breach of promiſe, or complemental lies; and ſuch pernicious lies, as proceed from fear and cowardize, or are uttered by falſe witneſſes: the former ſort being excuſable by weakneſs or levity; the latter being altogether deteſtable. No leſs, if not more, difference there is, between killing of a man in open field, with even weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile*, *dolo* or *per inſidias*; though our Laws do not much diſtinguiſh them in puniſhment. For in the latter, God, forſaking his own priviledge, commandeth that the *guilful* murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither Exod. 21. is every guilefull murder performed by the ſword, nor by *overt* violence: but there is a guilfull murder alſo, by poyſoning: and by the pen, or by practice. For ſuch diſtinction is found, between coming preſumptuouſly upon a man, *to ſlay him with guile*; and *lying in wait for blood, privily, for the innocent, without a cauſe*, upon hope of ſpoil, after ſuch manner as *the net is ſpread before the eyes of the Birds*. *Francis* the firſt, Queen *Mary* of *England*, and the Kings Majeſty now reigning, have given notable teſtimony of their juſtice, upon three Noble men, who committed *guilful murder*. Of the firſt kind, King *Francis* upon the Lord of *Talard*: who being (ſaith the *French* Hiſtorian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & ſupport de pluſieurs grandes alliances*; *who being of high and ancient linage, and ſupported by divers great alliances*, of which the Cardinal of *Bellay* (in eſpecial favour with the King) was one; was notwithſtanding delivered over into the hands of the Hangman. Q. *Mary*, upon a Noble

Exod. 21. 14. Prov. 1. 11.

Noble man of her own Religion, and in many other reſpects very dear unto her, *His Majeſty*, upon a Baron of *Scotland*; whoſe houſe was no leſs ancient and faithful, than himſelf valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilfully by poyſon, and of puniſhment following ſuch wicked Artiſans, every age hath had too many examples. Of killing guilfully by the pen (that I may not ſpeak of any *Engliſh* Judge) the Author of the *French Recherches* gives unto us two notable inſtances: the one of *des Eſſars*, who (ſaith *Paſquier*) *fit mourir Montaigu grand Maiſtre de France, pour contenter l'opinion celuy dont il eſtoit lors idolaſtre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & eſtrangle; Who cauſed Montaigu great Maſter of* France *to die to content his mind* (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) *whom at that time* Eſſars *worſhipped as his Idol; but God permitted, that he himſelf was ſoon after hanged and ſtrangled.* The other was of the Great *Francis* the firſt, upon his Chancellor *Poyet*: who to ſatisfie the Kings paſſion, practiſed the deſtruction of the Admiral *Chabot*; a man moſt nobly deſcended, and of great ſervice. For as in other men, ſo in Kings the paſſion of love grows old, and wears out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admiral, he charged him with ſome offences, which he had formerly committed: The Admiral preſuming upon the great good ſervice which he had done the King in *Piemont*, and in the defence of *Marſeilles* againſt the Emperour, gave the King other language than became him; and deſired nothing ſo much, as a publick trial. Hereupon the King (it being eaſie to provoke an ill diſpoſition) gave commiſſion to the Chancellor, as Præſident, and other Judges, upon an information of the Kings Advocate, to queſtion the Admirals life; The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conſcience, (which is not rare in men towards the law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with ſome of the Judges with ſo great cunning; with others with ſo ſharp threats; and with the reſt, with ſo fair promiſes; as albeit nothing could be proved againſt the Admiral, worthy of the Kings diſpleaſure, yet the Chancellor ſubſcribed, and got others to ſubſcribe, to the forfeiture of his Eſtate, Offices, and Liberty, though not able to prevail againſt his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falſhood in ſo great a Magiſtrate) other than his own degradation, arraignment and condemnation? *Belle les on certes* (ſaith *Paſquier*) *a tout Juge pur de-meurer touſiours en ſoy, & ne laiſſer fluctuer ſa conſcience debans les vagues d'une imaginare faveur, qui pour fin de jeu le ſubmerge; A fair leſſon to all Judges, to dwell alwayes in themſelves, and not to ſuffer their conſciences to float upon the waves of imaginary favour, which in the end overwhelms them.* And as for the Admiral, though it might have been anſwered unto his friends, if any bewail his calamity as undeſerved, That he was tryed, according to his own deſire, by the Laws of his Country, and by the Judges of Parliament; yet the Kings juſtice, ſurmounting all other his paſſions, gave back unto him his Honour, his Offices, his Liberty, and his Eſtate.

§. III.

The laſt Acts of Scipio *in* Spain, *His return to* Rome, *where he is choſen Conſul.*

THe laſt buſineſs that troubled *Scipio* in *Spain*, grew by the rebellion of the people, and mutiny of his Souldiers. He fell dangerouſly ſick, in ſuch ſort that the rumour of his death ran current throughout *Spain*. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, petty Kings, that had forſaken the *Carthaginians*, and followed *Scipio* a while before, to take arms againſt the *Romans*. They were vainly perſwaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driven out; they themſelves ſhould become the mightieſt in all *Spain*. But ſeeing now, that things were no way anſwerable to the greatneſs of their hopes; they thought it beſt, to take the preſent advantage, and hammer out their own fortunes. So they raſhly fell upon the *Sueſſetani* and *Sedetani*, confederates of the *Romans*; and waſted their Country. Part of the *Roman* Army lying at *Sucro*, inſtead of making head againſt theſe Rebels, grew to be affected with the like diſtemper. They had not reped ſuch profit of the *Roman* conqueſts, as might ſatisfie their deſires; or as they thought eaſie to be gotten if they might be their own Carvers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought that the time ſerved very well, to enrich themſelves with the ſpoil of the Country. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greateſt of all, driving away their Colonels, that ſhould have bridled their fury; they choſe out of their own number two baſe fellows, *Albinus Calenus*, and *Atrius Umber*, to their Commanders. Theſe took upon them all the Enſigns of Pro-conſuls, or Pro-pretors; as if this their election had been like to that, wherein *Lucius Marcius* was choſen by the Souldiers after the death of the two *Scipio's*: But whileſt they were deviſing what ex-

ploits they might do, for the enriching of themſelves, in a time of ſuch combuſtion as was expected, there arrived more certain news, that *Scipio* was both alive, and in good health. There came alſo new Colonels, ſent unto them from their General: who mildly rebuking their want of conſideration, and ſeeming to be glad that they had no further over-ſhot themſelves; led them to *Carthagena*, there to receive their pay. Before their coming, *Scipio* had reſolved to do exemplary juſtice on the principal offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in fear of what they had deſerved. Therefore he cauſed *Syllanus* to make ready their Companies which lay before in the Town, as it were to make an Expedition againſt *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: he cauſed *Albius* and *Atrius* with ſome thirty other of their Complices, to be ſecretly apprehended in their lodgings: he called the Mutiners to aſſembly; and having them unarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his companies, prepared for the purpoſe; he bitterly inveighed againſt them all as Traitors. This done, *Albius* and *Atrius*, with the other priſoners were haled to the ſtake, where they were whipt and beheaded, as was the *Roman* cuſtome toward ſuch offenders. The reſt of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thouſand, were cauſed to take their oath of obedience anew; and received every man his pay when he was ſworn.

Mandonius and *Indibilis* continued in arms: notwithſtanding that they had certain word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could have been contented to be quiet: but by the ſeverity uſed to the *Roman* Souldiers, they ſtood in fear, as being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder meaſure. *Scipio* went againſt them, and found them in a valley, that was ſcarce large enough to hold all their Army. In the entrance thereof he fought with them: and ſending *Lælius* with all his horſe, to fetch a compaſs about the hills, and charge them in rear, he overthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this, no hope remaining to preſerve themſelves and their eſtates, otherwiſe than by making ſubmiſſion. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly craving pardon, both for himſelf and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his requeſt; yet ſo, that they were taught to acknowledge themſelves leſs free Princes than formerly they had been.

Afterwards *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Maſaniſſa*; who ſecretly promiſed to do him all ſervice, if the people of *Rome* would ſend him to make war in *Africk*. Unto *Mago* that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*, that letting all care of *Spain* alone, he ſhould thence depart from his fleet into *Italy*; and there wage an Army of *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, to joyn with *Hannibal*. For this purpoſe, was mony ſent unto him from *Carthage*; and he himſelf laid hold upon all that he could find in the Town of *Gades*; without ſparing either private men, the common treaſury, or the Temples. In this voyage thence, he landed at *Carthagena*; hoping to have taken it by ſurpriſe. But he failed in the attempt, and was ſo beaten to his ſhips, that he returned back to repoſe himſelf a while at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and ſpoil that he had made at his taking leave of them, would not ſuffer him again to enter into their City. By this he foreſaw, that it would not be long ere they became *Roman*. Wherefore ſending Meſſengers into the Town, to complain of this uncourteous dealing, he allured their Magiſtrates forth unto him; whom, notwithſtanding all the excuſe that they could make, he whipt and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage; bidding *Spain* farewell for ever.

The Iſle and City of *Gades*, was yielded to the *Romans*, preſently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliver up the Province, to thoſe that were ſent from *Rome* to ſucceed him therein: & himſelf with ten ſhips returned home. At his coming to *Rome*, he made ſuit for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet been granted unto no Proconſul, excepting to ſuch, as received that dignity after a Conſulſhip, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulſe, the election of new Conſuls being then in hand, by general voice of the City, *P. Cornelius Scipio* was choſen Conſul, and *P. Licinius Craſſus* joyned with him. This *Craſſus*, being high-Prieſt, or Biſhop of the *Romans*, might not by the cuſtome of thoſe times, go far from the City; as being to intend the matters of their ſuperſtition: though *Cæſar*, and others, who in ages following held the ſame office, were ſtayed by no ſuch religious impediment, from being far and long abſent. Hereby it came to paſs, that *Scipio*, deſiring to have the war transferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to loſe that honourable charge, by any miſchance of lot, in the diviſion of Provinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment ſo far off.

§. XVIII.

§. XVIII.

Scipio *obtains leave to make war in Africk. His preparations. Of* Maſaniſſa *who was joyned with* Scipio. *The victories againſt* Aſdrubal *and* Syphax.

PUb. *Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Craſſus*, entring into their Conſulſhip, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: where it was decreed, that *Scipio* ſhould be allowed, to beſtow part of the money which he had brought out of *Spain* into the treaſury; upon the ſetting forth of ſolemn plays, that he had vowed to make whilſt he was buſied in his *Spaniſh* wars. This helped well to revive the memory of his victories already gotten; and to give hope unto the People of greater victories in the war, which he intended to make in *Africk*. To the ſame purpoſe, did the *Spaniſh* Embaſſages avail much in the Senate; eſpecially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions highly and deſervedly; ſaying, that they were the moſt happy of all their countrymen, ſince they being preſent, had ſeen him choſen Conſul, and ſhould carry home ſuch joyful news. The *Saguntine* Embaſſadors were lovingly entertained by the Senate: as their faith to *Rome* (though coſtly it were both to them and to the *Romans*) had well deſerved. Nevertheleſs, when *Scipio* propoſed, that *Africk* might be decreed unto him for his Province, there wanted not many, even of the principal men, that vehemently gainſaid him. Of theſe was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chief: who ſeems to have been troubled with that diſeaſe, which too often cauſed men, renowned for long approved vertue, to look aſquint upon the actions of thoſe, that follow them in the ſame kind. He alledged many reaſons againſt the purpoſe of the Conſul; whereof the chief were, that the Treaſury was unable to ſuſtain the charges of a war in *Africk*; and that it was extreamly perilous to hazzard ſo great forces, where they could not at pleaſure be recalled unto the defence of *Rome* it ſelf, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italy* ſtood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as alſo concerning the honour of the Conſul; which would (he ſaid) be greater in ſetting *Italy* free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harm to *Africk*. Neither did he forget, both to elevate the *Spaniſh* wars, as of leſs moment than the intended voyage againſt *Carthage*, nor withall to lay great blame upon *Scipio*, for having ſuffered *Aſdrubal* to paſs into *Italy*: ſhewing, that it was greatly to be feared, leſt the like might happen again; and that a new Army, notwithſtanding the good ſucceſs of *Scipio*, (if it hapned to be good) might be ſent from *Carthage*, to the utter endangering of *Rome*, whileſt the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged, was, that neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be that year a Province; which the Conſul nevertheleſs propounded in ſuch wiſe, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other ſide, inſiſted upon this one point; that it was better to make an offenſive, than a defenſive war, eſpecially againſt ſuch as the *Carthaginians*, who being ill provided of able men at home, did furniſh themſelves, by help of mony, with levies made abroad. As for the care of *Italy*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague would be as well able to diſcharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promiſing to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his own home; and taxing as civilly as he could, the envy of *Fabius*, which withſtood ſuch a gallant enterpriſe, he propoſed the matter again to the Senate. Much altercation there was about the manner of his proceeding: foraſmuch as it was noiſed abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his mind, he would carry it by the people. This offended many of the ancients: who reſented in this honourable man, a little ſpice of that arrogancy, which in following ages grew to be much hotter, in thoſe that had commanded long abroad. But in concluſion, *Scipio* referred himſelf wholly to the Senates good will and pleaſure; whereby he obtained thus much, That the Iſle of *Sicil* might be appointed unto him for his Province; with leave to paſs over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the *Roman* Senate have little care to furniſh out *Scipio* to the war, by him intended upon *Africk*. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, coming on the ſudden from the *Baleares* to *Genua*, and winning the Town, bred a fear of no leſs terrible invaſion upon *Italy*, than that which *Aſdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeed raiſe any great Army of the *Ligurians*; for that he found them diſtracted with civil wars. Therefore he was driven to make choice of his party; and to help thoſe whom he thought fitteſt for his turn, againſt the others. This troubleſome buſineſs, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly have ſpared: yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the unſteady *Gauls* ready

dy to enter into his pay. Hereupon the disperſed Legions of the *Romans*, that under Proconſuls, and Prætors, lay ready to be employed where need ſhould require; were directed unto the borders of *Lombardy* and *Liguria*, there to make head againſt *Mago*. But all his menaces paſſed away in vapour. For a fleet, either coming to his aid from *Carthage*, or by him ſent thither (the report is uncertain) loaden with the booty that he had taken, fell into the hands of the *Roman* Prætor, that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much diſable him: and though after a while, there came letters from *Carthage*, together with ſtore of money, heartning him in his proceedings; yet ſome impediments which he found, and that fatal voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk* diſturbed all; and made him be re-called home.

Againſt *Hannibal* was nothing done this year. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Hiſtorians have been pleaſed to take notice. Only it is ſaid, that he ſpent his Summer by the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where he raiſed an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, graven in *Punick* and *Greek* letters. Such account of winnings paſt, is commonly in Gameſters that are at the height of their fortune, a cauſe of remiſſion and careleſneſs; in thoſe that are upon the loſing hand, a cauſe both of the ſame for the preſent, and ſhortly after of dejection, when they find a notable change. A great peſtilence infeſting both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* Camp, is ſaid to have been the occaſion of this years idleneſs; which fell out not much amiſs for the City of *Rome*, that was marvelouſly impoveriſhed by this war; and had already tryed the utmoſt way to defray the charges, which grew inſupportable. To relieve the preſent neceſſity, it was well thought upon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many years ſince confiſcated) ſhould be ſold, or let out: in which bargain, that the City might receive no loſs, the tenth part of the fine was ordained, as a reward unto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other mony, none was given to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make preſs of Souldiers for his *African* voyage; neither did he over-much labour to obtain it. That which the Senate refuſed, the people did for him: or rather they did it for themſelves; that were therein wiſer than the Senate. It is uſually found in Councels of eſtate, that the buſie, or obſtinate heads of a few do carry all the reſt. And many times men make a ſurrender of their own judgements, to the wiſdom, that hath gotten it ſelf a name, by giving happy direction in troubles forepaſt. Therefore, he that repoſeth himſelf upon the advice of many, ſhall often find himſelf deceived: the counſel of thoſe many being wholly directed by the Empire of a few, that over-ſway the reſt. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his wary nature ſorted well with the buſineſs, that fell out in the chief of his employment. Unto him therefore *Q. Fulvius* adhered; with other of the Senators, that were grown old in following one courſe; from which they could not ſhift, as the change of time required. But the People (who though they could not well adviſe, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needful reſolution of *Scipio*: in ſuch ſort, that beſides his *Roman* forces, he had from divers parts of *Italy* about ſeven thouſand Voluntaries. He had alſo proviſion from the ſeveral Towns: Corn, Iron, Canvas for ſails, Axes, Beed-hooks, Hand-mils, and the like implements; Firre for building of ſhips, many thouſands of Targets, Helmets and Spears of all kinds: every place furniſhed him with that commodity, which it beſt could afford.

Unto this willingneſs of the people, the diligence of *Scipio* was correſpondent. In the compaſs of five and forty dayes he had both fell'd his Timber, built, and lanched twenty *Trireme*, and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies; wherewith he tranſported his Army into *Sicil*. In *Sicil* he found, beſides other forces, two Legions, that had ſerved at *Cannæ*: which were old Souldiers, and (as he himſelf well knew) not guilty of the overthrow; for which they had long undergone a heavy cenſure. They had ſerved under *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, at the taking of many Cities and ſtrong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good uſe to him in *Africk*, where would be ſtore of ſuch employment. For increaſing the number of his horſe, he preſſed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthy young men, and ſuch as loved well their eaſe. Theſe he afterward diſcharged from the War, highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they ſhould deliver their Horſe and Arms, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen, which he brought over with him for the purpoſe. Whileſt he was providing to have things in a readineſs for *Africk*, the baniſhed *Locrians*, that followed the *Roman* ſide, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their City. Some handicrafts-men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadels of *Locri*, (for there were two in the Town) being taken priſoners by the *Romans*, promiſed to betray the place, if they might be ranſomed and rewarded.

Scipio

Scipio being advertiſed of this gave order to have the attempt made by night: which happily ſucceeded, and that Citadel was ſurpriſed. The other Citadel was ſtrongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon, which ſent to *Hannibal* for aid. The *Romans* in like ſort, fearing leſt that their paucity ſhould make them too weak for *Hannibal*, craved help of the Conſul *Scipio*. The Townſ-men were doubtfully affected: but the beſt, and moſt of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the comming of *Scipio* cauſed thence to depart; and cauſed likewiſe the *Carthaginian* Garriſon to abandon the other Citadel. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in cuſtody of the Town. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* unto the *Roman* Senate; not only againſt thoſe of the Garriſon: but much more againſt *Pleminius* the Captain, who gave bad example, and was worſe than all the reſt. Beſides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies, the Temple of *Proſerpina*, that had a great fame of ſanctity, was ſpoyled by theſe barbarous Thieves. The *Locrians* therefore adviſed the Senate to make preſent amends to the goddeſs for this ſacriledge: ſaying that the like had never been committed, without notorious revenge by her taken upon the Authors. The Senate gave good ear to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redreſſed the injuries done unto them; ſent for *Pleminius*, with other principal offenders; whom they caſt into priſon, and uſed according to their deſerts: as alſo they reſtored unto *Proſerpina* her money twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewithal contented. He laid much of the blame upon *Scipio*, that had placed ſuch a man in *Locri*; and had not carefully hearkned to the complaints made againſt him, but ſuffered him to run on in theſe his wicked courſes. By the ſharp invective that *Fabius* made, others took courage to ſpeak what they pleaſed, as well againſt the demeanour of *Scipio*, as againſt the diſſoluteneſs of his Army; which lay, as they ſaid, idle in *Sicil*, neither mindful of any ſervice toward, nor fit for it if need ſhould require. Finally, things were ſo far urged, that ten Legates were ſent over into *Sicil*, together with the Prætor appointed for that Iſland; two of the Tribunes, and one of the Ædiles; who ſhould examine theſe matters; and either cauſe the General to return into *Italy*, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was, they found him ſo well prepared againſt *Carthage*, as that they haſtened him on his journey, and gave him high commendations at their return.

Scipio had already employed *Lælius* in *Africk*; rather to make diſcovery, than to work any other great effect of war. He took a great booty: and ſtruck no little terror into the *Carthaginians*; who ſaw their affairs to be upon terms of change. But the greateſt fruit of his journey was, That ſpeaking with *Maſaniſſa*, he well informed himſelf of the ſtate of *Africk*; and knew what was to be expected of thoſe two Kings, that had promiſed to joyn with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Maſaniſſa* his revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made underhand with the *Romans*, *Livie* doth profeſs, That there was no ſuch evident cauſe thereof at the preſent; but that the long continuance of his faith and conſtancy, in following times, muſt help to prove; that this his change, was not without ſome good cauſe. But *Appianus* (an Hiſtorian far inferiour to *Livie*, both in worth and time) gives one reaſon ſo probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carryes with it a great appearance of neceſſary truth. Only the doubt is, How it could any way come to paſs, that the knowledge of ſuch a matter ſhould have eſcaped the diligence of *Livie*, if it had been true: unleſs we ſhould believe, that he wilfully forbear to rehearſe a Tragedy; the ſorrow whereof would cauſe men to think amiſs of *Scipio*. Howſoever it was thus * *Appian* tells it: and many circumſtances of things done, confirm it. *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Geſco*, had a fair daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Maſaniſſa* loved. *Maſaniſſa*, being brought up at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly Gentleman of perſon, and excellent in qualities, was choſen by *Aſdrubal* to be his ſon-in-law. When the Virgin was betrothed unto him, he went into *Spain*, and there did great ſervice. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Aſdrubals* daughter to be a matter of State: and beſtowed her upon *Syphax*, without ſtanding to acquaint her father or *Maſaniſſa* therewithall: This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulſe, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Maſaniſſa* was advertiſed; and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, ſecretly as he thought; yet not ſo ſecretly, but ſome notice was taken of it: which would have coſt him his life, had he not with great circumſpection conveighed himſelf home, into his fathers Kingdom. Thus far forth we may believe *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things paſt, and following.

Livius. 2.

* *Appian. Alexan. de Bell. Punic.*

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This *Roman* Army landed in *Africk*, near to a fore-land then called the *fair Promontorie*: which how far it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compaſs, I cannot preciſely affirm; becauſe it is uncertain, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercury*, and lay to the North-eaſt of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by Weſt. The coming of *Maſaniſſa* unto *Scipio* at his firſt arrival, helpt to confirm the opinion of *Xylander*, who thinks the *fair Promontory* to have been the ſame, that was alſo called *Mercuries Cape*, ſince with little difficulty *Maſaniſſa* might come thither from the leſſer *Syrtis*, whereabout was his common abiding. But foraſmuch as without any memorable impediment ſoon after his arrival, *Scipio* encamped before *Utica*, that ſtood Weſtward from *Carthage* beyond the River *Bagradas*: it may rather ſeem, that he landed within the Promontory of *Apollo*; whence the way to *Utica* was not long. This is alſo ſtrongly proved; for that out of *Carthage* were ſent, the next day, five hundred horſe to trouble him in his diſ-embarking, Neither was it ſo hard for *Maſaniſſa*, that roved about the Contry with a troop of horſe, to find out the *Romans*, though they landed far from the place to the which he uſually reſorted, like as before he had met with *Lælius* at *Hippo* that was farther off; as it would have been for *Scipio*, with his Army & Carriages, to overcome the trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great compaſs to *Utica*, by Land; when he might have diſembarqued nearer unto it. Nevertheleſs it may paſs as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came firſt of all to *Emporia*, a plentiful Region about the leſſer *Syrtis*; ſince he gave charge to the Maſters of his ſhips, at the ſetting forth from *Lilybæum*, to ſhape their courſe for that coaſt. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for ſuſtenance of an Army: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make reſiſtance. Thus much perhaps *Maſaniſſa* had ſignified unto *Lælius*, when he ſpake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howſoever they made brave promiſes, would not come ſtrong enough to fight *at head*. But when he ſaw their Fleet and Army to be ſuch, as not only ſerved to invade the lands of *Carthage*, but threatned a conqueſt of the City and whole Eſtate: then might he better adviſe them to ſet ſail for *Utica* make war upon the Enemies at their doors.

The *Carthaginians* had at time neither any Captain of great worth at home, nor better Army than of raw Souldiers; that were levied, or to be levied in haſte. *Aſdrubal* the ſon *Geſco*, the ſame that had lately been chaſed out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their beſt man of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellows, of whoſe faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobility, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him paſſable. He was then with the King his ſon-in-law, working him no doubt againſt the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage* both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Invaſion: entreating the one of them to give aſſiſtance, and commanding the other to make his repair unto the City, where he was choſen General. But ere theſe could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troop of *Carthaginian* horſe, that were ſent out of the City to diſturb his landing; and ſlain *Hanno* a young Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had alſo taken and ſacked a Town of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, beſides other booty, he took eight thouſand priſoners; all which he conveighed aboord his Hulks or Ships of burden, and ſent them back loaden into *Sicil*. He took likewiſe a Town called *Salera*, which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with four thouſand *Numidian* horſe: whoſe ſervice being fitter, for the field, than for defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceive the unſkilfulneſs of their Leader, that had thus houſed them. Wherefore he ſent *Maſaniſſa* before him: who rode up to the gates; and, by making a bravado, trained out the improvident *Hanno* ſo far, that he drew him unto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victory was eaſily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken or ſlain. With thoſe that fled, the *Romans* entered *pell-mell* into the Town, which preſently they made their own. Thence went *Scipio* to *Utica*, a City of great importance, of which mention hath been formerly made, and ſate down before it. Forty dayes he ſpent about it, aſſailing it both by Land and Sea, and uſing all his engines of battery, whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the Summer was quite ſpent: ſo that it was time for him to chooſe a place, and fortifie his Winter-Camp, which muſt be well ſtored againſt the year following. Whileſt thus neceſſity urged him to leave *Utica*: and

ſh ame of taking the repulſe in his firſt great enterpriſe, rather than any hope of better ſucceſs, cauſed him to ſtay there: *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* gave him the honour of a fair pretence to leave the ſiege. *Aſdrubal* had made a levy of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe: yet adventured not with this ill-trained Army to draw near unto the *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him unto *Carthage* fifty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe: which joyning unto the forces of *Aſdrubal*, they marched bravely toward *Scipio*; who thereby took occaſion to diſlodge. He choſe for his Winter-Camp the banks of an In-let, that had good harbour for his Navy. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontory, joyning to the Continent by an arm of Land: his horſe-men he beſtowed upon lower ground, on the other ſhoar: in the bottom of the *Creek* he mored his ſhips; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged unto the Fleet. The whole camp he ſtrongly fortified, and ſo attended the ſeaſon of the year, when it ſhould ſerve him again to fight. Of cattel and other booty *Maſaniſſa* had brought in great ſtore, by driving the Country, before the coming of *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corn alſo he had gotten ſome: and great ſtore was ſent him from *Scicil* and *Sardinia*. Likewiſe apparel for his Souldiers, was ſent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though ſcarce enough to ſerve turn, for that it was a matter of more coſt. The ſhips that brought theſe things, he fraighted homewards with ſuch part of his booty, as he could beſt ſpare: eſpecially with captives to be ſold for ſlaves. *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped near unto *Scipio*: not ſo ſtrongly fortifying themſelves, as did the *Romans*, either for that they wanted the ſeverer inſtitution, which the *Romans* uſed in the diſcipline of war, or for that they preſumed upon their multitude, againſt which they found in *Scipio* no diſpoſition to iſſue forth of his ſtrength, and fight. So the Winter paſſed without action.

When Spring drew near, *Scipio* thought it good to aſſay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps he might be won by perſwaſions to forſake the *Carthaginians*. It was conſidered, that thoſe *Barbarians* were naturally unconſtant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had given proof before this of his much levity. It might therefore be hoped, that having wearied himſelf by lodging a whole Winter in the Camp: and being peradventure no leſs weary with ſatiety of his wife, who had cauſed him to enter into this war: he might be moved with a little entreaty to withdraw himſelf home into his Kingdom, and reſt a *Neuter*. But it is not unlikely, that ſuch a friend as this King, had been highly entertained and honoured in the City of *Carthage*, which was near at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleaſed him, or as he had been invited, to make a ſtep thither and repoſe himſelf a while: his wife Queen *Sophonisba* lying alſo there at the ſame time, to cheriſh him in his reſolution. Howſoever it were, *Syphax* did only make an overture of peace: propounding it as reaſonable, That *Hannibal* ſhould be recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like ſort ſhould quietly depart out of *Africk*, and ſo make an end of the war: wherewith now both *Africk* and *Europe* were diſquieted. Unto this would not *Scipio* at the firſt give ear: yet being preſſed earneſtly by many meſſages from *Syphax*, and deſiring to continue the intercourſe of Embaſſadors; he began to make ſhew, as if he would conſider of the motion. He was given to underſtand by thoſe whom he had ſent unto the King, that the Enemies had their camps without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cabins, and covered with boughs: and that the *Numidians*, ſuch of them as came firſt with *Syphax*, uſed coverings of Mats and Reeds; others that came later, had thatched their lodgings with dry boughs and leaves: under which they lay careleſly without their Trenches. Upon this advertiſement he bethought himſelf, That it would not be hard for him to ſet their camps on fire, and thereby give them a notable overthrow. Without help of ſome ſuch ſtratagem, he foreſaw that it would be a work of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his wars when time ſhould ſerve. It was a plain open Country wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, eſpecially in horſe; which, upon ſuch ground, could not be reſiſted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought upon the matter; the more needful he found it for himſelf, to make ſome ſudden attempt upon their Camp. To this end he ſent many Embaſſadours, under pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpoſe to diſcover all that might concern the intended ſurpriſe. With theſe Embaſſadours he ſent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers, diſguiſed like ſlaves; that wandring (as it were) idle up and down the Camp, might obſerve the wayes and entrances, with whatſoever elſe was needful. When he had learned as much as he deſired: upon the ſudden

ſudden he ſent word to *Syphax*, that it was vain to hold any longer treaty, foraſmuch as he could not get the conſent of his Council of war; whithout whoſe approbation, all that himſelf could do, was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his deſign in execution. The Truce being thus cut off, *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* were very penſive: as having lately perſwaded themſelves, that their trouble was almoſt at an end. But ſince it could be no better, they began to deviſe, by what art they might draw *Scipio* out of his Camp, and provoke him to battel in thoſe Plains. This if they could do, they hoped to make his Council of war repent as greatly the refuſal of peace, as did *Marcus Atilius* after the like preſumption. But if he ſhould refuſe to come forth of his Trenches, what elſe remained than to beſiege him? Which they themſelves were well able to do by land; and the *Carthaginian* Fleet ſhould do by Sea, that was making ready for the purpoſe. By ſuch diſcourſes theſe two comforted themſelves; recompencing (in conceipt) the loſs of their hopes paſt, with that victory to come. But herein they were extreamly and worthily diſappointed: for that conſulting about the future, they provided not againſt preſent danger, but continued in the ſame negligence, which was grown upon them by the long diſcourſe of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to do ſomewhat againſt *Utica*. Two thouſand Souldiers he had made ready, and appointed to take the ſame piece of ground, whereon he lay againſt *Utica* before. This he did, partly to keep ſecret that which he had in hand, leſt being ſuſpected by his own Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to have notice of it; partly to hinder thoſe of *Utica* from ſetting upon the few, that he purpoſed to leave behind him in his Camp. He cauſed his men that night to ſup well, and betimes that they might be ready for the journey. After ſupper, he appointed ſuch Companies as he thought fit, to the defence of his Camp; all the reſt of the Army he led forth, about nine of the clock at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him ſeven miles and an half: whom he purpoſed to undertake himſelf with the one half of his Army; the other half he committed to *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, whom he ſent before him to ſet upon the camp of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the camp of *Syphax* ſhould be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might ſeem to have taken by caſualty upon the *Numidians* that lay farther off, whereas if it firſt appeared in the camp of *Aſdrubal*, it would be ſuſpected as the doing of enemies, and give *Syphax* warning to look to himſelf. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched fair and ſoftly; that *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, who had a longer journey, and were to fetch a compaſs about for fear of being diſcovered, might have time to get before him, and do their feat. It was about two or three a clock in the morning, when the camp of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not only the *Numidians*, but their King himſelf, imputed unto caſualty; as thinking themſelves ſafe enough from enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interpoſed between them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to do, ſome ſtarting half aſleep; and others that had ſitten up late at drinking, ran out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But ſo great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly underſtand in what caſe they were, nor give any remedy to the miſchance as it was ſuppoſed. Many were ſmothered and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for fear of the ſudden miſchief, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that eſcaped the fire fell upon the enemies ſword, which was ready to receive them. Eſpecially *Maſaniſſa*, that beſt knew the Country, did great execution upon them: having laid all the wayes, by which he foreſaw that they would ſeek to eſcape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittiful miſchance: ſo that ſome ran out to help the poor *Numidians*; carrying only what would ſerve to quench the fire. Others ran up to the Rampart: where fearleſs of any danger toward themſelves, they ſtood beholding the greatneſs of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would have it. He therefore loſt no time: but ſetting upon thoſe that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed ſome, and purſued the reſt back into their camp, which in a little while he made to burn as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Aſdrubal* ſeeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not ſtand to make reſiſtance, but ſhifted only for himſelf, and eſcaped with a few of his horſe about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had been taken in ſuch a manner: it is more than probable that old *Hanno* would have judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then have been ſaid, that with leſs than one half of 30000. men, he might at

leaſt have given ſome bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling theſe fires, had he not been only careful how to ſave his own fearful head. Nevertheleſs *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is moſt likely to have been true, That if *Aſdrubal*, or any of thoſe about him, would have ſtricken to ſhew valour, when the Camp was once on fire: He ſhould not thereby have done any manner of good, becauſe of the tumult and conſternation. I ſhall not need to tell what a fearful thing it was, to hear the cries of ſo many thouſands that periſhed by fire and ſword, or to behold the cruel flame that conſumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirms) none *that hath being* is able to deſcribe. It is enough to ſay, That of thoſe many thouſands, very few did eſcape; which accompanied *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* in their ſeveral wayes of flight. Beſides theſe alſo there were ſome ſcatterers, eſpecially of the *Numidians*, that ſaved themſelves in the dark: but they were not many, as after ſhall appear. Surely it muſt needs have been very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwiſe made away, and what numbers eſcaped in the dark of night. Wherefore *Livie*, who in the reſt of this relation, as often elſewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may ſeem to have followed ſome leſs worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in caſting up the ſumm. For he reckons only two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, to have eſcaped; forty thouſand to have periſhed by ſword or fire: and above ſix thouſand to have been taken priſoners: the whole number of all which together, is far ſhort of fourſcore and thirteen thouſand, which were in theſe two Camps.

Excerp. è Polyb. l. 14.

Aſdrubal, putting himſelf into the next Town that was very ſtrongly fortified, thought there to find the *Romans* work, until the *Carthaginians* at good leiſure might repair their Army. He had with him no more than two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: which he thought ſufficient to defend the Town; if the Townſ-men would not be wanting to themſelves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earneſt in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yield. Unto this diſputation, he well foreſaw, that the arrival of *Scipio* would ſoon give an end. Wherefore, leſt they ſhould lay hold upon him, and ſeek the Victors favour by delivering him up: he ſhrunk away betimes and made all haſte to *Carthage*. As for the town which he left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his firſt coming: and thereby preſerved it ſelf from all manner of loſs. The two next Towns adjoyning would needs be valiant, and make countenance of war: but their ſtrength not being anſwerable, they were ſoon taken by *Scipio*, who abandoned them to the pleaſure of his Souldiers. This being done, he returned to the ſiege of *Utica*.

The *Carthaginians* were ſore troubled, as they had good reaſon, when inſtead of either Peace or Victory, which they lately hoped for, they heard news of ſuch a lamentable overthrow. Neceſſity enforced them to make haſty proviſion for the future: but how to do it, few of them ſaw any means. Some gave advice to crave peace of *Scipio*: others to ſend for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*; but the moſt, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithſtanding the loſs of this Army, they might well defend themſelves againſt the *Romans*, by raiſing new forces: eſpecially, if *Syphax* would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, that they ſhould bend all their care this way, levying in all haſte another Army; and ſending Embaſſadours to deal with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Town called *Abba*, not paſſing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the ſame their unfortunate Commander, *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, was employed to make new levies of men: and Queen *Sophonisba* went forth with Embaſſadours to her husband *Syphax*, who having gathered together as many as he could of his ſubjects that had eſcaped from the late ſlaughter, was thinking to return into his own Kingdom. *Sophonisba* laboured ſo with her husband, that at length ſhe won him to her own deſire. And it fell out at the ſame time, that four thouſand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought over to ſerve in *Africk*. Of theſe were made ſuch brave reports, as if their courage, and the Arms which they uſed, were not to be reſiſted. Even the multitude within *Carthage* believed theſe tales, and were more glad than they had cauſe to be; which is great wonder, ſince in one age, the whole country of *Spain* had been twice conquered; firſt, by the *Carthaginians* themſelves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* theſe tales prevailed much: which the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors helped with a lye; ſaying, That there were come ten thouſand of theſe terrible *Spaniards*. Upon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered ſuch ſpirit, that in thirty dayes they made up an Army, conſiſting well-near of thirty thouſand men, reckoning the *Spaniards* and *Syphax* with his *Numidians* in the number. So they incamped in a Region called,

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The great Fields, about five dayes journey from *Utica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Utica* thither, to viſit them: leaving behind him his impediments, with ſome part of his Army, to make a ſhew of continuing the ſiege. Two or three dayes, after the meeting of both Armies, paſſed away in ſkirmiſh, without any great thing done. It had now been time for *Aſdrubal* to follow the example of the *Roman Fabius*, and ſeek to weary out the Enemy by delayes. But either (which is likely) he was a far worſe Commander, or elſe it was not in his power, to give ſuch directions as beſt pleaſed himſelf. The fourth day the Armies met in battel: wherein the *Romans* were marſhalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner, having their *Italian* horſe in the right wing; and *Maſaniſſa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary ſide, *Aſdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax* the left; and the *Spaniards*, the battel. The victory was gotten without many blows: for the untrained followers of *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*, could not ſuſtain the firſt charge of the *Italians*, or of *Maſaniſſa*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, even untill they were all in a manner ſlain: rather as men deſperate, and not hoping for mercy, ſince they were thus come over to fight againſt *Scipio*, who had otherwiſe deſerved of them, than upon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obſtinacy was beneficial to thoſe that fled; for that it hindred the *Romans* from making any great purſuit. Hereby *Aſdrubal*, and *Syphax* eſcaped: *Aſdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home to his own Kingdom: whither his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, having thus gotten the maſtery of the field, took counſel about the proſecution of the war. It was reſolved upon as the beſt courſe, That he himſelf, with part of the Army, ſhould attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Maſaniſſa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Lælius*, with ſome of the *Roman* Legions, ſhould follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take reſt within his own Kingdom, where eaſily elſe he might repair his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice, it ſeems that *Maſaniſſa* gave: who knew beſt the quality of the *Numidians*; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The leaſt that could be expected, was his reſtitution into his own Kingdom, uſurped by *Syphax*: which to accompliſh, it no leſs concerned the *Romans* at the preſent, than it did himſelf. According to this order concluded, *Lælius* was ſent away with *Maſaniſſa*: and *Scipio* ſtayed behind, carrying the war from town to town. Many places yielded for fear; many were taken by force; and all the ſubjects of *Carthage* wavered in their fidelity, as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of thoſe unreaſonable burdens, which their proud Maſters had laid upon them, for maintenance of the war in *Spain* and *Italy*. What to do in this caſe, the *Carthaginians* could hardly reſolve. Fortune was their enemy; they had loſt their Armies and many of their Towns: neither durſt they make bold to trouble their own ſubjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who nevertheleſs of their own free will were likely to give little help. Very much it grieved them to ſend for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*: yet ſince there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That Embaſſadors ſhould be forthwith ſent to call him home. Some there were that gave advice, to ſet out a fleet againſt that of *Scipio*, and rode before *Utica*, weakly manned, that eaſie to be taken, whileſt *Scipio* himſelf was buſied in the Iſland Countrys. Some were of opinion, that it ſhould be their principal care, to fortifie by all means the City of *Carthage*: upon the ſafety whereof they ſaid all depended: adding, that whileſt they were true, and at unity among themſelves, they might well enough ſubſiſt, and expect thoſe opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtleſs) would preſent them. Theſe counſels were not rejected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the City, and for the attempt upon the *Roman* fleet at *Utica*. Nevertheleſs, it was conſidered, that thereby they ſhould only protract the war; without any advancing their own affairs towards likelihood of victory, no, though it ſhould fall out, that all the ſhips at *Utica* might be taken, or deſtroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, that he ſhould immediately come over into *Africk*, as the laſt refuge of *Carthage*. The Council was no ſooner broken up, than all the Senators betook themſelves to the execution of that which was decreed: ſome, to the fortification of the Town: ſome, to make ready the Fleet; and ſome, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarque themſelves for *Italy*.

In this their trepidation *Scipio* came to *Tunes*, a City in thoſe dayes very ſtrong, and ſtanding in proſpect almoſt of every part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather ſome defenſible piece adjoyning, he eaſily took; the garriſons forſaking it, and running away, as ſoon as he drew near. But whileſt he

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was about there to incamp, and fortifie himself against the City, he might perceive the *Carthaginian* Fleet setting forth, and making towards *Utica*: What this meant, he readily conceived; and stood in great fear, lest his own ships that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heavily loaden with engines of battery, and wholly disposed in such order, as was most convenient for assaulting the town) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that special service. Wherefore he hasted away towards *Utica*, to assist with his presence in this needful case. It fell out well, that he had sent his carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he should have come too late. Neither could he indeed have been there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had used such diligence as was convenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Utica*, they tarryed a while to make a bravado; presenting themselves in order of battel, as if the *Romans* would have put forth to Sea against them. But *Scipio* had no such intent: he thought it would be sufficient, if he could preserve his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their bravery at Sea; it should little avail the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole estate by Land. Wherefore he took his ships of burden, and fastning them together with cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a four-fold bridge over the channel of the Haven; whereon he placed a thousand of his choise men, with store of Darts, and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some other spaces he left, whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessels, might run out and back again upon any advantage or need: but these he covered with planks, using the masts and yards of his ships instead of rafters, to joyn all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it self not be torn asunder. Scarce was this work finished, when the *Carthaginians*, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Haven. The fight between them and the *Romans* that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the assaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood upon the bridge, had sure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole strength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and unsteady, could not do, but the *Roman* Frigots and long boats, adventuring forth from behind the bridge, were greatly overborn by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small loss that followed. They that stood upon the Bridge, were neither able to relieve them, nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for fear of hurting these their friends, that were intangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling hooks, hanging at Iron chains. These they threw upon the masts & yards, which served as arches to joyn the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all asunder; in such sort, that one ship followed another, and all the first rank was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to save themselves as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next rank of ships, that lay behind them untouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themselves any further in this laborious work: but having haled away six ships of burden, and towed them out of the Haven, returned home to *Carthage*. Their welcome was greater than their victory; because among so many grievous losses, only this exploit had succeeded well, though it were of small importance.

Whilest things thus passed about *Carthage*, *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, in their journey against *Syphax*, found as good success as could be desired. The fame of the victories already gotten restored *Masanissa* to his Kingdom, without farther contention: the *Masæsyli*, his subjects, joyfully receiving him, and forsaking the usurpers. But here they stayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and therefore being solicited by *Asdrubal* and *Sophonisba*, he prepared again for war. But beside the instigation of his beloved wife; the loss of the *Masæsyli* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no less unwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to think all alike their own, whereof they are in possession, be the title unto some part never so unjust. Hereunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that she had vomitted up her own guts, when it was only the garbage of some other fowl, that she had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, believed the Kingdom of the *Masæsyli* to be part of his entrails: *Lælius* and *Masanissa* will shortly give him somewhat that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so

ſo far. It concerned the *Romans* to diſpoſſeſs (if it might be) the King, whoſe falſe and hollow friendſhip towards them, had been converted into ſtrong enmity; as alſo to ſet in his place another, who might do them ſuch good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done unto the *Carthaginians*. How eaſily this might be effected, *Maſaniſſa* knew beſt, as being well acquainted with the nature of thoſe Countries; wherein, even to this day though there be many ſtrong Towns, yet the fortune of a battle is enough, to tranſlate the Kingdom from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came againſt them with no leſs an Army, than his former, and marſhalled in the *Roman* order, according to the ſkill, which he had learned of the *Roman Centurion*, long ago ſent unto him out of *Spain* from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight couragiouſly. They were a rabble of all ſorts, gathered up in haſte: and few of them had ſeen war before. Encamping neer unto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that ſome ſmall troops of horſe on both ſides, encountered one another in the midway: and they that had the worſt, were ſeconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the ſkirmiſh, more and more were drawn out from either Camp: ſo that at length *Syphax*, unwilling to diſ-hearten his men by taking any foil at their firſt meeting with the Enemy, came up with all his horſe, which were the beſt part of his forces, and therewith over-charged *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe numbers were far leſs. But whileſt he was proſecuting his hope of victory: ſome *Roman* ſquadrons of Foot came againſt him through their own troops of horſe; which fell to the ſides, and made a lane for them. So their battel ſtanding now more firm, than a little before; *Syphax* was unable, though he laboured much in vain, to make them give ground. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe, and his troops grew confident upon this aſſiſtance: and charging afreſh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, cauſed him to give back. Herewithal the Legions came in ſight: which terrified ſo the *Numidian* horſe, that they began preſently to diſ-band. Fain would *Syphax* have ſtayed them from flight: and to that end made head in perſon againſt the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be aſhamed to leave him. But it fell out unhappily, that he was caſt from his horſe, which received a wound, and ſo taken priſoner. Of others that were ſlain or taken: the multitude was not great. It ſufficed, that they forſook the place, and fled, and that their King, upon whom all depended, was in the *Romans* hand. *Maſaniſſa* told *Lælius*, that this victory ſhould make an end of the *Numidian* war, if preſently they haſted away to *Cirta* the chief City of the Kingdom; whither he himſelf deſired to be ſent before with the Horſe, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lælius* agreed. *Maſaniſſa* coming to *Cirta*, before any news of the Kings miſchance was there arrived, called out the chief of the City to parlee: wherein by many fair promiſes and threats, but eſpecially by ſhewing unto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed ſo far, that the gates were forthwith opened unto him; and every one ſtrove to get his favour: that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the reſt, Queen *Sophonisba* yielded her ſelf into his hands, and vehemently beſought him, that ſhe might not be delivered up unto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beauty, ſo commended her ſuit, that *Maſaniſſa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promiſe, marryed her himſelf that very day; thereby to prevent *Lælius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwiſe of her, ſince ſhe was his wife. But *Lælius*, when he came thither, took the matter hainouſly, ſo that at firſt he would have haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other priſoners, and have ſent her unto *Scipio*. But being over intreated by *Maſaniſſa*, he ſuffered the matter to reſt a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio*'s diſcretion; to whom he ſent away *Syphax* and other captives immediately; following ſhortly after himſelf with *Maſaniſſa*, when they had done what was needful in the Kingdom.

At the coming of *Syphax*, there was great joy in the *Roman* Camp: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Aſdrubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together ſought his friendſhip; with ſuch other commemoration of his paſt and preſent fortune, miniſtring to every one a large argument of diſcourſe. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moved him, not only to forſake the *Roman* friendſhip, but to make war upon them, unprovoked. He briefly anſwered, That his wife had moved him ſo to do; calling her a Fury, and a peſtilent creature: and ſaying, that *Maſaniſſa* was no wiſer than himſelf, ſince he had now taken the ſame woman to his wife, who would ſhortly draw him to the ſame courſes. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and ſtood in great doubt, leſt this perilous woman ſhould deprive him of *Maſaniſſa*, as ſhe had done of *Syphax*. It was not long,

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ere *Maſaniſſa* and *Lælius* came unto him: both of whom together he lovingly welcomed; and highly commended in publick, for their notable ſervice in this Expedition. Then taking *Maſaniſſa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him underſtand, that the *Romans* had title to her head, and that ſhe was a miſchievous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memory of his great ſervices already done (for which he ſhould be highly rewarded to his own contentment) by committing a great offence upon little reaſon. *Maſaniſſa* bluſht, and wept: and finally promiſed to be governed by *Scipio*, whom he nevertheleſs intreated, to think upon his faith given to *Sophonisba*, that ſhe ſhould not be delivered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his own Tent, where, after ſome time ſpent in agony, he called unto him a ſervant of his that had the cuſtody of his poyſon (which Princes uſed then to have in a readineſs, againſt all miſchances that might make them unwilling to live:) and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, ſent it unto her with this meſſage; that gladly he would have had her to live with him as his wife: but ſince they who had power to hinder him of his deſire, would not yield thereto, he ſent her a cup, that ſhould preſerve her from falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and eſtate, and accordingly to take order for her ſelf.

At the receit of this Meſſage and Preſent, ſhe only ſaid; That if her husband had no better token to ſend unto his new wife, ſhe muſt accept of this; adding, that ſhe might have dyed more honourably, if ſhe had not wedded ſo lately before her funeral. And herewithall ſhe boldly drank off the poiſon. Thus *Livie* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and ſets it down agreeably to that which hath been ſpoken before, concerning the præcontract between *Maſaniſſa*, and *Sophonisba*. He ſaith, that after the taking of *Syphax*, Embaſſadours from *Cirta* met with *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* upon their way thither, yielding up their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her own private, ſent meſſengers to excuſe her marriage with *Syphax*, as made againſt her will, by compulſion of thoſe in whoſe power ſhe was. *Maſaniſſa* readily admitted this excuſe; and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perſwaſion *Sophonisba* was: and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*; he fell out about her with *Maſaniſſa* at his return, and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*, *Maſaniſſa* ſaid, ſhe was his own wife, and unto him betrothed many years before. But *Scipio* would not hear of this: or if it were true, yet he ſaid it was no reaſon, that *Maſaniſſa* ſhould keep her in poſſeſſion, as long as it was diſputable, unto whom ſhe might appertain. Wherefore he willed him firſt of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claim unto her, wherein he ſhould have no wrong. Herewithall he ſent to fetch her away: and *Maſaniſſa* accompanied the meſſengers, as it were to deliver her: but making her acquainted with the neceſſity, gave unto her a cup of poiſon, wherewith ſhe ended her life, before they came that ſhould have apprehended her. So he ſhewed unto the *Romans* her dead body, which he royally interred. The ſudden violence of *Maſaniſſa* his love, and the ready conſent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him, add not ſo much credit unto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other evident cauſe (which *Livie* notes) of the ſudden falling out between him and the *Carthaginians*, under whom he had been trained up, and done them great ſervice. Howſoever it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragical accident, ſent for *Maſaniſſa*, and comforted him as well as he could, leſt his melancholy ſhould lead him to ſome inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his raſhneſs, he brought him forth in preſence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and ſhewing how highly he had deſerved of the City of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King, and gave unto him a Crown of gold, with other Royal ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to divert his thoughts from the ſad remembrance of that which was paſt, unto the more chearful contemplation of good fortune, that began to ſmile upon him.

Liv. 28.

This was the firſt time that the *Romans* took upon them to create or proclaim a King. Which honour though *Maſaniſſa* well deſerved: yet would not the Title have redounded unto his great benefit: neither ſhould he have been much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their means recovered poſſeſſion of his Country, together with the greateſt part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It ſeemeth not unlikely, that had he remained a *Neuter* in theſe wars, and ſuſtained himſelf with his troop of horſe, in ſuch ſort as he did before the coming of the *Romans*; he might nevertheleſs have recovered his proper inheritance, by the love of his own ſubjects without other help, when *Syphax* had once or twice been vanquiſhed.

vanquished. As for the inlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than he deserved: neither were the *Romans* then in case, to make a conquest of *Numidia* for themselves; neither could they have wished a fitter opportunity, than of such a man upon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, & passable withall among the *Numidians* as being (for the *Massæsyli* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans*, was noised abroad as very glorious: and the *Romans* themselves, in a politick sort of gravity, took highly upon them; as if even their saluting him by the name of *King*, had been a matter of great consequence. He thrived indeed well after it: & by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, incroaching upon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all upon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speak more) which held some pieces of his fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the *Romans*, and promising by all means to deserve their love, requested therewithall, that they would call him *King*. But though it were so, that never any before him had made this a matter of suit: yet the *Roman* Senate was *Puntilious* herein, and answered very
Liv. l. 31. bravely, That it was not their custome to give the honour of that appellation, save only unto such Kings, as had greatly deserved of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; and in process of time grew so proud of this their imaginary prerogative, that they imputed as a singular benefit unto Kings that no way depended upon them, the salu-
* Cæsar. Comm. l. 1. tation by **that name*, though it were not accompanied with any other favour or profit thence redounding.

§. XIX.

The Carthaginians *desired Truce, and break it.*

THe *Carthaginians* were extreamly dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befallen their good friend *Syphax*, and understood that *Masanissa* their mortal enemy, had got possession of his Kingdome. To increase their fear, *Scipio* returned again to *Tunes* in view of their City: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begun at his last being there. The *Carthaginians* had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth unto them thirty Embassadours, Princes of the City, which were their Privy Councel, to make suit for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the * feet of him and of those that sat in Councel with him.

* Excepto Polib. l. 15. & Liv. l. 30.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to have unjustly broken the Peace between them and *Rome*; and to have deserved whatsoever punishment it should please the *Romans* to inflict upon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio* and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercy unto the City of *Carthage*, and let it remain, as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deserved to be overthrown. Herewithall they did not forget, to lay the blame upon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begun the War; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole City. By this it appears, that these Embassadours were no *Barchines*: but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his company; who had now their long desired work in hand, of suing unto the *Romans* for peace. Whatsoever they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men over those that were subject unto their power, for they would not have made such adoration to the *Romans* in their own necessity, unless they themselves had expected the like, wherein they had the advantage.

It was not unknown to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poor case the City of *Rome* then was; and how unable to defray the charges of continuing the War. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the loss of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the *Romans* themselves had very lately been. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a City far stronger than *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* resolution: and therefore distrusted the walls of *Carthage*; though *Utica*, a weaker City, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and told them, That though he came into *Africk*, to make a conquest, and not peace: yet having the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they desired; for thereby should all Nations understand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of Justice, both in making war, and in concluding it. The Conditions

which he impoſed upon them, were theſe; That they ſhould render up unto him all the priſoners that they had taken, together with all *Renegadoes* and fugitive ſlaves: That they ſhould withdraw their Armies out of *Italy* and *Gaule*: That they ſhould not meddle in *Spain*, nor yet in any Iſland between *Italy* and *Africk*: That they ſhould deliver up all their ſhips of war, ſave twenty; and that they ſhould pay a great ſumm of mony, with certain hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat and barley. To conſider of theſe Articles, he gave them three daies: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might ſend Embaſſadors unto the *Roman Senate*.

This done, *Maſaniſſa* was diſmiſſed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the war had been already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before ſent with *Lælius* unto *Rome*: where the fame of theſe victories filled men with joy, and gave hope, that the long endured miſeries would be ſhortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were ſet open, and an holy day appointed for thankſgiving and ſupplication to their Gods. *Lælius* was accompanied with Embaſſadors from King *Maſaniſſa*: who gratulating the happy ſucceſs of the *Romans* in their *African* war, and giving thanks unto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* unto their Maſter, made requeſt for the *Numidians*, ſuch as were now his Subjects and priſoners in *Rome*, that they might be beſtowed upon him, who by rendring them to liberty, ſhould do an act very plauſible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reign. The *Roman* Senate were not behind with *Maſaniſſa* in complement: but ſhewing themſelves to be highly pleaſed with all that *Scipio* had done, and ſhould do for him, they called him King again; releaſed his *Numidians* that were captives; and ſent him two purple Caſſocks, that had each of them one gold button, with ſuch other preſents, as in time of their poverty might ſerve to teſtifie their good will. Scarcely were theſe and *Lælius* gone from *Rome*, when the news came, that Embaſſadors from *Carthage* were arrived to deſire peace. Theſe Embaſſadors were not admitted into the City, but were lodged without: untill *Lælius* being ſent for, came back from *Oſtia*, to be preſent when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that ſtood in the Suburbs, The errand of theſe Embaſſadors, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their City was only to win time, and get reſpite for war; until *Hannibal* and *Mago* ſhould come out of *Italy*, either to chaſe the *Romans* out of *Africk*, or to obtain peace for *Carthage*, by terror of their great Names and Armies, upon more eaſie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle diſcourſe of the League, that was concluded between them and *Lucatius Catulus*, at the end of the former war. This League they ſaid, all things well conſidered, did ſtill remain in force: neither had there ſince been any war at all, between the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was only *Hannibal*, that without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his own head beſieged and razed the Town of *Saguntum*: and after that adventured in like ſort, without Commiſſion, to paſs the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being ſo, their Meſſage was none other than to deſire, that the League before ſpoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter ſtand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to do. The Senators had cauſe to wonder at this tale, hearing theſe Embaſſadors make (as it were) a jeſt of war, that had been ſo terrible. Wherefore they aſked them a great many queſtions, concerning that peace made by *Lucatius*, and other paſſages following between the two Cities. But they excuſed themſelves, by their age: (for they were all young men) and ſaid, That thoſe things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but colluſion, and that they ſought no other than to gain time, untill they might repair the war. Wherefore they were ſent home, in company of *Lælius*, without any concluſion at all of peace, and in effect, without anſwer. This notwithſtanding, we find in *Polybius*, That the Senate received advertiſement from *Scipio*, of that which had paſſed between him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treaty of peace: approved the Conditions by him propounded, and gave him licence thereupon, to proceed unto Concluſion. This may with good reaſon be believed, ſince it was not unknown that if the war continued, all theſe goodly hopes muſt reſt upon the moſt uncertain iſſue of one battel between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune ſhould be averſe to them, their forces in *Africk* were no better than quite loſt.

Matters thus hanging in ſuſpence, before the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours came back from *Rome*, a Fleet out of *Sicil*, wherein were two hundred ſhips of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for *Africk*, to victual the *Roman* Camp, was over-taken by foul weather at Sea, and hardly eſcaping wrack,

wrak, was diſperſed, and driven aground in divers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, even in view, and under command of the City. There was at that time, as we find in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuals in *Carthage*, which cauſed the people to cry out upon their Magiſtrates, that they ſhould not let ſuch a booty eſcape them, ſaying, that the danger of famine was greater and worſe, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were ſo, that hunger urged them, or that they yielded to their own greedy deſires: the multitude in *Carthage* underſtood (as it ſeems) that all this diſcourſe of Peace in hand, was no better than meer mockery, and therefore cared not for obſervation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewiſe in *Alexandria*, for all the *raſcality*, together with women and boys, to be medling in uproars: the clamors of the boyes being in ſuch tumults no leſs violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no marvel, if little regard were had of reaſon, or of honour, in any ſuch commotion. A Fleet was ſent out under *Aſdrubal*, to gather up the diſperſed *Roman* ſhips of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oars, recovered the ſtation whereto their camp adjoyned) and bring them into *Carthage*; which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not only for the loſs; and for that the Town was thereby relieved: but for that by this breach of Truce, he foreſaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he ſent Embaſſadors unto them, both to require ſatisfaction for the injurie done; and to deterr them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had ſo much deſired. Theſe gave the *Carthaginians* to underſtand, that Letters were come from *Rome* unto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace; upon thoſe conditions which he had propounded. But (ſay they) *we hold it ſtrange, That ye, who ſo lately have caſt your ſelves to the ground before us, and kiſſed our feet after an unuſual manner of humility, confeſſing your ſelves to have perfidiouſly broken the League that was between us, and thereby to have deſerved ſuch puniſhment as is due unto Rebels; ſhould ſo ſoon forget what ye then uttered, and run headlong again into the ſame crimes for which ye acknowledged your ſelves worthy to be deſtroyed, having only recourſe unto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repoſe in* Hannibal, *that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amiſs, that ye ſhould conſider, how long he hath been pent up in a corner of* Italy, *among the* Brutians; *where he is in a manner beſieged, and unable to ſtir: ſo that ye are like to find his help wanting in your greateſt need. Or let it be ſuppoſed that he were now in* Africk, *and ready to give us battel: yet ſhould it well agree with your wiſdome to doubt what might befal, remembring that he is a man, and not invincible. Now if it ſhould happen that he were overcome, what refuge have ye left unto your ſelves againſt hereafter? What gods will ye either ſwear by, to be believed, or call upon in your miſery? What words, and lamentable geſture will ye henceforth uſe, to move compaſſion? Surely ye have already waſted all your force of perſwaſion, and ſhall not again deceive us, if ye refuſe the grace, whereof at this preſent ye are capable.* It is no marvel though the *Carthaginians* were angry, when they heard themſelves upbraided with the baſe demeanour of their Embaſſadours. For it was not the general opinion of the City, that the Truce was broken by themſelves: though it had pleaſed *Hanno*, or ſuch as were of his faction, to gratifie the *Romans* with all manner of ſubmiſſion; and to renounce not only their hope of the future, but all juſtification of matters paſt. And indeed it ſeems, that the *Roman* Embaſſadors were very much delighted, in the rehearſal of that point which was yielded unto them, as knowing that thereon depended the juſtice of the quarrel. But the *Carthaginians* took this in ſo ill part, that hardly they could refrain from doing violence unto the men, who had uſed unto them ſuch inſolent ſpeeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in ſome ſort appeaſed; either by *Hanno*, whom *Appian*, (I know not why) calls *Hanno the Great:* or by the very reverence, due unto the place of thoſe that had uttered ſuch liberal words. So they were diſmiſſed in friendly ſort, although it were without anſwer to their Propoſition. There were alſo two gallies appointed for their ſafe convoy home; though with little intent of good unto their perſons. *Aſdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men ſailed from *Carthage* towards *Utica*. He, whether only deſirous to pleaſe the multitude, of whoſe diſpoſition he was informed, or whether directed by publick order to cut off theſe Embaſſadours in their way homeward, lay waiting for them behind a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the River *Bagradas*. Their Convoy having brought them on the way, as far as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wiſhed them a good voyage; and ſo took leave of them, as if they had been then in ſafety, ſince the *Roman* Camp was even in ſight. The Embaſſadors took this in ill part; not as fearing any dan-

ger toward, but thinking themselves too much neglected, forasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leave them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Asdrubal* fell upon them, in such manner, as they might well discern his purpose: which was to have stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a *Quinquireme*, that had more banks of Oars, than had any Gallye of *Asdrubal*, they slipt away, and made him over-shoot himself. Yet he gave them chase, and had well-near surprised them. But they discovered some *Roman* Companies on the shoar over against them, and therefore adventured to run their Vessel aground: whereby they saved their own lives, though a great part of their company were slain, or hurt. This practice of the *Carthaginians* was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartned in such a dishonourable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the war; that thereby they might be driven to study nothing else, than how to get the victory, as having none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same fear, which had caused them to make such earnest suit for peace, would also have caused them to be better advised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treaty; had they not been given to understand, that *Hannibal* was already landed in *Africk*, in whom they reposed no small confidence, but verily perswaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with more easie conditions, than were those that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

§. XX.

In what sort Hannibal *spent the time after the Battle of* Metaurus: *The doings of* Mago *in* Italy. Hannibal *and* Mago *called out of* Italy. *How the* Romans *were diversly affected by* Hannibals *departure.*

EVer since the loss of that battel at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remaining in the Country of the *Brutians*, waiting for another supply from *Carthage*. The *Roman* Consuls that succeded unto *Claudius* and *Livius*, by whom *Asdrubal* was overcome and slain, were contented to be quiet all their year. Neither did *Licinius* the Colleague of *Scipio*, ought worthy of remembrance against *Hannibal*, being hindred by the Pestilence that was in his Army. *Sempronius* the Consul, who followed *Licinius*; and *Cn. Servilius Capio*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earnestly bent to have done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitless. In some skirmishes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in some the worse: and a few poor Towns they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preserve his Army, than to keep those places that were weak.

The *Romans* had at this time so many great pieces of work in hand, that their chief enemy was become not the chief part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon *Africk*, wherein they were at no small charges to maintain the Army, which (as was hoped) should bring the War to a short and happy conclusion. They stood nevertheless in much fear of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who took exceeding pains among the *Ligurians* and *Gauls* to raise an Army, wherewith to kindle anew the War in *Italy*, that began to wax cold. *Mago* solicited also the *Hetrurians*, and found them so ready to stir in his behalf, that if he could have entred their Country strong, it might have proved no less needful for *Scipio* to return home out of *Africk*, than shortly it was for *Hannibal* to make speed unto the defence of *Carthage*. These dangers caused the *Romans* to imploy one of their Consuls or Pro-consuls, with an Army, among the *Hetrurians*; another among the *Gauls*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: forasmuch as it was uncertain, upon which side *Mago* would break on: Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to overcharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*, when things were in some readiness for his setting forwards, he met in the Country of the *Insubrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Proconsul, and *P. Quintilius Varrus* one of the Prætors. With these he fought a battel, wherein though his vertue shewed it self worthy of his Father and Brethren: yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubtful; in such sort that the *Roman* Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Prætor taking unto him all the *Roman* Horse, thought to have shaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the same time gave a loud shout: and strained themselves hard, as if at that brunt the victory should have been carried before them. But *Mago* opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the service of those beasts being fitter for such use, than against the squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were scattered

ſcattered over the field; their Riders being unable to manage them. Hereby the *Numidians* got advantage upon them: whoſe manner of fight was more available againſt thoſe that were looſe, than againſt the troops that were cloſe and thick. Then fell the Elephants upon the Legions: which entertained them after the accuſtomed manner, with a ſhour of darts, and killed four of them; cauſing all the reſt to give back. This notwithſtanding the ſame Legions were ſo vehemently preſſed by the Enemy; that more for ſhame of running away, than by any great force to make reſiſtance, they held their ground. The Proconſul therefore brought up thoſe forces, which he had kept unto the laſt, to ſuccour where need ſhould moſt require. Againſt theſe, *Mago* imployed ſome of his *Gauls*, whom he had in readineſs for the like occaſion. But the *Gauls* diſcharged their parts very ill. They were ſoon beaten off, and recoiled ſo haſtily, that they brought fear upon all the reſt. When *Mago* ſaw that his men began to ſhrink, he put himſelf in the head of his Army; and held them ſo well to it, that keeping their order, they made a fair Retrait, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length he received a grievous wound in his thigh; whereof ſhortly after he dyed. He was taken up, and carried out of danger by ſome of his own men: the reſt of them, after little further reſiſtance, provided every one for himſelf: So the *Romans* obtained victory, not without great coſt: as purchaſing the death of about five thouſand enemies, with the loſs of two thouſand and three hundred of the Prætors Army, beſides thoſe that dyed of the Proconſuls Legions; alſo beſides divers Colonels, Captains, and Gentlemen of mark that fell in this hot piece of ſervice. Neither were there any priſoners taken; whereby it may ſeem that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered ſome ground that might aſſure them from purſuit. However it were, this victory would have much imported for the aſſurance of *Italy*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer have permitted theſe valiant ſons of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himſelf (by eaſie journeys, becauſe of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there Embaſſadours from *Carthage* attending him: who gave him to underſtand the pleaſure of their City, which was, That both he and *Hannibal* ſhould preſently repair home with all their forces; not ſtaying any longer to think upon the conqueſt of *Italy*, ſince *Carthage* it ſelf was ready to be loſt. He obeyed this Commandment, and imbarqued ſhortly his Army; but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the ſame time *Hannibal* received the like command from *Carthage*, to return into *Africk*. He heard it with great impatience; gnathing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the tears, that were ready to burſt out, whileſt the Embaſſadours were delivering their errand. When their meſſage was done: He told them, that *this was yet plain dealing. For*, ſaid He, *They that now directly bid me come home, have long ago done their beſt to hale me out of* Italy; *though more cloſely and crookedly they went to work, by ſtopping the ſupply that ſhould have enabled me to manage the War here.* Scipio *therefore ſhall not need to brag, that he hath drawn me home by the heels: it is* Hanno *that hath wrought this noble feat; and overwhelmed the houſe of the* Barchines, *for lack of other means to do it, with the ruine of* Carthage. He had before prepared a Fleet in readineſs, doubting that which after came to paſs: wherein he imbarqued, beſides his own men, as many of the *Italians* as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that ſhrunk back from him, and refuſed to do ſervice in this expedition: of whom, ſuch as he could take, he ſlew; not ſparing thoſe that fled into the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, which had been held an inviolable Sactuary unto that day. He was indeed then wholly tranſported with rage; and departed out of *Italy* no leſs paſſionate, than men are wont to be, when they leave their own Countreys to go into exile. He looked back unto the ſhoar accuſing both gods and men; and curſing his own dulneſs, in that he had not led his Army from *Cannæ*, hot and bloodyed as it was, directly unto the walls of *Rome*. With ſuch vexation of ſpirit He quitted the poſſeſſion of *Italy*; wherein he had lived almoſt half his time.

If it could have been foretold unto the *Romans*; in the firſt beginning of this War, with what exceeding joy in times following they ſhould entertain the news of *Hannibal* his departure out of *Italy*: they would (I think) leſs earneſtly have preſſed the *Carthaginians* to ſend him over thither. When ſure advertiſement was brought unto the City, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Army: an Holy-day was appointed for thanksgiving unto their gods; and extraordinary great ſacrifices publickly made, for joy of ſuch happy tydings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did ſtill remain the ſame, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his coming into

Africk,

Africk, would find *P. Scipio* other manner of work, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would do greater matters in his own Country, than ever he was able to perform abroad in a land of ſtrangers. The remove of the War from their own doors, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped; was enough to make them preſume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embaſſadors brought unto them a great maſs of Gold and Silver, together with ſome Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spain:* only the *Carthaginian* priſoners were excepted, the treaſure was rendred back unto the *Saguntines* that had ſurpriſed it. Upon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of thoſe monys that had been borrowed in time of more neceſſity from private men. Hence alſo proceeded the ſevere chaſtiſement laid upon thoſe 12. Colonies, that for want either of means, or of good will, had refuſed to give aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and inforced to give double the number of Foot to that which they had been wont to ſet out for the Wars, with a proportion of Horſe anſwerable to the very moſt of their ability. So confident were the *Romans* grown (though their wealth were not as yet ſuitable to the greatneſs of their ſpirit) upon the good ſucceſs of the battel at *Metaurus*, and the hopes which they repoſed in *Scipio*. All this notwithſtanding, when they conſidered more nearly of that which might happen: and were informed that the terrible Army, whereof *Italy* had been few dayes ſince diſcharged, was landed ſafe in *Africk:* they began to revolve a thouſand fearful matters in their heads, and to ſtand in doubt, leſt *Q. Fabius* (who died about the ſame time) would be found a true Prophet. For, bethinking themſelves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories againſt *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal* no ſpecialty of ſo great worth, as might promiſe the like ſucceſs againſt another manner of General, followed by other manner of men, than were either of thoſe two. The *Numidian* King had been wont to bring into the field a raſcal multitude of half ſkullions, that were good for nothing; being himſelf a fit Captain for ſuch Souldiers. Likewiſe *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco* was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate, but otherwiſe, one, that in the field was only good at ſaving himſelf by a ſwift retrait. But now there came an Army of men, hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleſhed many hundred times in *Roman* blood, and wearing the ſpoils, not only of good Souldiers, but of brave Captains, by them ſlain. Such talk uſed the people of *Rome*, ſaying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battel with many that had ſlain *Roman* Prætors, yea, and Conſuls with their own hands: with many that had been firſt in getting over the Trenches of ſeveral *Roman* Camps, or in winning the tops of walls at the ſiege of towns; briefly, that he ſhould now be oppoſed by an Army, as good as ever had ſerved in war, and following the dreadful name of *Hannibal*.

§. XXI.

Hannibal *in Africk prepares to fight with* Scipio; *treats with him about peace in vain: loſeth a battel at Nedagra, and perſwades the Carthaginians to ſue for peace. Of the peace garnted from* Rome *to* Carthage.

HAnnibal diſembarqued his Army at *Leptis*, almoſt an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eaſtward from the Headland of *Mercury*, and ſomewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horſe; which it was not eaſie for him to tranſport out of *Italy*. Therefore it behoved him to land, as he did, ſomewhat far from the enemy; that he might furniſh himſelf of theſe and the like needful helps againſt the day of battel. From *Leptis* he paſſed on to *Adrumetum*, and ſo along through the Inland Country gathering friends unto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was ſaid to have in thoſe dayes the beſt Horſes of ſervice, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure unto his party: making him underſtand, that if the *Romans* got the victory, it ſhould be eaſie for *Maſaniſſa*, by their countenance and help to oppreſs both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes, as hindred his proſpect. This argument, and the fame of him that uſed it, prevailed with *Tychæus*; who ſhortly after brought unto the *Carthaginian* two thouſand Horſe. *Appian* further adds, That *Mezetullus*, (the ſame who had made himſelf Protector over *Maſaniſſa* his Couſins; and was Head of a Family, and adverſe to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thouſand Horſe: as likewiſe, that *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdom, began at the ſame time to aſſail the places that yielded obedience to *Maſaniſſa*. This *Vermina*, as we find in *Livie*, came with more than 16. thouſand men (for he loſt more than

than ſo many) to ſuccour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in ſuch hard eſtate, or (at leaſt) ſo impatient of the ſtate wherein they were ; that they could not attend the leiſure of thoſe preparations, which would have made the victory aſſured. When they conſidered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatneſs of his Acts : it offended them to think, that they had been ſo baſe as to make humble ſuit unto the *Romans* for peace ; whileſt they had ſuch a brave Champion alive, to maintain their cauſe by War. But when as they bethought themſelves of their own ſufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure them, appeared greater than indeed they were : then cried they out earneſtly that it was no time to linger, but preſently to fight ; that ſo they might ſee an end of theſe troubles, either good or bad ; and to this purpoſe they ſent their Mandates to *Hannibal* : requiring him without any further protraction, to do what he could do out of hand. *Hannibal* made anſwer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to diſpoſe of him and his Army ; but ſince he was General of their forces, He thought it reaſonable that they ſhould ſuffer him to do as a General ought to do ; and to chooſe his own times. Nevertheleſs, to give them ſatisfaction, He made great marches to *Zama* ; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce made by the *Carthaginians* : the violence done to his Embaſſadours : and the news of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*, made *Scipio* to underſtand the reſolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yield unto any conditions unprofitable for themſelves, as long as they were able to make reſiſtance. Wherefore he ſent unto *Maſaniſſa* : and informed him of all that was fallen out ; praying him to come away with ſpeed, and lay all other buſineſs apart. Ten *Roman* Companies, of Horſe and Foot together, *Maſaniſſa* had with him ; that were lent unto him by *Scipio*, to do him ſervice in the eſtabliſhing and inlarging of his Kingdom. But he well underſtood, that thoſe and many more beſides all his own forces, would but little avail him ; if *Hannibal* ſhould drive the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking ſuch order as he could upon the ſudden, for the ſafety of his own Kingdome ; with four thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot, he made all haſte unto *Scipio*.

Soon after the beginning of theſe new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours that had been at *Rome*, returned back under the conduct of *Lælius* and *Fulvius*, who brought them ſave into the *Roman* Camp. There when they arrived and underſtood what had lately paſſed, eſpecially how their Citizens had behaved themſelves towards the *Roman* Embaſſadours : they made little doubt, how their own heads ſhould anſwer for ſuch notorious outrage. To confirm them in this opinion,

M. Bæbius one of the late Embaſſadours that had been in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands upon them and detained them ; ſending word unto his General, who was gone abroad to make War in the Country, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their own Coyn, for the iujury by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to hear of this ; and commanded *Bæbius* to uſe them with all poſſible courteſie, and ſend them ſafe home. By thus doing, He brake the hearts of his enemies ; and cauſed them to acknowledge themſelves (which was a great victory) far leſs honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithſtanding, he made more cruel War upon them than before : taking their Towns by force ; and putting them to ſack, without hearkning to any Compoſition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they took a Town by aſſault, to put all that came in their way to the ſword, whatſoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themſelves terrible : and the better to work ſuch impreſſion in the minds of thoſe, with whom they had to do ; they uſed oftentimes to kill the very Dogs and other Beaſts, that ran athwart them in the ſtreets : hewing their bodies aſunder : as men delighted in ſhedding of blood. This being their practice at other times ; it is likely that now they omitted no piece of cruelty ; when they meant to give proof of their vehement indignation, and revengful minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were ſo earneſt in preſſing *Hannibal* to fight. *Excerp. Polyb. lib.* 10.

Hannibal being incamped at *Zama*, ſent forth his Scouts and Spies, to diſcover where the *Romans* lay, what they were adoing, and as much as might be, of their demeanour. Some of theſe were taken, and brought unto *Scipio* : who inſtead of truſſing them up, gave them free leave to view his Camp at pleaſure, appointing one to conduct them up and down, and ſhew them whatſoever they deſired. This done, He gave them leave to depart ; and ſent them away ſafe unto their General. *Hannibal* underſtanding this, admired the bravery and courage

rage of his enemy: with whom on the ſudden he grew ſo deſirous to have an Enterview, and perſonal conference; and ſignified ſo much unto him by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned anſwer, that He would meet him ſhortly in a place convenient. The next day *Maſaniſſa* came with his Army: whom *Scipio* taking with him, removed unto a Town callad *Nedagara*; near unto which he ſat down, in a place otherwiſe commodious, & cloſe by a water that might opportunely ſerve his Camp. Thence he ſent word unto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did fitly ſerve, if he had ought to ſay to him. *Hannibal* thereupon removed from *Zama*, and came within four miles of the enemy; where he incamped well to his own good liking in all things elſe; excepting that his men were driven to take much pains, in fetching their water ſomewhat far off. Then was order taken for their meeting: aud the two Generals each of them with a troop of Horſe, rode forth of their Camps, till they came unto a piece of ground; which was before well ſearched for fear of ambuſh. There they will their followers to ſtand off: and themſelves with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way between their Companies. They remained a while ſilent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then began the *Carthaginian*, ſaluting the *Roman*, to deliver his mind to this effect: That it had been better both for *Carthage*, and *Rome*, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the ſhores of *Africk* and of *Italy*; for that the Countreys of *Sicil* and *Spain*, about which their fathers and themſelves had ſtriven, were no ſufficient recompence for ſo many Fleets as had been loſt, and of ſo much blood as had been ſhed, in making thoſe coſtly purchaſes. But ſince things paſt could not be recalled: He ſaid, That it was meet for them to conſider, unto what extream dangers their own Cities had been expoſed, by the greedy deſire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length to make an end of their obſtinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wiſdom hereafter. And to ſuch peacable diſpoſition, He affirmed that his own years, and long tryal of Fortune, both good and evil, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience, might rather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, than upon a contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affairs are ſubject. *Yet* (ſaid he) *mine own example may peradventure ſuffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that ſame* Hannibal, *who after my victory at* Cannæ, *won the greateſt part of* Italy; *and deviſed with my ſelf, what I ſhould do with your City of* Rome, *which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought mine Army to your walls, as thou haſt ſince brought thine to ours of* Carthage: *but now, ſee the change! I ſtand here intreating thee to grant us peace. This may ſerve as a document of Fortunes inſtability. I have fought with thy Father* Scipio; *He was the firſt of the* Roman *Generals that ever met me in the field. I did then little think, that the time would come, that I ſhould have ſuch buſineſs, as now at the preſent, with his ſon. But this is even one of Fortunes pageants, whereof ſhe hath many. And thou maiſt have experience of the like in thy ſelf, who knows how ſoon? Think upon* M. Atilius: *If he would have hearkned unto ſuch perſwaſions, as I now uſe to thee, he might have returned home to* Rome *an happy man, and ſo maiſt thou do now, if any reaſonable offer will give thee ſatisfaction. How ſaiſt thou? Canſt thou be contented, that all* Spain, Sicil, Sardinia, *and whatſoever Iſlands elſe are ſcituate between* Italy *and* Africk *be abandoned by the* Carthaginians *for ever, and left unto the* Romans, *to bear dominion therein? Thou ſhalt have glory enough by effecting thus much: and the* Romans *may well be glad of ſuch a bargain. As for us, our own quiet ſhall henceforth give us contentment. And the ſame contentment of ours, ſhall make us faithfully obſerve the peace with you. But if thou thinkeſt all too little, I muſt deſire thee to ponder well how great an hazzard thou muſt undergo for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou maiſt have without contention. It is now in thine own power to lay hold upon good fortune, if it pleaſe thee: ſtay but untill to morrow night, and thou maiſt take ſuch fortune as it pleaſe the Gods. The iſſue of battel is uncertain, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and ſteel we ſhall each of us bring into the field; but of the victory neither of us have aſſurance. Let us therefore without more ado make peace. And do not tell me that ſome falſ-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudently of late in the like treaty: It is I* Hannibal *that now deſire peace with thee, which I would never do, if I thought it not expedient for my Countrey. And thinking it expedient, I will alwaies maintain it, like as I have maintained, unto my power, as long as the Gods did not envy me, the war by me begun.*

Hereunto *Scipio* made anſwer, That it was no ambitious deſire of ruling in *Sicil* and in

in *Spain* which had moved the *Romans* to enter into this or the former War: but that the defence of the *Mamertines*, and afterwards of the *Saguntines*, their confederates, had cauſed them to put on thoſe arms; which the gods by the final iſſue of the Wars had approved, and would approve to be moſt juſt. As for the mutability of Fortune, he ſaid, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of inſolence or overweening, he might well refuſe the conditions offered. *For was it not plain that all theſe Countreys, with which the* Carthaginians *now ſo willingly departed, were already won from the* Romans? *If*, ſaid he, *theſe conditions had been propounded whileſt as yet ye detained ſome part of* Italy, *they might peradventure not have been rejected. But as the caſe now ſtands, I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould remit unto you any one piece of theſe my former demands to which the* Carthaginians *have yielded already, and thought me to be gracious in dealing ſo moderately. Rather I ſay, that the injuries which they have done me ſince, have made them unworthy of obtaining peace upon ſo friendly terms. But I cannot blame thee,* Hannibal, *though thou wouldſt be glad to make thy Citizens underſtand, from how much of their burden they are by thy means eaſed. Only thou muſt think, that in like ſort it concerns me in honour not to let them be gainers or ſavers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knoweſt well, that beſides thoſe offers which thou here haſt made, they were well contented to reſtore unto us ranſome free, all priſoners that they have of ours, to pay us five thouſand talents, to deliver up their Gallies, and to deliver hoſtages for aſſurance of fair dealing, And muſt they now be diſcharged of all this by their breach of truce, their ſpoiling of our fleet, and their violating our Embaſſadours? Not ſo. But if they can be contented, beſides all this, to make ſuch amends as I ſhall require, for theſe injuries newly done; then will I take advice with my counſel what anſwer to give you; otherwiſe you may even prepare for war, and blame your own ſelves for that I have denied you peace.*

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his own Camp, with no other news than war; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battel, wherein ſhould be decided the quarrel between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The next morning at break of day they iſſued into the field: a notable march, and ſuch as hath very ſeldom been found: whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two Cities that contended, or the great importance of the battel at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the *Roman* manner: placing firſt the *Haſtati*, divided into their Maniples, or ſmall Battalions, with a reaſonable diſtance between them: Not far behind theſe followed the *Principes*, likewiſe divided; and ſo after them the *Triarii*. But herein *Scipio* altered a little the ordinary cuſtome of the *Romans*: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* oppoſite unto the void ſpaces between the *Haſtati*, that ſo the *Haſtati*, as was uſual, might fall back between the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were, in File. This he did, becauſe of the Elephants, whereof *Hannibal* had many. For of thoſe beaſts the danger was leſs whileſt there was open way to let them through. Therefore he took ſuch order, that when they had paſſed through the ſpaces between the firſt Battalions, they ſhould not come upon the *Principes* in Front. Unto his *Velites*, or thoſe of the light armature that were to begin the fight he gave direction, that when they found themſelves to be overcharged, either by the Enemies; or (which was moſt to be feared) by the Elephants, they ſhould run back through thoſe lanes that were between the Maniples; and that thoſe which were ſwifteſt, or otherwiſe beſt able, ſhould continue on their flight, until they were got behind all their own Army; thereby leaving room enough unto thoſe that were wounded, or caſt behind, to ſave themſelves on the void ground, that was betwixt the firſt and ſecond, or the ſecond and third battels, without cloying up the way between the Maniples, which he deſired to keep open. His *Italian* horſe he placed in the left wing, under *C. Lælius*. In the right wing was *Maſaniſſa* with his *Numidians*. He himſelf riding up and down, exhorted his men to do valiantly; uſing words, not many, but forcible. He bad them remember what they had atchieved, ſince their coming into *Africk*. He told them, that if this day were theirs, the War was at an end: and that their victory in this War, ſhould make them Lords of all the World, for that afterwards, none would be found able to reſiſt them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he aſked them whither they would flie. They were far from home, yea, and far from their own ſtanding Camp: neither was there any place in *Africk*, that would give them ſhelter: if they fell into the *Carthaginians* hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory: unleſs they would live like wretched ſlaves under moſt mercileſs Enemies. In ſuch neceſſity he ſaid, that they which conſider themſelves to be, and

take reſolution anſwerable thereunto, have never been known to fail of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other ſide placed his Elephants, that were more than fourſcore in Front of his Battle. Next behind theſe he made his Vant-guard all of Mercenaries, *Ligurians*, *Gaules*, *Balcares* and *Moors*. Then followed his Battel; which was of *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, more intereſſed in the quarrel than were thoſe Mercenaries; though not ſo good ſouldiers: but to help (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them four thouſand *Macedonians*, lately ſent from King *Philip*. More than the ſpace of a furlong, behind theſe came his Rereward, conſiſting of thoſe brave Souldiers which had ſerved him in his *Italian* wars; and were the only men, in whom he repoſed any confidence. Oppoſite to *Lælius*, in his own right wing he beſtowed the *Carthaginian* Horſe. *Tychæus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left wing againſt *Maſaniſſa*. He was indeed far too weak for the Enemy in Horſe, both in number and in goodneſs. For *Tychæus* and *Mazetullus* had no more than three thouſand; and thoſe not ſo well exerciſed, as were the four thouſand of *Maſaniſſa*. The *Carthaginians* alſo were no more, nor none other, than ſuch as could be levied in the haſte of a few dayes; and the remainder of thoſe, that had of late been often vanquiſhed, and accuſtomed to flye. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authority, to make theſe his companions alight and ſerve on foot, ſetting better men in their ſaddles. All that he could have done, was to ſtay a little longer, and expect more help. Had *Vermina* the ſon of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in a few dayes after, with ſixteen thouſand and upwards, the moſt of them Horſe, the advantage of number might have ſerved well to ſupply all other defect. Yet ſince the Lords of *Carthage* would brook no delay, *Hannibal* muſt be fain to comfort himſelf with the hope that he repoſed in his old *Italian* ſouldiers; whoſe vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more ſtrongly oppoſed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their ſeveral conditions: promiſing unto the Mercenaries bountiful rewards; threatning the *Carthaginians* with inevitable ſervitude if they loſt that day: but eſpecially animating his old fellow-ſouldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained againſt far greater numbers. He bad them to look upon the Enemies and make an eſtimate, whether they were any thing like ſo many, as that huge Army which they had ſlaughtered at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, even the father of this man, whom they had firſt of all compelled to run away. He told them, that theſe Legions, which they yonder beheld, were for the moſt part of them, the very worſt of the *Roman* Souldiers; even ſuch, as for their daſtardly flight out of ſundry battels, could no longer be truſted to bear Arms in their own Country. As for the reſt, they were young men, the ſons of Cowards, and bred up in the continual fear of thoſe weapons, by which their fathers were daily ſlain or chaſed. Wherefore he intreated theſe his old companions, upon whoſe vertue he meant wholly to repoſe himſelf, that they would this day ſtrive to make good their honour, and to purchaſe the fame of *men invincible*.

Such exhortations uſed the two Generals before the fight. When they drew near together, the *Numidian* horſemen on both ſides began to ſkirmiſh. The Trumpets and other inſtruments of war, ſounded to battel: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to break upon the *Romans*. Of theſe Elephants (as they were alwayes an uncertain kind of help) thoſe that ſtood near unto the point of the left wing, turned back for fear: and ran upon their own *Numidian* horſe; which they affrighted and diſordered. *Maſaniſſa* eſpying this, gave charge upon the ſame *Numidians*; and not ſuffering them to rally themſelves, drave them quite out of the field. The reſt of thoſe beaſts made a great ſpoil of the *Roman Velites*, whom they followed into the ſpaces between the Maniples: but without any harm to the Battalions themſelves; which gave them open way, accordingly as *Scipio* had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be governed, but ran back upon the right point of their own battel, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithal they diſordered the *Carthaginian* Horſe, which were in that wing: againſt whom they gave to *Lælius* the ſame advantage that *Maſaniſſa* had againſt the *Numidians*; which he uſed in like ſort. In the mean while, the battels of foot advanced, and drew near together with a ſlow and ſtately pace, till they were almoſt within a weapons caſt: at what time they gave a ſhout and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time ſeemed both in audacity, and in quickneſs to have the better of the *Romans*; wounding many, and doing more harm, than they took. But the *Roman* diſcipline after a while prevailed againſt the boiſterous violence of theſe untrained *Barbarians*.

Where-

Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battel of the *Principes*, following ſomewhat near after the *Haſtati*, encouraged their fellows & ſhewed themſelvs ready, if need were, to relieve them. Contrariwiſe, the Mercenaries, received no manner of help or comfort, from thoſe that ſhould have ſeconded them. For the new-levied *Carthagians* and *Africans*, when they ſaw their hired ſouldiers give back, did alſo themſelves retire. This cauſed the *Ligurians*, *Gaules*, and the reſt, to think themſelves betrayed: whereupon they enclined unto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battel was herewith more terrified than before, ſo as it refuſed to give way unto the Mercenaries for their ſafe retreat; and yet withal forbore to make head againſt the Enemies, that purſued them. It was no time to aſk them what they meant by this: Fear and Indignation cauſed thoſe that were at once chaſed by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their own fellows, to turn their arms with an heedleſs fury againſt both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten down and ſlain, through their own indiſcretion, by their own Mercenaries. The *Roman Haſtati* in like ſort, fighting with deſperate men in a throng, had their hands ſo full of work, that the *Principes* were fain to come up unto them, and help to over-bear this great medley of enemies, that were together by the ears among themſelves. In this place was made a great ſlaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor eaſily flye. Such of them as eſcaped, ran towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not ſtir one foot, to help or ſave theſe Run-awayes. He cauſed his men to bend their Pikes at thoſe of his own ſide, that would have ruſhed upon him: whom he thereby compelled to turn aſide beyond his battel, and ſave themſelves in the open field. The ground over which, the *Romans* were now to march, ere they could meet with *Hannibal*, was covered with heaps of dead bodies and weapons; and ſo ſlippery with blood, that *Scipio* began to ſtand in great doubt, leſt the orders of his Battalions ſhould be diſſolved in paſſing that way. In ſuch caſe, if he ſhould fight with that warlike Army, which he ſaw before him, remaining yet entire, and without fear expecting him; He might be well aſſured to receive a notable overthrow. He cauſed therefore the *Haſtati* to make a ſtand there where they were, oppoſite to the main battel of the *Hannibalians*. Then drawing up his *Principes* and *Triarii*, he placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Haſtati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than ever he had been received in his life before. All the days work till now, ſeemed to have been a matter of paſtime, in regard of the ſharp Conflict, that was maintained between theſe notable Souldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged by their having prevailed all the day before: they were alſo far the more in number. But theſe old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were freſh; (and perhaps the better men.) They fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that no man gave back one foot; but rather choſe to die on the ground whereon he ſtood. So that, after a long time it was uncertain which part had the worſe: unleſs it may ſeem, that the *Romans* were beginning to ſhrink; foraſmuch as the return of *Maſaniſſa* and *Lælius* from purſuit of the Enemies Horſe, is ſaid to have been *moſt happy*, and in a *needful time*. Theſe upon a ſudden charged the *Hannibalians* in the Rear; and over-bearing them by meer violence, compelled them to fall to Rout. * *Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 15.*

In this battel there dyed of the *Romans* fifteen hundred and upwards: on the *Carthaginian* ſide, above twenty thouſand; beſides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captain of the *Macedonians* was one. The ſingular ſkill that *Hannibal* ſhewed in this his laſt fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Livie* reports, by *Scipio* himſelf. But the Enemies were too ſtrong for him in Horſe: and being enjoyned, as he was, by the State of *Carthage*, to take battel with ſuch diſadvantage, he could work no marvels. He ſaved himſelf with a few horſe; and ſtayed not in his journey, till he came *Adrumetum*. Thence he was ſent for to *Carthage*; from which he had been abſent ſix and thirty years. At his coming into the Senate, He ſaid plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take ſuch peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* not knowing what other courſe to take, reſolved to ſend Embaſſadors again, and try the favour of *Scipio*, whoſe Arms they could not now reſiſt.

Scipio having ſpoiled the Enemies Camp, returned back to *Utica*: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fifty Gallies and an hundred Ships of burden. With this Fleet, and that which he had before, He thought it beſt to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpoſe to terrifie the City, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he

committed unto *Cn. Octavius*; whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then sending *Lælius* away to *Rome* with news of the victory, set sail from *Utica* towards *Carthage*. He was encountred on the way by ten Embassadors from the City: who bearing up with the Admiral Gally, began to use the pittiful gesture of suppliants. But they received none other answer, than that they should meet him at *Tunes*, where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the City, and viewing it more in bravery, than with meaning to attempt it; he returned back to *Utica*, and called back *Octavius* thither, with whom in person he set forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their journy thither, they heard the news, that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, was coming with an Army of more horse than foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Vermina* seems to have been both careless of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defective in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Army. Part of the *Roman* foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not only beat him, but so compass him in, that he hardly escaped himself with a few; leaving fifteen thousand of his followers dead behind him, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. If this good company had been with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they should have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day; which the *Carthaginian* lost by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this victory, though it were no great access unto the former; yet served well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater fear of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirty Embassadors from *Carthage*: whose behaviour, though it was more pittiful than it had been before, yet procured it less commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselves. Nevertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious work it would prove, to besiege the mighty City of *Carthage*. And particularly, *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honour of this war, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands, and given to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, that Consul who had charge of the war against *Hannibal* at such time as he departed out of *Italy*: was bold to pass over into the Isle of *Sicil* (as it were in chase of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driven away) with a purpose thence to have proceeded into *Africk*, and taken from *Scipio* the command of the Army there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restrain the ambition of this Consul *Servilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suit for the same Province of *Africk*: and was therein so earnest, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire; yet he needs would be going, procuring only leave of the Senate, that be being Consul might join with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equal authority. But ere he could have his Fleet, and all things in a readiness for the journy, wherein no man cared to further him, Winter came on, and he was only tost at Sea with foul weather; first upon the Coast of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Consulship expired, and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyful news to *Rome*, of the victory obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the war was now even at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Consul so passionate, in desiring *Africk* for his Province, that he said he would suffer nothing to pass in the Senate, until he had first his will. Much ado there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the people, at last it was ordered, That if peace were granted, it should be granted by *Scipio*; if the war continued, *Scipio* should have command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to give the more favourable answer unto the *Carthaginian* Embassadors. He willed them to consider what they had deserved: and in regard thereof, to think themselves well dealt withal; in that he was contented to leave unto them their liberty and their own Laws, without appointing any Governour over them, or Garrison to hold them in subjection; leaving also unto them their possessions in *Africk*, such as they were at the beginning of this war. As touching the rest he was at a point, that, before he either granted them peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilst the late Treaty was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yield, then required, He, *That immediately they should deliver up to the* Romans *all prisoners, fugitives, and renegado's, that they had of theirs: likewise all their Gallies, excepting ten: and all their Elephants. That they should make no war at all thenceforth out of* Africk, *neither yet within* Africk, *without licence of the* Romans: *That the Countrys, Towns, goods whatsoever, belonging any wise unto* Masanissa, *or to any of his Ancestors, which were in their possession, should be all by them restored unto him: That they should find corn for the* Roman *Army, and wages for their*

Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded; that they should pay ten thousand Talents of Silver, in the term of fifty years, by two hundred Talents a year, and that for observance of Conditions, they should give an hundred hostages: such as Scipio *would choose, being none of them under fourteen years of age, nor above thirty.*

With these conditions the Embassadours returned home, and reported them unto the City. They were very unpleasing; and therefore one *Gesco* stood up to speak against them: and exhorted the people, who gave good attention, that they should not condescend unto such intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiving this, and noting withal what favourable audience was given to this vain Oratour, by the unquiet, yet unwarlike multitude, was bold to pull him down from his standing, by plain force. Hereat all the people murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captain. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, rose up and spake unto them, saying; That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customes of the City would allow; forasmuch as he had been thence absent ever since he was a Boy of nine years old, until he was now a man of five and forty. Having thus excused himself of the disorder, he discoursed unto them concerning the Peace: and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting ability to defend themselves, had the Demands of the Enemy been yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good advice they resolved to yield unto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they paid out of hand five and twenty thousand pounds weight in Silver, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them done to his Fleet and Embassadours. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three moneths, in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithal he gave injunction, that they should neither in the mean while send Embassadours any whither else, nor yet dismiss any Embassadours to them sent, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honourable men, by the miseries whereinto *Carthage* was fallen, through their malicious counsels. *Asdrubal*, surnamed *the Kid*, a venerable man, and a great friend of *Hanno*, was chief of the Embassages which they sent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embassadours, who related unto the Senate and People these joyful news. About the same time arrived at *Rome* Embassadours from *Philip* King of *Macedon*: who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were fain to wait a while for audience, till the election of new Consuls, then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the Provinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embassadours called into the Senate: who first answering unto some points, wherein the *Romans* had lately signified unto their King, that they found themselves grieved; returned the blame upon those *Greeks* themselves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accused they *Marcus Aurelius*: who being one of the three Embassadours, that had lately been sent from *Rome* unto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behind his fellows, and there levying men, made war upon the King, without any regard at all of the league, that was between him and the *Romans*. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countrymen, that had lately served *Hannibal* for Pay; and being taken prisoners in *Africk*, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*, might be released and delivered unto them. Unto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, made a sharp answer. He said, that the *Greeks*, which were confederate with *Rome*, enduring so many injuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was fain to stay behind, to help them as he might; which else were like to be brought under the Kings subjection. As for *Sopater*, he affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counsel, and very inward with him: one that served not for money, but carryed money with him, and four thousand men, sent from the King to the aid of *Hannibal*. About these points, when the *Macedonian* Embassadours could make unto the Senate no good answer, they were willed to return, and tell their Master, That war he sought, and war he should find, if he proceeded as he had begun. For in two main points He had broken the League, that was between him and the *Romans*: first, in that he had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that he had aided their Enemies against them, with men and money.

These quarrels with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into *Greece* and the Eastern Countreys, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embassadours in their solicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reverend company, when they entred into the Senate: and *Asdrubal* above the rest was much respected, as one,

one, whose good offices had kept the *Romans* from necessity of sending Embassadours to *Carthage*, upon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the justice of the quarrel had been wholly on the *Romans* side; saying, that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuse the City, that had been too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsel. But if *Hanno*, and himself might have had their wills, the *Carthaginians*, even at the best of their Fortune, should have granted the peace, which they now desired. Herewithal he commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no small argument of their valour; by which alwayes they had been victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadours: all of them entreating to have the peace ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diversity of their stile. They had patience enough to endure such reproof of Perjury, as they themselves might have laid upon the *Romans*, if their diligence and fortune had been such as the *Romans* was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would swear to keep the peace hereafter: *Asdrubal* made answer; *Even by the same gods, that are so severe unto those that violate their Leagues.*

Lentulus the Consul, interposing the authority of his office, would have hindred the Senate from proceeding unto conclusion of peace; for that hereby he was like to lose the honour, which he purposed to get by making war in *Africk*. But the matter was propounded unto the people, in whom rested the Soveraign Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly unto the pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio*, with ten Delegates, sent unto him from *Rome* of purpose, should make a League with the *Carthaginians*, upon such Conditions as seemed best: which were none other, than the same which he had already propounded. For this favour the *Carthaginian* Embassadours humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might visit their Countrymen, which were prisoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ransome and carry home with them some that were their especial friends; of whom they gave in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadours would choose, should be sent over into *Africk*, and be freely restored to liberty by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyn with *Scipio* in commission.

At their coming into *Africk*, the peace was given, and accepted, without any controversie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, were delivered up to *Scipio*: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* took more vengeance upon the Renegado's than upon the Fugitives; and upon those of the *Romans*, than upon the *Latines*, or other *Italians*. The *Latines* he beheaded: the *Romans* he crucified. About the first payment of their money, the *Carthaginians* were somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasury could have spared two hundred Talents for the present; yet since the pension was annual, and to continue fifty years: it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collection of the sum there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* yoke had begun to pinch them; so as many, even of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwise, *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter. For which, when he was checked by *Asdrubal Hædus*, and told, That it worst of all beseemed him to laugh, since he had been the cause why all others did weep; He answered, *That laughter did not alwayes proceed from joy; but sometimes from extreamity of indignation: Yet*, said He, *My laughter is more seasonable, and less absurd, than your tears. For ye should have wept when ye gave up your Ships and Elephants, and when ye bound your own hands from the use of arms, without the good leave of the* Romans *first obtained. This miserable condition keeps us under, and holds us in assured servitude. But of these matters ye had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purses, ye have thereof some sense. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye shall acknowledge, that it was the very least part of your misery for which ye have shed these tears.* Thus discoursed *Hannibal* unto those, who tasting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counsel, repented when it was too late; and instead of cursing their own disorders, which had bred this grievous disease, accused the Physician, whose noble endevours had been employed in procuring the remedy.

Scipio being to take leave of *Africk*, produced *Masanissa*, and magnified him in presence of the Army, with high commendations not undeservedly. To him also he consigned over those towns of King *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that present held; wherein, to say truth, he gave him but his due; and that

that which otherwise he knew not well how to bestow. But the love of the *Romans*, and friendship of *Scipio*, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the deservings of this *Numidian* King. About *Carthage* there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarqued themselves for *Sicil:* where when they arrived at *Lylibæum*, *Scipio* with some part of his Army took his way home to *Rome* by Land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His journey through *Italy* was no less glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to do him honour as he passed along. He entred the City in Triumph: neither was there ever before, or after, any triumph celebrated with so great joy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in bravery of the pomp, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the City in this Triumph, and dying soon after in prison; or whether he were dead a while before: it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed, that it was a barbarous custome of the *Romans*, to insult over the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea, though they were such, as had always made fair and courteous war. But hereof we shall have better example ere the same age pass. It was neither the person of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grievous war past, whereof the *Romans* had been in a manner *without hope that ever they should set* Italy *free*. This made them look chearfully upon the Author of so great a conversion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to *Scipio* the Title of the *African*: stiling him by the name of that Province, which he had subdued. This honourable kind of surname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was usurped by men of less desert: especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated unto themselves the title of Countreys, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue unto *Scipio* the *African*.

Exc. pt. 2 Polyb. lib. 16.

CHAP. IV.

Of Philip *the father of* Perseus *King of* Macedon; *his first Acts and War with the* Romans, *by whom he was subdued.*

§. I.

How the Romans *grew acquainted in the East-Countreys, and desirous of War there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The* Ætolians *over-run* Peloponnesus. Philip *and his Associates make War against the* Ætolians. *Alteration of the state in* Sparta. *The* Ætolians *invade* Greece *and* Macedon, *and are invaded at home by* Philip.

OF the great similitude found in worldly events, the limitation of *matter* hath been assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined unto a subject that is not unbounded; the works of Nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seem to have their whole dependance upon the will of man, we are less to wonder, if we find less variety: since it is no great portion of things which are obnoxious unto humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundry men are over-ruled, in managing the affairs of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the kingdom of the *Medes*, with two hundred thousand Foot, and threescore thousand Horse; but failing in their intended conquest, they became subject within a while themselves unto the *Medes* and *Persians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell upon the *Greeks* with such number of men, as might have seemed resistless. But after that the *Persians* were beaten home again, their Empire was never secure of the *Greeks:* who at all times of leisure from intestine War, devised upon that conquest thereof, which finally they made under the great *Alexander*.

If

one, whoſe good offices had kept the *Romans* from neceſſity of ſending Embaſſadours to *Carthage*, upon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the juſtice of the quarrel had been wholly on the *Romans* ſide; ſaying, that it was the fault of ſome violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuſe the City, that had been too vehement in the proſecution of bad counſel. But if *Hanno*, and himſelf might have had their wills, the *Carthaginians*, even at the beſt of their Fortune, ſhould have granted the peace, which they now deſired. Herewithal he commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no ſmall argument of their valour; by which alwayes they had been victorious. To the ſame effect ſpake the reſt of the Embaſſadours: all of them entreating to have the peace ratified; though ſome with more lamentable words than others, according to the diverſity of their ſtile. They had patience enough to endure ſuch reproof of Perjury, as they themſelves might have laid upon the *Romans*, if their diligence and fortune had been ſuch as the *Romans* was. Among the reſt, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would ſwear to keep the peace hereafter: *Aſdrubal* made anſwer; *Even by the ſame gods, that are ſo ſevere unto thoſe that violate their Leagues.*

Lentulus the Conſul, interpoſing the authority of his office, would have hindred the Senate from proceeding unto concluſion of peace; for that hereby he was like to loſe the honour, which he purpoſed to get by making war in *Africk*. But the matter was propounded unto the people, in whom reſted the Soveraign Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly unto the pleaſure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio*, with ten Delegates, ſent unto him from *Rome* of purpoſe, ſhould make a League with the *Carthaginians*, upon ſuch Conditions as ſeemed beſt: which were none other, than the ſame which he had already propounded. For this favour the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might viſit their Countrymen, which were priſoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ranſome and carry home with them ſome that were their eſpecial friends; of whom they gave in writing almoſt two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of thoſe Priſoners, which the Embaſſadours would chooſe, ſhould be ſent over into *Africk*, and be freely reſtored to liberty by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyn with *Scipio* in commiſſion.

At their coming into *Africk*, the peace was given, and accepted, without any controverſie or diſputation. The Priſoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, were delivered up to *Scipio*: likewiſe the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* took more vengeance upon the Renegado's than upon the Fugitives; and upon thoſe of the *Romans*, than upon the *Latines*, or other *Italians*. The *Latines* he beheaded: the *Romans* he crucified. About the firſt payment of their money, the *Carthaginians* were ſomewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treaſury could have ſpared two hundred Talents for the preſent; yet ſince the penſion was annual, and to continue fifty years: it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collection of the ſum there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* yoke had begun to pinch them; ſo as many, even of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwiſe, *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter. For which, when he was checked by *Aſdrubal Hædus*, and told, That it worſt of all beſeemed him to laugh, ſince he had been the cauſe why all others did weep; He anſwered, *That laughter did not alwayes proceed from joy; but ſometimes from extreamity of indignation: Yet*, ſaid He, *My laughter is more ſeaſonable, and leſs abſurd, than your tears. For ye ſhould have wept when ye gave up your Ships and Elephants, and when ye bound your own hands from the uſe of arms, without the good leave of the* Romans *firſt obtained. This miſerable condition keeps us under, and holds us in aſſured ſervitude. But of theſe matters ye had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purſes, ye have thereof ſome ſenſe. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye ſhall acknowledge, that it was the very leaſt part of your miſery for which ye have ſhed theſe tears.* Thus diſcourſed *Hannibal* unto thoſe, who taſting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counſel, repented when it was too late; and inſtead of curſing their own diſorders, which had bred this grievous diſeaſe, accuſed the Phyſician, whoſe noble endevours had been employed in procuring the remedy.

Scipio being to take leave of *Africk*, produced *Maſaniſſa*, and magnified him in preſence of the Army, with high commendations not undeſervedly. To him alſo he conſigned over thoſe towns of King *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that preſent held; wherein, to ſay truth, he gave him but his due; and that

that which otherwiſe he knew not well how to beſtow. But the love of the *Romans*, and friendſhip of *Scipio*, was fully anſwerable, now and hereafter, to all the deſervings of this *Numidian* King. About *Carthage* there reſted no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarqued themſelves for *Sicil:* where when they arrived at *Lylibæum*, *Scipio* with ſome part of his Army took his way home to *Rome* by Land; and ſent the reſt before him thither by Sea. His journey through *Italy* was no leſs glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to do him honour as he paſſed along. He entred the City in Triumph: neither was there ever before, or after, any triumph celebrated with ſo great joy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in bravery of the pomp, there were others in time ſhortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the City in this Triumph, and dying ſoon after in priſon; or whether he were dead a while before: it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed, that it was a barbarous cuſtome of the *Romans*, to inſult over the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumelioully in Triumph; yea, though they were ſuch, as had alwayes made fair and courteous war. But hereof we ſhall have better example ere the ſame age paſs. It was neither the perſon of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the ſpectacle, that ſo much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grievous war paſt, whereof the *Romans* had been in a manner *without hope that ever they ſhould ſet* Italy *free*. This made them look chearfully upon the Author of ſo great a converſion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to *Scipio* the Title of the *African*: ſtiling him by the name of that Province, which he had ſubdued. This honourable kind of ſurname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was uſurped by men of leſs deſert: eſpecially by many of the *Cæſars*, who ſometimes arrogated unto themſelves the title of Countreys, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if ſuch glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue unto *Scipio* the *African*.

CHAP. IV.

Of Philip *the father of* Perſeus *King of* Macedon; *his firſt Acts and War with the* Romans, *by whom he was ſubdued.*

§. I.

How the Romans *grew acquainted in the Eaſt-Countreys, and deſirous of War there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The* Ætolians *over-run* Peloponneſus. Philip *and his Aſſociates make War againſt the* Ætolians. *Alteration of the ſtate in* Sparta. *The* Ætolians *invade* Greece *and* Macedon, *and are invaded at home by* Philip.

OF the great ſimilitude found in worldly events, the limitation of *matter* hath been aſſigned as a probable cauſe. For ſince Nature is confined unto a ſubject that is not unbounded; the works of Nature muſt needs be finite, and many of them reſemble one the other. Now in thoſe actions, that ſeem to have their whole dependance upon the will of man, we are leſs to wonder, if we find leſs variety: ſince it is no great portion of things which are obnoxious unto humane power; and ſince they are the ſame affections, by which the wills of ſundry men are over-ruled, in managing the affairs of our daily life. It may be obſerved in the change of Empires, before thoſe times whereof we now write, how the *Aſſyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the kingdom of the *Medes*, with two hundred thouſand Foot, and threeſcore thouſand Horſe; but failing in their intended conqueſt, they became ſubject within a while themſelves unto the *Medes* and *Perſians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell upon the *Greeks* with ſuch number of men, as might have ſeemed reſiſtleſs. But after that the *Perſians* were beaten home again, their Empire was never ſecure of the *Greeks:* who at all times of leiſure from inteſtine War, deviſed upon that conqueſt thereof, which finally they made under the great *Alexander*.

If

If *Nabuchodonosor* with his rough old Souldiers, had undertaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus* with his well-trained Army, had made attempt upon *Greece*; the issue might, in humane reason, have been far different. Yet would it then have been expedient for them, to employ the travel and vertue of their men, rather than the greatness of their names against those people; that were no less valiant, though less renowned, than their own. For the menacing words used by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done to the *Greeks* (in which kind it may be, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the *Medes* and *Persians*) were not so available to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great Kingdoms, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old Lion, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolf, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Ass. But Princes are often carryed away from reason, by mis-understanding the language of Fame: and despising the vertue that makes little noise, adventure to provoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their own glory should be foiled by any of less-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Evilmerodach*, had stumbled, *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* had dasht his foot. He was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though most of mark, and a better Souldier than any other *Greekish* King, when he entred into the war against the *Romans*. This war he undertook as it were for his minds sake; having received no injury; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greeks* that served under him, to prevail so easily against the barbarous *Romans*, that they should only serve as a step to his further intended conquests, of *Sicil* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans* by their victory against *Pyrrhus* had found their own vertue to be of richer metal, than was the more shining valour of the *Greeks*: than did all the bravery of the *Epirot* (his Elephants, and whatsoever else had served to make him terrible) serve only to make the *Romans*, in time following, to think more highly of themselves. *For since they had overcome the best Warrior in *Greece*, even Him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a year after make himself Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those unwarlike Provinces, which in compass of 12. years a *Macedonian* King of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requisite no more: than to bring to their own devotion by some good means, the whole Country of *Greece*: all the rest, this done, would follow it self. How to deal with the *Greeks*, *Philip* and *Alexander* had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learn, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

* The King of Spain's pretended invincible Navy, being beaten out of the British Seas, invited us to those of Spain: having broken the greatest fleet that ever the Spaniards gathered together, we never made account of any of his preparations after that time.

When therefore the first Punick war was ended, which followed soon after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leasure to hearken after news in *Greece*; and to entertain any good occasion, that should be on that side presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwise very skilfull Marriners; yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the *Illyrian* Queen *Teuta* made at the same time cruel war upon the *Greeks*: wasting their Countrey, and sacking their Towns, only because they were unable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrel, if the *Romans* were desirous to enter; the Queen was not slow to give them cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war, which they made with Her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their Patronage to be desired by the *Greeks*. But no such thing hapned: though they sent Embassadours, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for the love of *Greece* they had undertaken this *Illyrian* war. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greeks* and *Romans*: which afterwards encreased very hastily, through the indiscretion of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose business with them, now being the subject of our story, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reign, and his first Actions. It was like to prove a busie time in the world, when, within the space of 4. years, new Kings began to reign in the most of all Countreys known; and 3. of them young boyes, in 3. of the greatest kingdoms. This hapned from the third year of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, unto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose room succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called *the Great*. *Ptolomy Philopater* succeeded in the Kingdom of *Egypt* unto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, being 16. or 17. years old, received the Kingdom of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Achæans* and most of the *Greeks*, by the decease of his Uncle *Antigonus Doson*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedæmon*, and the Countreys about Mount

Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariarathes* then began his reign in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found means to make himself King over the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Common-weal, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headless; and *Achæus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebel unto him, occupied the Regions near unto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third years of the one hundred and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war brake out between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Invasion upon *Italy*. Those troubles of the Western world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed unto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolomy*, and the rest; we shall speak hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

Philip, soon after the beginning of his reign, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Achæans*, and many other his dependants. That Countrey, having freed it self by the help of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subjection unto *Cleomenes*; was now become no less obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should have been to the *Spartan*; and therewithal it lay open unto the violence of the *Ætolians*; who despised even the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The *Ætolians* were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted unto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the *Messenians* that were their own Clients, and (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the only good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their invasion was no less unexpected, than it was unjust: whereby with greater case they made spoil of the Countrey; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Achæans*, were called by the *Messenians* to help: which they did the more willingly: because the *Ætolians* passing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harm they listed. Old *Aratus* could hardly abide these *Ætolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembring the injuries, wherewith most ingratefully they had requited no small benefits done to them by the *Achæans*. He was therefore so hasty to fall upon this their Army, that he could hardly endure to stay few dayes until the time of his own Office came; being chosen Prætor of the *Achæans* for the year following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himself a man fitter (as hath been already noted of him) for any other service, than leading of Army. He suffered them to pass quietly along with their booty, through a part of the Country, wherein he might very easily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them to fear, when they had recovered ground of advantage, that they easily defeated all his Army. So they departed home rich, and well animated to return again. As for the *Achæans*, they got hereby only the friendship of the *Messenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made Confederacy. Shortly after, the *Ætolians* invaded *Peloponnesus* again: having no more to do, than to pass over the narrow Straights of the *Corinthian* Bay, called now the Gulph of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Countrey of the *Eleans*. There joyned with them, in this their second invasion, a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that Condition imposed upon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no Ships of war unto the Coast of *Greece*: made bold to seek adventures again, and did great mischief. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdom, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell upon the Islands of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip*, or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* under *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scerdiletus*, having gotten what they could elsewhere by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Ætolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater havock in the Country now, than in their former Expedition, and returned home without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made unto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satifie themselves with some speedy revenge: there were that urged to have some grievous punishment laid upon the *Lacedæmonians*; who were thought underhand to have favoured the *Ætolians*, in meer despight of the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately been subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedæmonians* had been so affected: and (which was worse) at the arrival of *Philip*, they slew such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgement: but intreated the King, that he would abstain from coming to them with an Army: since their Town was lately much disquieted with civil discord, which they hoped soon to appease; and meant always to

remain at his devotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly governed him) did well understand the *Lacedæmonians*: but for that a greater work was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth* in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining upon the *Ætolians*: and desiring to have War decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters unto the *Ætolians*, requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at *Rhium* for that purpose: whither if it pleased him to come, or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have been there at the day. But when the *Ætolians* understood this for certain, they adjourned the Councel unto a further time: saying, That such weighty matters ought not to be handled, save in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open War was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were, to shew how well they had deserved it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Invasions made on *Peloponnesus*; and the only man, in a sort, upon whom they must have laid the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publick.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*, where he prepared busily for the War against the year following. He also assayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with fair words and promises; whom he easily won from the *Ætolian* side, forasmuch as the *Ætolians* had couzened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Achæans*, who had first of all others proclaimed the War in their own Countrey, sent unto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Messenians*, *and Lacedæmonians:* requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce war unto the *Ætolians*; without staying (as it were) to await the event. Hereunto they received divers answers according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The *Acarnanians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering upon the *Ætolians*, of whom they stood in continual danger; said, that they could not honestly refuse to shew their faithful meaning in that War, which was concluded by general assent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were nevertheless more cunning and reserved: so that they stood upon a needless point, and desired to be held excused, until *Philip* (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaim the war. The *Messenians*, for whose cause the war was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Town which the *Ætolians* held upon their borders, and said, that they durst not be over-bold, until that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, the chief of them studied only, how to manage the treason for which their City had been so lately pardoned: and therefore dismissed the Embassadors of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three years together continued subject against their wils to the *Macedonians*, expecting still when *Cleomenes* should return out of *Egypt* to reign over them again, and maintain, as he was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings, but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of these there were some, that thought the publick safety to consist, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preserved them. And hereto they referred all their counsels: being perhaps a little moved with respect of the benefit, which might redound unto themselves, by adhering firmly to those which at the present bore rule over them. Others, and those the greater part were still devising, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* against his return; and sought to joyn with the *Ætolians*, which were the most likely to give him strong assistance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authority, and durst more freely speak their minds: but the contrary side was the more passionate, and spared not by murders or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neither did it suffice, that about these times there came certain report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which these intended; fancying unto themselves the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past, as it were not like to come again. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the most able man to restore them unto their greatness & lustre; which once he had in a manner performed: But since he was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deserving vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and those of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without such helps, they must continue little better than subjects unto the *Macedonian*, and far less by him respected, than were the *Achæans*. Thus were they transported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among

among them, procured the *Ætolians* to send an Embassie to *Sparta:* which propounded the matter openly unto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durst have made himself the Author. Much disputation, and hot, there was, between those of the *Macedonian* party, and these their opposites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded; until by massacre or banishment of all, or the chief, that spake against the *Ætolians:* the diversity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians:* without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achæans*, who had spared the City, when they might have destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardful of their ancient Laws, as touching the choosing of the one King, that we may justly wonder, how they grew so careless in making choice of the other. In the one of their Royal Families they found *Agesipolis*, the son of *Agesipolis*, the son of King *Cleombrotus:* and him they admitted to reign over them, as heir apparent to his grandfather. This *Agesipolis* was a young Boy, standing in need of a Guardian; and had an Uncle, his Fathers Brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet becaus the Law required, that the son, how youngsoever, should have his fathers whole right and Title: the *Lacedæmonians*, though standing in need of a man, were so punctual in observation of the Law, that they made this child their King, and appointed his Uncle *Cleomenes* to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royal Family, though there was no want of heirs: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodness of his Claim; but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who having no manner of title to the Kingdom, bestowed upon each of the *Ephori*, a Talent, and thereby made himself be saluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus* to gratifie his Partisans, and to approve his worth by action, invaded the Country of the *Argives:* which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great spoil, and won divers Towns; whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the State of *Lacedæmon*. After such open hostility, the *Lacedæmonians* declared themselves on the *Ætolian* side; and proclaimed War against the *Achæans*.

Thus the beginnings of the War fell out much otherwise, than the *Achæans* and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gave uncertain answer: the *Messenians* would not stir: all the burden must lye upon themselves and the poor *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by favour of the *Eleans*, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to do; and by help of the *Lacedæmonians*, could assail on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, passing over the Bay of *Corinth*, surprised the Town of *Ægira:* which if they could have held, they should thereby grievously have molested the *Achæans*, for that it stood in the mid-way between *Ægium* and *Sycion*, two of their principal Cities, and gave open way into the heart of all their Country. But as *Ægira* was taken by surprise: so was it presently lost again, through greedines of spoil; whilest they that should have made it their first care, to assure the place unto themselves, by occupying the citadel and other pieces of strength, fell heedlesly to ransack private houses, and thereby gave the Citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great slaughter back unto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Army landing among the *Eleans*, fell upon the Western Coast of *Achaia*; wasting all the Territory of the *Dymæans* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achæan* Confederacy. The *Dymæans* and their neighbours made head against these Invaders; but were so well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They sent for help unto their Prætor, and to all the Towns of their Society in vain. For the *Achæans* having lately been much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his war they had covetously with-held part of their due from those that served them therein. So through this disability of the *Achæans*, and insufficiency of their Prætor; the *Dymæans*, with others, were driven to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publick service, and to convert the money to their own defence. *Lycurgus* also with his *Lacedæmonians*, began to win upon the *Arcadians*, that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Achæans*.

Philip came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilst their Army was thus employed a far off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epirots* joined all their forces with him: and by such their willing readines, drew him to the siege of a Frontier piece, which they desired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make

themselves Masters of *Ambracia*. There he spent forty dayes, ere he could end the business; which tended only to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the heart of *Ætolia* at his first coming in; it is thought that he might have had an end of the War. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken upon small Towns or Forts: and not seldom, that the importunity of Associates, to have their own desires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to those uses for which they never were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their main designs. Thus was our King *Henry* the eighth led aside, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the siege of *Tournay*: at such time as the *French* King *Lewis* the twelfth, hearing that the strong City of *Terwin* was lost, and that his Cavallery, wherein rested his chief confidence, two thousand were beaten by the Earl of *Essex* with seven hundred *English*; was thinking to withdraw himself into *Britain*, in fear that *Henry* would have come to *Paris*.

The stay that *Philip* made at *Ambrachus*, did wondrously embolden the *Ætolians*: in such sort, as their Prætor *Scopas* adventured to lead all their forces out of the Country; and therewith not only to over-run *Thessalie*, but to make impression into *Macedon*. He ran as far as to *Dium*, a City of *Macedon* upon the *Ægean* Sea: which, being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his coming, he took, and razed to the ground. He spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but overturned all: and among the rest, he threw down the Statua's that were there erected, of the *Macedodian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Country-men at his return; forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be grown terrible, not only (as before) unto *Peloponnesus*, but even to *Macedon* it self. But this their pride was soon abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their own Country, for their pains taken at *Dium*. *Philip* having dispatched his work at *Ambracus*, made a strong invasion upon *Ætolia*. He took *Phœtiæ*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Pæanium*, *Elæus*, and divers other Towns and Castles of theirs: of which he burnt some, and fortified others. He also beat the *Ætolians* in sundry skirmishes: and wasted all the Countrey over, without receiving any harm. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Straights into *Peloponnesus*, and to do the like spoil in the Country of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently solicited by the *Achæan* Embassadors; news came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardanians* were ready with a great Army to fall upon the Country. These *Dardanians* were a barbarous people, divided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northern part of *Macedon*, and were accustomed to seek booty in that wealthy Kingdom, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a journey into *Peloponnesus*; they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his Countrey: as had been their manner upon the like advantages. This made the King to dismiss the *Achæan* Embassadors, (whom he should have accompanied home with his Army) and to bid them have patience until another year. So he took his way home-wards: and as he was passing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there repaired unto him *Demetrius Pharius*, with no more than one Ship; that was newly chased out of his Kingdom by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himself a friend to *Antigonus Doson* in the wars of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his last Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was ready at their first request, to take part with *Philips* Captains. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome unto the *Macedonian* King: whose Counsellor he was ever after. The *Dardanians* hearing of the Kings return, brake up their Army, and gave over for the present their invasion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way.

All that summer following the King rested at *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, whilest his people gathered in their Harvest. But the *Ætolians* rested not. They avenged themselves upon the *Epirots*: whom for the harms by them and *Philip* done in *Ætolia*, they requited with all extremities of War, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the most famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of War, until another year, was laid aside: *Philip* stole a journy into *Peloponnesus*, with 5000. Foot, & about 400. Horse. As soon as he was within *Corinth*; He commanded the gates to be shut, that no word should be carryed forth of his arrival. He sent privily for old *Aratus* to come thither unto him: with whom he took order, when, and in what places, he would have the *Achæan* Souldiers ready to meet him. The enemies were then abroad in the Country, without somewhat more than two thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse;

Horſe; little thinking to meet with oppoſition. Indeed they had little cauſe to fear: ſince the *Achæans* themſelves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; until they heard, that theſe two thouſand *Eleans*, *Ætolians*, and their fellows, were by him ſurprized, and all made priſoners, or ſlain. By this exploit which he did at his firſt coming, *Philip* got very much reputation, and likewiſe he purchaſed both reputation and love, by divers actions immediately following. He won *Pſophis*, an exceeding ſtrong Town, in the borders of *Arcadia*, which the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* then held. He won it by aſſault at his firſt coming: wherein it much availed him, that the Enemy, not believing that he would undertake ſuch a piece of work at ſuch an unſeaſonable time of the year, was careleſs of providing even ſuch ſtore of weapons, as might have ſerved to defend it. The Town was preſerved by the King from ſack; and given to the *Achæans* of his meer motion, before they requeſted it. Thence went he to *Laſion*, which yielded for very fear; hearing how eaſily he had taken *Pſophis*. This Town alſo he gave to the *Achæans*. The like liberality he uſed towards others, that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the Country of *Elis*, where was much wealth to be gotten: for that the people were addicted to huſbandry, and lived abroad in Villages; even ſuch as were of the wealthier ſort among them. So he came to the City of *Olympia*: where having done ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, feaſted his Captains, and refreſhed his Army three days; He proceeded on to the ſpoil of thoſe, that had taken pleaſure to ſhare with the *Ætolians*, in the ſpoils of their otherwiſe-deſerving neighbours. Great abundance of Cattel he took, with great numbers of ſlaves, and much wealth of all ſorts, ſuch as could be found in rich villages. Then he fell in hand with the Towns, whereinto a great multitude of the Country people were fled. Some of theſe were taken at the firſt aſſault. Some yielded for fear. Some prevented the labour of his journey, by ſending Embaſſadors to yield before he came. And ſome that were held with Garriſons againſt their wils, took courage to ſet themſelves at liberty, by ſeeing the King ſo near: to whoſe Patronage thenceforth they betook themſelves. And many places were ſpoiled by the *Ætolians* Captains; becauſe they diſtruſted their ability to hold them. So the King won more Towns in the Country, than the ſharpneſs of winter would ſuffer him to ſtay there days. Fain he would have fought with the *Ætolians*: but they made ſuch haſte from him, that he could not overtake them, till they had covered themſelves within the Town of *Samicum*; where they thought to have been ſafe. But *Philip* aſſaulted them therein ſo forcibly, that he made them glad to yield the place; obtaining licenſe to depart with their lives and arms. Having performed ſo much in this expedition, the King repoſed himſelf a while in *Megalopolis*, and then removed to *Argos*, where he ſpent all the reſt of the winter.

Before the Kings arrival in *Peloponneſus*, the *Lacedæmonians*, with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten ſomewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatned to do great matters. But when they were admoniſhed, by the calamity that fell upon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging over their own heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themſelves home. This *Lycurgus*, as he had no other right to the Kingdom of *Sparta*, than that which he could buy with mony, ſo was he neither free from danger of conſpiracies made againſt him: nor from thoſe jealouſies, with which Uſurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royal blood, that thinking himſelf to have beſt right unto the Kingdom, purpoſed to make way thereunto by maſſacre of his oppoſites; and afterwards to confirm himſelf, by propounding unto the multitude ſuch reformation of the State as was moſt popular: namely, by making an equal diſtribution of all the lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient inſtitution of that Commonwealth. He won to his party ſome two hundred men; with whom he fell upon the *Ephori*, as they were together at ſupper, & ſlew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus* his houſe: who perceiving the danger, ſtole away and fled. It remained that he ſhould give account of theſe doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds not being hereto prediſpoſed; they ſo little regarded his goodly offers, as even whilſt he was uſing his beſt perſwaſions, they were conſulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceived whereabout they went, and ſhifted preſently away. So he lived afterwards among the *Achæans* a baniſhed man, and hated of his own people. As for *Lycurgus* he returned home: & ſuſpecting thenceforth all thoſe of *Hercules* his race, found means to drive out his fellow-King young *Ageſipolis* whereby he made himſelf Lord alone. His doings grew to be ſuſpected, in ſuch ſort, as once he ſhould have been apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might have been defended; yet rather than

than to adventure himself into judgment, he chose to flie for a time, and sojourn among his friends the *Ætolians*. His well-known vehemency in opposition to the *Macedonians*, had procured unto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they began to consider the weakness of their own surmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, he took better heed unto himself: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the Citizens to expel him when they listed. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant; or at what time it was, that he chased *Agesipolis* out of the City; I do not certainly find. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three usurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the rank of Tyrants; which the last of the three very justly deserved. Whatsoever he was toward some private Citizens, in the war against *Philip*, he behaved himself as a provident man, and careful of his Countreys good.

§. II.

How Philip *was misadvised by ill Counsellors: who afterwards wrought treason against him; and were justly punished. He invadeth the* Ætolians *a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted unto them.*

WHilest the King lay at *Argos* devising upon his business for the year following, some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently for their own greatness, as they were like to have spoiled all that he took in hand. *Antigonus Doson* had left unto *Philip* such Counsellors, as to him did seem the fittest men for governing of his youth. The chief of these was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his person, and also the ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himself a great Politician, thought that he should do a notable piece of service to his Prince, if he could reduce the *Achæans* unto the same degree of subjection, wherein the *Macedonians* lived. To bring this to pass; during the late Expedition he had caused some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Achæans* out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out; he was bold to chastise some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whip them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refrain) to help their fellows; them he laid by the heels, and punished as Mutiners. Hereby he thought to bring it to pass by little and little, that they should be qualified with an habit of blind obedience; and think nothing unjust that pleased the King. But these *Achæans* were tenderly sensible in matters of liberty: whereof if they could have been contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not have troubled the *Macedonians* to help them in the war against *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themselves unto old *Aratus*: and besought him to think upon some good order, that they might not be oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seem. The King bestowed gracious words upon those that had been wronged, and forbade *Apelles* to follow the course begun. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choler for a time. He thought so well of his own Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps unable to do the King any valuable service, in business of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to begin at the head: since, in biting at the tail, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise be than that among the *Achæans* there were some, who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out, and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court: promising to become their especial friend, and commend them unto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himself: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, he must be fain to deal precisely with the *Achæans*, and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to give countenance unto those others whom he himself commended, then should the *Achæans*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, be quickly brought to conform themselves unto the duty of obedient Subjects. By such perswasions, he drew the King to be present at *Ægium*, where the *Achæans* were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would have been needful in a business of more importance, the King by fair words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new favourites, was chosen Prætor, instead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good

good introduction unto greater matters that ſhould follow. The King from thence paſſed along by *Patras* and *Dyma*, to a very ſtrong Caſtle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The garriſon yielded it up for fear, at his firſt coming: whereof he was glad, for that he had an earneſt deſire to beſtow it upon the *Dymæans*, as he preſently did.

The King thought it ſtrange, that all this while he heard of no meſſengers from the *Eleans*, to ſue for peace. For at his departure out of their Country the laſt Winter, he had let looſe one *Amphidamus* a Captain of theirs, that was his priſoner; becauſe he found him an intelligent man, and one that undertook to make them forſake their alliance with the *Ætolians*, and joyn with him upon reaſonable terms. This if they could be contented to do, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them underſtand, That he would render unto them freely all priſoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forrain invaſion; and that they ſhould hold their liberty entire, living after their own Laws, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept under by any garriſon. Theſe conditions were not to be deſpiſed, if they had found credit, as they might have done. But when *Philip* came to the Caſtle of *Tichos*, and made a new invaſion upon their Country: then began the *Eleans*, (that were not before over-haſty to believe ſuch fair promiſes) to ſuſpect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was ſet on work for no other end, than to breed a mutual diffidence between them and the *Ætolians*. Wherefore they purpoſed to lay hands upon him, and ſend him priſoner into *Ætolia*. But he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himſelf; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was ſaid) marvailing what ſhould be the cauſe, that he heard no news from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which he had made unto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles* his Counſellor, thereby took occaſion to ſupplant *Aratus*. He ſaid that old *Aratus*, and his ſon together, had ſuch devices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good: And long of them he ſaid it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out. For when *Amphidamus* was diſmiſſed home, the two *Arati*, (the father and the ſon) had taken him aſide and given him to underſtand, that it would be very prejudicial to all *Peloponneſus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the devotion of the *Macedonian*: And this was the true cauſe, why neither *Amphidamus* was ver ycareful in doing this meſſage; nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a falſe lye, diviſed by *Apelles* himſelf, upon no other ground than his own malice. *Philip* had no ſooner heard this tale, but in a great rage he ſent for the two *Arati*, and bade *Apelles* rehearſe it over again to their faces. *Apelles* did ſo, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had ſaid all the reſt, ere either *Philip* or they ſpake any word; He added this clauſe, as it were, in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you ſuch ungrateful wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Achæans*; and therein having made it known what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leave you to your ſelves. Old *Aratus* gravely admoniſhed the King; That whenſoever he heard any accuſation, eſpecially againſt a friend of his own, or a man of worth, He ſhould forbear a while to give credit, untill he had diligently examined the buſineſs. For ſuch deliberation was Kingly, and he ſhould never thereof repent him. At the preſent he ſaid there needed no more, than to call in thoſe that had heard his talk with *Amphidamus*, and eſpecially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very abſurd thing, That the King ſhould make himſelf the Author of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans *yea*, and anothers *no*. Hereof the King liked well; and ſaid that he would make ſufficient inquiry. So paſſed a few dayes: wherein whileſt *Apelles* delayed to bring in the proof, which indeed he wanted, *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befaln him there. The King was not forgetful, to examine him about the conſpiracy of the *Arati*: which, when he found no better than a meer device againſt his honourable friends; he entertained them in loving manner as before. As for his love to *Apelles*, though it was hereby ſomewhat cooled; yet by means of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remiſſion therein could be diſcerned.

The unreſtful temper of *Apelles*, having with much vehemency brought nothing to paſs, began (as commonly Ambition uſeth) to ſwell and grow venemous for want of his free motion. He betakes himſelf to his cunning again: and as before, being checkt in his doings with thoſe of the vulgar, he had prepared a ſnare for the *Arati*: ſo railing of them, he thinks it wiſdom to lay for the King himſelf, and for all at once which were about him. In ſuch manner ſometime, the Spider thought to have taken the Swallow which drave away flyes out of the chimny; but

but was carryed (net and all) into the Air by the bird, that was too ſtrong to be caught, and held by the ſubtle workmanſhip of a Cob-web. Of the four that next unto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chief place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponneſus*, and *Alexander* Captain of the Guard, were faithful men, and ſuch as would not be corrupted, The other two, *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, and *Megaleas* chief of the Secretaries, were eaſily won to be at *Apelles* his diſpoſition. This politician therefore ſtudied how to remove the other two from their places, and put ſome Creatures of his own into their rooms. Againſt *Alexander* he went to work the ordinary way, by calumniation and privy detraction. But for the ſupplanting of *Taurion* he uſed more fineneſs; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of war, and one, whom for his many vertues the King might ill ſpare from being alwayes in his preſence. By ſuch Art he thought to have removed him, as we ſay, *Out of Gods bleſſing into a warm Sun.* In the mean ſeaſon *Aratus* retired himſelf: and ſought to avoid the dangerous friendſhip of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affairs of State. As for the new Prætor of *Achaia*, lately choſen by ſuch vehement inſtance of the King; He was a man of no diſpatch, and one that had no grace with the people. Wherefore a great deal of time was loſt, whileſt *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corn, wherewith he ſhould have been furniſhed by the *Achæans*. This made the King underſtand his own errour: which he wiſely ſought to reform betimes. He perſwaded the *Achæans* to rejourn their Parliament from *Ægium*, to *Sycion*, the Town of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his ſon, perſwading them to forget what was paſt; and laying all the blame upon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keep a more diligent eye. So by the travel of theſe worthy men, he eaſily obtained what he would of the *Achæans*. Fifty talents they gave him out of hand; with great ſtore of Corn; and further decreed, That ſo long as he himſelf in perſon followed the wars in *Peleponneſus*, he ſhould receive ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to provide ſhipping, that ſo he might invade the *Ætolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, that were maritime people, at his pleaſure, and hinder their excurſions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond meaſure, to ſee things go forward ſo well without his help; even by the miniſtry of thoſe whom he moſt hated. Wherefore he entred into conſpiracy with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*: binding himſelf and them by Oath, to croſs and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King ſhould take in hand. By ſo doing, they thought to bring it to paſs, that very want of ability to do any thing without them; ſhould make him ſpeak them fair, and be glad to ſubmit himſelf to their directions. The King it is like had ſtood in ſome awe of them whileſt he was a child; and therefore theſe wiſe men perſwaded themſelves, that by looking big upon him; and imputing unto him all that fell out ill through their own miſgovernment of his affairs, they might rule him as a child ſtill. *Apelles* would needs go to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the proviſions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: The other two ſtaid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindful of their wicked oath, than of their duty.

His Fleet and Army being in a readineſs: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would have bent all his forces againſt the *Eleans*; to whoſe aid therefore the *Ætolians* ſent men, little fearing that the miſchief would have fallen, as ſoon after it did, upon themſelves. But againſt the *Eleans* and thoſe that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leave the *Achæans*, with ſome part of his and their Mercenaries. He himſelf with the body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in the Iſle of *Cephalenia*: whence the *Ætolians*, dwelling over againſt it, uſed to furniſh themſelves of ſhipping, when they went to rove abroad. There he beſieged the Town of *Palæa*, that had been very ſerviceable to the Enemy againſt him and his Confederates; and might be very uſeful to him, if he could get it. Whileſt he lay before this Town, there came unto him fifteen ſhips of war from *Scerdilaidas*; and many good Souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Meſſenians*. But the Town was obſtinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts ſave one, on which ſide *Philip* carryed a Mine to the wall, wherewith he overthrew two hundred foot thereof. *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, was appointed by the King to make the aſſault. But he, remembring his covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbear to do his beſt: and cauſed others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foile, and many ſlain, not of the worſt Souldiers: but ſuch as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the Town, if the Treaſon of their Captain, and ſome by him corrupted, had not hindred the victory. The King was angry with this, but

but there was no remedy: and therefore he thought upon breaking up the ſiege. For it was eaſier unto the Towns-men to make up the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whileſt he ſtood thus perplexed and uncertain what courſe to take: the *Meſſenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard upon him, each of them deſirous to draw him into their own Countrey. The *Meſſenians* alledged, that *Lycurgus* was buſie in waſting their Countrey: upon whom the King might come unawares in one day; the *Eteſian* winds which then blew, ſerving fitly for his Navigation. Hereto alſo *Leontius* perſwaded; who conſidered that thoſe winds, as they would eaſily carry him thither, ſo would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-dayes) and make him ſpend the Summer to ſmall or no purpoſe. But *Aratus* gave better counſel, and prevailed: he ſhewed how unfitting it were, to let the *Ætolians* over-run all *Theſſaly* again, and ſome part of *Macedon*, whileſt the King withdrew his Army far off to ſeek ſmall adventures. Rather, he ſaid that the time now ſerved well to carry the war into *Ætolia*: ſince the Prætor was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one half of their ſtrength. As for *Lycurgus*, he was not ſtrong enough to do much harm in *Peloponneſus*: and it might ſuffice, if the *Achæans* were appointed to make head againſt them. According to this advice, the King ſet ſail for *Ætolia*, and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which divided the *Ætolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to ſee him on their borders; and joyned with him as many of them as could bear arms, to help in taking vengeance upon their bad neighbours. He marched up into the inland Countrey: and taking ſome places by the way, which he filled with Garriſons to aſſure his Retreat; He paſſed on to *Thermum*, which was the Receptacle of the *Ætolians*, and ſureſt place of defence in all extremities. The Countrey round about was a great faſtneſs, environed with rocky Mountains of very narrow ſteep, and difficult aſcent. There did the *Ætolians* uſe to hold all their chief meetings, their Fairs, their election of Magiſtrates, and their ſolemn Games. There alſo they uſed to beſtow the moſt precious of their goods, as in a place of greateſt ſecurity. This opinion of the natural ſtrength, had made them careleſs in looking unto it. When *Philip* therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing elſe to do than to take ſpoil: whereof he found ſuch plenty, that he thought the pains of his journy well recompenced. So he loaded his Army: and conſuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chief of all belonging unto the *Ætolians*; in remembrance of their like courteſie, ſhewed upon the Temples of *Dium* and *Dodana*. This burning of the Temple, might (queſtionleſs) more for the Kings honour have been forborn. But perhaps he thought, as *Monſieur du Gourgues* the French Captain told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his return from *Thermum*, the *Ætolians* laid for him: which that they would do, he believed before, and therefore was not taken unawares. Three thouſand of them there were that lying in ambuſh, fell upon his ſkirts: but he laid a Counter-ambuſh for them, of his *Illyrians*; who ſtaying behind the reſt, did ſet upon the backs of the *Ætolians*, whileſt they were buſily charging in Rear the Army that went before. So with ſlaughter of the enemy, he returned the ſame way that he came: and burning down thoſe places that he had taken before, as alſo waſting the Country round about him, He ſafely carried all that he had gotten aboard his fleet. Once the *Ætolians* made countenance of fight, iſſuing out of *Stratus* in great bravery. But they were beaten home faſter than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The joy of this victorious expedition being every way compleat, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any ſiniſter accident; it pleaſed the King to make a great feaſt unto all his friends and Captains. Thither were invited among the reſt *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleas*. They came becauſe they could not chooſe: but their heavy looks argued, what little pleaſure they took in the Kings proſperity. It grieved them to think, that they ſhould be able to give no better account unto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings buſineſs; ſince *Apelles* himſelf, as will be ſhewed anon, had played his own part with a moſt miſchievous dexterity. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reviling him, throwing ſtones at him, ſo that they cauſed a great uprore: many running in (as happens in ſuch caſes) to take part with the one or the other. The King ſending to enquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had paſſed: Which made him ſend for *Leontius* and his fellows. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleas*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their diſorder: and they, to give him froward anſwers: inſomuch, as they ſaid at length, That they would never give over, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a miſchief as he deſerved.

ved. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this comes boldly to the King, with his *Targettiers* at his heels: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon *Megaleas*, yea, and to caſt him into priſon? Why ſaid the King, it was even I. This reſolute anſwer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both ſad and angry; ſeeing himſelf out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megaleas* was called forth to his anſwer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victory at *Palea*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no leſs touching *Leontius*, that ſtood by as a looker on, than *Megaleas* that was accuſed. In concluſion, the preſumptions againſt him were ſo ſtrong, and his anſwers thereto ſo weak; that he, and *Crinon* one of his fellows, were condemned in twenty Talents: *Crinon* being remanded back to priſon; and *Leontius* becoming Bail for *Megaleas*. This was done upon the way home-wards, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip diſpatched well a great deal of buſineſs of this year. For as ſoon as he was at *Corinth*, he took in hand an Expedition againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. Theſe and the *Eleans* had done what harm they could in *Peloponneſus*, whileſt the King was abſent. The *Achæans* had oppoſed them as well as they could; with ill ſucceſs, yet ſo, as they hindred them from doing ſuch harm as elſe they would have done. But when *Philip* came, he over-ran the Country about *Lacedæmon*: and was in a manner at the Gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well believe that he was returned out of *Ætolia*. He took not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waſt in the fields: and having beaten the enemy in ſome ſkirmiſhes, carried back with him to *Corinth* a rich booty of cattel, ſlaves, and other Country ſpoil. At *Corinth* he found attending him, Embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, that requeſted him to ſet *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace unto the *Ætolians*. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deal firſt with the *Ætolians*, who if they would make the ſame requeſt, ſhould not find him unreaſonable. The *Ætolians* had ſped ill that year: neither ſaw they any likely hopes for the years following. The Army that they had ſent forth to waſte *Theſſaly* and *Macedon*, found ſuch oppoſition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the mean ſeaſon they had been grievouſly afflicted, as before is ſhewed, by *Philip* in the centre of their own Countrey. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was up in arms againſt them, and their weak Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*. Neither was it certain, how long the one or other of theſe their *Peloponneſian* friends ſhould be able to hold out, ſince they were not ſtrong enough to keep the field, but had already ſuffered thoſe miſeries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to ſeek their own peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætolians* readily entertain'd this negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirty dayes with the King, dealt with him by interceſſion of the ſame Embaſſadours, to intreat his preſence at a Diet of the Nation, that ſhould be held at *Rhium*; whither if he would vouchſafe to come, they promiſed that he ſhould find them conformable to any good reaſon.

Whileſt theſe things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megaleas* thought to have terrified the King, by raiſing ſedition againſt him in the Army. But this device ſorted to no good effect. The Souldiers were eaſily and quickly incenſed againſt many of the Kings friends, who were ſaid to be the cauſe, why they were not rewarded with ſo much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right unto them. But their anger ſpent it ſelf in a noiſe, and breaking open of doors, without further harm done. This was enough to inform the King (who eaſily pacified his men with gentle words) that ſome about him were very falſe. Yea, the Souldiers themſelves repenting of their inſolence, deſired to have the Authors of the tumult ſought out, and puniſhed according to their deſerts. The King made ſhew as if he had not cared to make ſuch inquiſition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were afraid, leſt the matter would ſoon come out of it ſelf to their extream danger. Wherefore they ſent unto *Apelles*, the Head and Architect of their treaſon, requeſting him ſpeedily to repair unto *Corinth*, where he might ſtand between them and the Kings diſpleaſure. *Apelles* had not all this while been wanting to the buſineſs, undertaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken upon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his own hand: and thereby was he grown into ſuch credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Theſſaly* addreſſed themſelves unto him, and received from him their diſpatch in every buſineſs. Likewiſe the *Greeks* in all their flattering Decrees, took occaſion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*, making ſlight mention (only for faſhion ſake) of the King: who ſeemed no better

better than the Miniſter and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleaſure. Such was the arrogancy of this great man, in ſetting himſelf out unto the people: but in managing the Kings affairs, he made it his ſpecial care, that money and all things needful for the publick ſervice, ſhould be wanting. Yea, he enforced the King for very need, to ſell his own Plate and houſhold veſſels: thinking to reſolve theſe and all other difficulties, by only ſaying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by me, and all ſhall be as you would wiſh.* Hereto if the King would give aſſent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts deſire. Now taking his journey from *Chalcis* in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, to the City of *Corinth* where *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great pomp and royalty, by a great number of the Captains and Souldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megaleas* drew forth to meet him on the way. So entring the City with a goodly train, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement ſuſpition of his falſhood. Wherefore one was ſent to tell him, that he ſhould wait a while, or come another time, for the King was not now at leiſure to be ſpoken with. It was a pretty thing, that ſuch a check at his made all his attendants forſake him, as a man in diſgrace; in ſuch ſort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him ſave his own Pages. After this, the King vouchſafed him now and then ſome ſlender graces: but in conſultations, or other matters of privacy, he uſed him not at all. This taught *Megaleas* to look to himſelf, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King ſent forth *Taurion* his Lieutenant of *Peloponneſus*, with all the *Targettiers*, as it were to do ſome piece of ſervice, but indeed of purpoſe to apprehend *Leontius* in the abſence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, diſpatched away a meſſenger preſently to his *Targettiers*, to ſignifie what was befaln him: and they forthwith ſent unto the King in his behalf. They made requeſt, That if any other thing were objected againſt him, he might not be called forth to trial before their return: as for the debt of *Megaleas*, if that were all the matter, they ſaid they were ready to make a purſe for his diſcharge. This affection of the Souldiers made *Philip* more haſty than elſe he would have been, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megaleas* were intercepted, which he wrote unto the *Ætolians*; vilifying the King with opprobrious words, and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was even ready to ſink under the burden of his own poverty. By this the King underſtood more perfectly the falſhood, not only of *Megaleas*, but of *Apelles*; whoſe cunning head had laboured all this while to keep him ſo poor. Wherefore he ſent one to purſue *Megaleas* that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his ſon, and another that was inward with him, to priſon; wherein all of them ſhortly ended their lives. *Megaleas* alſo, neither daring to ſtand to trial, nor knowing whither to flie, was weary of his own life, and ſlew himſelf about the ſame time.

The *Ætolians*, as they had begun this war upon hope of accompliſhing what they liſted in the Nonage of *Philip*: ſo finding that the vigour of this young Prince tempered with the cold advice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow; they grew very deſirous to make an end of it. Nevertheleſs, being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages, when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megaleas*, together with ſome indignation thereupon conceived by ſome of the Kings Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that theſe troubles would be long laſting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing ſorry. For being in good hope throughly to tame this unquiet Nation; he thought it much to concern his own honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the War ſhould reſt upon themſelves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates to lay aſide all thought of peace, and to prepare for War againſt the year following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his *Macedonian* Souldiers, by yielding to let them winter in their own Country. In his return homeward, he called into judgement one *Ptolomy*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treaſons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and ſuffered death. Theſe were the ſame *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to hear of *Leontius* his impriſonment; yet now they think the man worthy to die that was but his adherent. So vain is the confidence, on which Rebels uſe to build, in their favour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* won ſome bordering Towns, from which the *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accuſtomed to make rodes into his Kingdom: when he had thus provided for ſafety of his own; the *Ætolians*

might well know what they were to expect. But there came again Embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, with others from *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*, and from the City of *Bizantium*, recontinuing the former ſolicitation about the peace. This faſhion had been taken up in matters of *Greece*, ever ſince the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken upon them to ſet the whole Country at liberty: No ſooner was any Province or City in danger to be oppreſſed and ſubdued by force of war, but preſently there were found Interceſſors, who pittying the effuſion of *Greekiſh* blood, would importune the ſtronger to relinquiſh his advantage. By doing ſuch friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad ſought to bind unto them thoſe people, that were howſoever weak in numbers, yet very good Souldiers. But hereby it came to paſs, that the more froward ſort, eſpecially the *Ætolians*, whoſe whole Nation was addicted to falſhood and robbery, durſt enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well aſſured that if they had the worſt, *The love of Greece* would be ſufficient for to redeem their quiet. They had, ſince the late Treaty of Peace, done what harm they could in *Peloponneſus*: but being beaten by the *Achæans*, and ſtanding in fear to be more ſoundly beaten at home, they deſired now, more earneſtly than before, to make an end of the War as ſoon as they might. *Philip* made ſuch anſwer unto the Embaſſadours, as he had done the former year; That he gave not occaſion to the beginning of this War, nor was at the preſent afraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it: But that the *Ætolians*, if they had a deſire to live in reſt, muſt firſt be dealt withal, to ſignifie plainly their determination, whereto himſelf would return ſuch anſwer as he ſhould think fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking unto the Peace, being a young Prince, and in hope to increaſe the honour which he daily got by the War. But it happened in the middeſt of this Negotiation, that he was advertiſed by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victory *Hannibal* had obtained againſt the *Romans* in the battel at *Thraſymene*. Theſe letters he communicated unto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to ſit ſtill, as an idle beholder of the *Italian* War. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before unto Peace with the *Ætolians*: which was concluded ſhortly in a meeting at *Naupactus*. There did *Agelaus* an *Ætolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happy it was for the *Greeks*, that they might at their own pleaſure diſpute about finiſhing War between themſelves, without being moleſted by the *Barbarians*. For when once either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians* had ſubdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look Eaſtward, and ſeek by all means to ſet footing in *Greece*. For this cauſe he ſaid it were good, that their Country ſhould be at peace within it ſelf: and that *Philip*, if he were deſirous of War, ſhould lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly ſerving to enlarge his Dominion, by winning ſomewhat in *Italy*.

Such advice could the *Ætolians* then give, when they ſtood in fear of danger threatning them at hand: but being ſoon after weary of reſt, as being accuſtomed to enrich themſelves by pillage, they were ſo far from obſerving and following their own good counſel, that they invited the *Romans* into *Greece*, whereby they brought themſelves and the whole Countrey (but themſelves before any other part of the Country) under ſervitude of ſtrangers. The Condition of this Peace was ſimple, That every one ſhould keep what they held at the preſent, without making reſtitution, or any amends for dammages paſt.

§. III.

Philip, *at the perſwaſion of* Demetrius Pharius, *enters into League with* Hannibal *againſt the* Romans. *The tenour of the League between* Hannibal *and* Philip.

THis being agreed upon: the *Greeks* betook themſelves to quiet courſes of life; and *Philip* to prepare for the buſineſs of *Italy*, about which he conſulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus paſſed the time away, till the great battel of *Cannæ*: after which he joyned in league with *Hannibal*, as hath been ſhewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice unto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his own loſt Kingdom, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counſel, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwiſe been far more expedient for *Philip*, to have ſupported the weaker of thoſe two great Cities againſt the more mighty. For by ſo doing, he ſhould perhaps have brought them to peace upon ſome equal terms; and thereby, as did *Hiero*, a far weaker

weaker Prince, have both ſecured his own Eſtate, and cauſed each of them to be deſirous of chief place in his friendſhip. The iſſue of the counſel which he followed, will appear ſoon after this. His firſt quarrel with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Ætolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, upon ſuch Conditions that might eaſily be broken, have been related in another place, as belonging unto the ſecond Punick War. Wherefore I will only here ſet down the tenour of the League between him and *Carthage*, which may ſeem not unworthy to be read, if only in regard of the form it ſelf then uſed: though it had been overlong to have been inſerted into a more buſie piece.

The Oath and Covenants between HANNIBAL General of the *Carthaginians*, and XENOPHANES, Embaſſadour of PHILIP King of *Macedon*.

THis is the Leagure ratified by Oath, which Hannibal *the General, and with him* Mago, Myrcal, *and* Barmocal, *as alſo the Senators of* Carthage *that are preſent, and all the* Carthaginians *that are in his Army, have made with* Xenophanes *the ſon of* Cleomachus Athenian, *whom King* Philip *the ſon of* Demetrius *hath ſent unto us, for himſelf and the* Macedonians, *and his Aſſociates: Before* * Jupiter, *and* Juno, *and* Apollo, *before* the God of the *Carthaginians*, Hercules *and* Tolaus: *before* Mars, Triton, Neptune: *before the* Gods *accompanying Arms, the* Sun, *the* Moon, *and the* Earth: *before* Rivers *and* Meadows, *and* Waters: *before all the* Gods *that have power over* Carthage: *before all the* Gods *that rule over* Macedon, *and the reſt of* Greece: *before all the* Gods *that are Preſidents of War, and preſent at the making of this League.* Hannibal *the General hath ſaid, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the* Carthaginians, *in his Army:* Be *it agreed between You and Us, that this Oath ſtand for friendſhip and loving affection, that We become friends, familiar, and brethren, upon Covenant,* that *the ſafety of the Lords the* Carthaginians, *and of* Hannibal *the General, and thoſe that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the* Carthaginians, *uſing the ſame Laws, and of the* Uticans, *and as many Cities and Nations as obey the* Carthaginians, *and of the Souldiers and Aſſociates, and of all Towns and Nations with which we hold friendſhip in* Italy, Gaule, *and* Liguria, *and with whom we ſhall hold friendſhip, or make alliance hereafter in this Region; be preſerved by King* Philip *and the* Macedonians, *and ſuch of the* Greeks *as are their Aſſociates.* In like manner, *ſhall King* Philip *and the* Macedonians, *and other the* Greeks *his Aſſociates, be ſaved and preſerved by the* Carthaginian *Armies, and by the* Uticans, *and by all Cities and Nations that obey the* Carthaginians, *and by their Aſſociates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in* Italy, Gaule, *and* Liguria, *that are of our Alliance, or ſhall hereafter joyn with Us in* Italy. We *ſhall not take Counſel one againſt the other, nor deal fraudulently one with the other. With all readineſs and good will, without deceit or ſubtlety, We ſhall be enemies unto the enemies of the* Carthaginians, *excepting thoſe Kings, Towns, and Havens, with which We have already league and friendſhip. We alſo ſhall be enemies to the enemies of King* Philip, *excepting thoſe Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which we have already league and friendſhip. The War that We have with the* Romans, *have ye alſo with them, until the* Gods *ſhall give Us a new and happy end. Ye ſhall aid Us with thoſe things whereof we have need, and ſhall do according to the Covenants between Us. But if the* Gods *ſhall not give unto You and Us their help in this War againſt the* Romans *and their Aſſociates; then if the* Romans *offer friendſhip,* We *ſhall make friendſhip in ſuch wiſe, that ye ſhall be partakers of the ſame friendſhip, With Condition,* That *they ſhall not have power to make War upon You: Neither ſhall the* Romans *be Lords over the* Corcyræans, *nor over thoſe of* Apollonia, *nor* Dyrrhachium, *nor over* Pharus, *nor* Dimalle, *nor the* Parthini, *nor* Atintania. *They ſhall alſo render unto* Demetrius Pharius *all that belong unto him, as many as are within the* Romans *Dominions. But if the* Romans *(after ſuch peace made) ſhall make War upon You or Us; We will ſuccour one another in that War, as either ſhall have need. The ſame ſhall be obſerved in War made by any other, excepting thoſe Kings, Cities, and States, with whom we hold already league and friendſhip.* To this league, *if We or Ye ſhall think fit to add or detract, ſuch addition or detraction ſhall be made by our common conſent.*

* Dæmon.

§. IV.

§. IV.

How Philip *yielded to his natural vices, being therein ſoothed by* Demetrius Pharius. *His deſire to tyrannize upon the free States his Aſſociates: With the troubles into which he thereby fell, whileſt he bore a part in the ſecond Punick War. He poiſoneth* Aratus: *and grows hateful to the* Achæans.

HItherto *Philip* had carried himſelf as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wiſdom, he might have offered his friendſhip to the *Romans*, that were like to be oppreſſed, than to the *Carthaginians*, who had the better hand: yet this his medling in the Punick War, proceeded from a royal greatneſs of mind, with a deſire to ſecure and increaſe his own eſtate, adding therewithal reputation to his Country. But in this buſineſs he was guided (as hath been ſaid) by *Demetrius Pharius*: who looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himſelf to his deſires: and thereby ſhortly governed him as he liſted. For the vertues of *Philip* were not indeed ſuch as they ſeemed. He was luſtful, bloody, and tyrannical: deſirous of power to do what he liſted, and not otherwiſe liſting to do what he ought, than ſo far forth, as by making a fair ſhew he might breed in men ſuch good opinion of him, as ſhould help to ſerve his turn in all that he took in hand. Before he ſhould buſie himſelf in *Italy*, he thought it requiſite in good policy, to bring the *Greeks* that were his Aſſociates, under a more abſolute form of ſubjection. Hereunto *Apelles* had adviſed him before: and he had liked reaſonably well of the courſe. But *Apelles* was a boyſterous Counſellor, and one that referring all to his own glory, thought himſelf deeply wronged, if he might not wholly have his own way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunity at other times. *Demetrius Pharius* could well be contented to obſerve the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man, with the reins in his hand, thoſe affections which himſelf did only ſeem to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: ſo as, without any manner of contention, he ſupplanted *Aratus*; which the violence of *Apelles* could never do.

There aroſe about theſe times a very hot Faction among the *Meſſenians*, between the Nobility and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a forreign War) unto domeſtical objects, than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In proceſs of no long time, the contention among them grew ſo violent, that *Philip* was intreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: reſolving ſo to end the matter, that they ſhould not henceforth ſtrive any more about their Government: for that he would aſſume it wholly to himſelf. At his coming thither, he found *Aratus* buſie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his own ſecret purpoſe. Wherefore he conſulted not with this reverend old man: but talked in private with ſuch of the *Meſſenians* as repaired unto him. He aſked the Governours, what they meant to ſtand thus diſputing: and whether they had not Laws to bridle the inſolence of the unruly Rabble: Contrariwiſe, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, he ſaid it was ſtrange, that they being ſo many would ſuffer themſelves to be oppoſed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themſelves from Tyrants. Thus whileſt each of them preſumed on the Kings aſſiſtance; they thought it beſt to go roundly to work, ere that he were gone, that ſhould countenance their doings. The Governours therefore would have apprehended ſome ſeditious Orators, that were, they ſaid, the ſtirrers up of the multitude unto ſedition. Upon this occaſion, the people took Arms: and running upon the Nobility and Magiſtrates, killed of them in a rage, almoſt two hundred. *Philip* thought, it ſeems, that it would be eaſie to worry the Sheep, when the Dogs their Guardians were ſlain. But his falſhood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger *Aratus* forbear to tell him of it in publick, with very bitter and diſgraceful words. The King was angry at this. But having already done more than was commendable, or excuſable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein he ſhould need the help and countenance of his beſt friends; he was content to ſmother his diſpleaſure, and make as fair weather as he could. He led old *Aratus* aſide by the hand; and went up into the Caſtle of *Ithome*, that was over *Meſſene*. There he pretended to do ſacrifice: and ſacrifice he did. But it was his purpoſe to keep the place to his own uſe: for that it was of notable ſtrength, and would ſerve to command the further parts of *Peloponneſus*, as the Citadel of *Corinth*, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Country. Whileſt he was therefore ſacrificing, and had the entrails of the beaſt delivered into his hands, as was the manner; he ſhewed them to *Aratus*, and gently aſked him, whether the tokens that he

he ſaw therein did ſignifie, That being now in poſſeſſion of this place, he ſhould quietly go out of it, or rather keep it to himſelf. He thought perhaps, that the old man would have ſoothed him a little; were it only for deſire for to make amends for the angry words newly ſpoken by his ſon. But as *Aratus* ſtood doubtful what to anſwer, *Demetrius Pharius* gave this verdict: *If thou be a Soothſayer, thou maiſt go thy way, and let ſlip this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou muſt not neglect the opportunity, but hold the Oxe by both his horns.* Thus he ſpake; reſembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus* unto the two horns of *Peloponneſus*. Yet would *Philip* needs hear the opinion of *Aratus*: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith unto the *Meſſenians*: But if, by ſeizing upon *Ithome*, he muſt loſe all the other Caſtles that he held, and eſpecially the ſtrongeſt Caſtle of all that was left unto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit; then were it far better to depart with his Souldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own good wills, than by fortifying any ſtrong places againſt them, to make them of his friends become his enemies.

To this good advice, *Philip* yielded at the preſent: but not without ſome diſlike thenceforth growing between him and the *Arati*: whom he thought more froward than beſeemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man deſirous at all, to deal any longer in the Kings affairs, or be inward with him. For, as he plainly diſcovered his tyrannous purpoſes; ſo likewiſe he perceived, that in reſorting to his houſe, he had been diſhoneſt with his ſons wife. He therefore ſtaid at home: where at good leaſure he might repent, that in deſpight of *Cleomenes*, his own Countrey-man, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponneſus*.

Philip made a Voyage out of *Peloponneſus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refuſed to bear him company. In this journey he found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him, That unhoneſt counſels are not ſo profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependants; and ſo they purpoſed to continue. But he would needs have them ſo to remain, whether they purpoſed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxius unto his will, he ſeized upon their Town of *Oricum*, and laid ſiege to *Apollonia*; having no good colour of theſe doings: but thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to do what he liſted, and not ſeeing whence they ſhould procure friends to help them. Thus inſtead of ſetling the Country, as his intended Voyage into *Italy* required: he kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, until it had laid hold on his own Palace. Whileſt he was thus labouring to bind the hands that ſhould have fought for him in *Italy*, *M. Valerius* the *Roman* came into thoſe parts; who not only maintained the *Epirots* againſt him, but procured the *Ætolians* to break the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that War; the occurrents whereof we have related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In managing whereof, though *Philip* did the offices of a good Captain: yet when leiſure ſerved, he made it apparent that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former deſire, of oppreſſing the liberty of the *Meſſenians*; but made another journey into their Countrey, with hope to deceive them as before. They underſtood him better now than before; and therefore were not haſty to truſt him too far. When he ſaw that his cunning would not ſerve, he went to work by force; and calling them his enemies, invaded them with open War. But in that War he could do little good; perhaps, becauſe none of his Confederates were deſirous to help him in ſuch an enterpriſe. In this attempt upon *Meſſene*, he loſt *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counſellor and Flatterer, not his Perverter; as appears by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worſe that he ſped, the more angry he waxed againſt thoſe that ſeemed not to favour his injurious doings. Wherefore, by the miniſtery of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, he poiſoned old *Aratus*; and ſhortly after that, he poyſoned alſo the younger *Aratus*: hoping that theſe things would never have been known, becauſe they were done ſecretly, and the poyſons themſelves were more ſure than manifeſt in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed unto *Aratus* more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymns, and Proceſſions, to be celebrated every year twice, with a Prieſt ordained unto him for that purpoſe; as was accuſtomed unto the *Heroes*, or men, whom they thought to be tranſlated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are ſaid to have been encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to have been true, ſince the help of the Devil is never failing to the increaſe of Idolatry.

The living memory of *Aratus* their Patron, and ſingular Benefactor, could not but work

work in the *Achæans* a marvellous diſlike of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He ſhall therefore hear of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counſel for themſelves. At the preſent, the murder was not generally known or believed: neither were they in caſe to ſubſiſt, without his help that had committed it. The *Ætolians* were a moſt outragious people, great darers, and ſhameleſs robbers. With theſe the *Romans* made a league: whereof the Conditions were ſoon divulged, eſpecially that main point, concerning the diviſion of the purchaſe which they ſhould make, namely, That the *Ætolians* ſhould have the Countrey and Towns; but the *Romans* the ſpoil, and carry away the people to ſell for ſlaves. The *Achæans*, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make ſtrait alliance with the *Ætolians*, as knowing their uncivil diſpoſition; were much the more averſe from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for ſuch did the *Greeks* account all other Nations except their own) to make havock of the Country. The ſame conſideration moved alſo the *Lacedæmonians* to ſtand off a while, before they would declare themſelves for the *Ætolians*, whoſe friendſhip they had embraced in the late war. The induſtry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he ſeemed to take of the *Achæans* his Confederates, ſufficed to retain them: eſpecially, at ſuch time, as their own neceſſity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himſelf the *Dymæans* by an ineſtimable benefit: recovering their Town, after it had been taken by the *Romans* and *Ætolians*; and redeeming their people whereſoever they might be found, that had been carried away captive, and ſold abroad for ſlaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences paſt: if the malignity of his natural condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to underſtand, that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which cauſed him to make ſuch a ſhew of goodneſs. Among other foul acts, whereof he was not aſhamed, he took *Polycratia* the wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might ſerve to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of ſuch faults he ſhall be told, when the *Romans* make War upon him the ſecond time: for, of that which happened in this their firſt Invaſion, I hold it ſuperfluous to make repetition.

§. V.

Of Philopœmen *General of the* Achæans: *and* Machanidas, *Tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *A battel between them, wherein* Machanidas *is ſlain.*

IT happens often, that the deceaſe of one eminent man diſcovers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there ſtood up *Philopœmen*: whoſe notable valour, and great ſkill in Arms, made the Nation of the *Achæans* redoubtable among all the *Greeks*, and careleſs of ſuch protection, as in former times they had needed againſt the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*, who being then a young man, and having no command, did eſpecial ſervice to *Antigonus* at the battel of *Sellaſia* againſt *Cleomenes*. Thence forward untill now he had ſpent the moſt part of his time in the Iſle of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and ſeldom or never at peace between themſelves; he bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of War. At his return home, he had charge of the Horſe: wherein he carried himſelf ſo ſtrictly, travelling with all the Cities of the Confederacy to have his followers well mounted, & armed at all pieces; as alſo he ſo diligently trained them up in all exerciſe of ſervice, that he made the *Achæans* very ſtrong in that part of their forces. Being afterward choſen Prætor or General of the Nation, he had no leſs care to reform their military diſcipline throughout, whereby his Countrey might be ſtrong enough to defend it ſelf, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the help of others. He perſwaded the *Achæans* to cut off their vain expence of bravery, in apparel, houſhold-ſtuff, and curious fare, and to beſtow that coſt upon their Arms: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by ſo much were they like to prove the better Souldiers, and ſutable in behaviour, unto the pride of their furniture. They had ſerved hitherto with little light Bucklers, and ſlender Darts, to caſt afar off; that were uſeful in ſkirmiſhing at ſome diſtance, or for ſurpriſes, or ſudden and haſty Expeditions, whereto *Aratus* had been moſt accuſtomed. But when they came to handy-ſtrokes, they were good for nothing, ſo long as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: cauſing them to arm themſelves more weightily, to uſe a larger kind of ſhield, with good ſwords, and ſtrong pikes, fit for ſervice at hand. He taught them alſo to fight in cloſe order,

order, and altered the form of their embattelling: not making the Files ſo deep as had been accuſtomed, but extending the Front, that he might uſe the ſervice of many hands.

Eight moneths were ſpent of that year, in which he firſt was *Prætor* of the *Achæans*, when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* cauſed him to make trial, how his Souldiers had profited by his diſcipline. This *Machanidas* was the ſucceſſor unto *Lycurgus*, a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a ſtrong Army of Mercenaries: and he kept them not only to fight for *Sparta*, but to hold the City in obedience to himſelf perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the *Achæans*, that were favorers of liberty; but to ſtrengthen himſelf by friendſhip of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, took no further notice of vice or vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people alſo of *Lacedæmon*, through their inveterate hatred unto the *Argives*, *Achæans*, and *Macedonians*, were in like ſort (all or moſt of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very unwiſely. For in ſeeking to take revenge upon thoſe, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*; they hindered themſelves thereby from recovering the Maſtery of their own City. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his own ſecurity, and no ſmall hope of good that would follow, ſuffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but alwayes made him ready to fall upon his neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whileſt they were enforced, by greater neceſſity, to turn face another way. Thus had he often done, eſpecially in the abſence of *Philip*: whoſe ſudden coming into thoſe parts, or ſome other oppoſition made againſt him, had uſually made him fail of his attempts. At the preſent he was ſtronger in men, than were the *Achæans*, and thought his own men better Souldiers than were theirs.

Whileſt *Philip* therefore was buſied elſewhere, he entered the Country of the *Mantinæans*: being not without hope to do as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the * *Lordſhip of Peloponneſus*, as having ſtronger friends and weaker oppoſition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertain him at *Mantinæa*; where was fought between them a great battel. The Tyrant had brought into the field upon Carts a great many of engines, wherewith to beat upon the Squadrons of his enemies, and put them in diſorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* ſent forth his light armature a good way before him; ſo as *Machanidas* was fain to do the like. To ſecond theſe, from the one and the other ſide came in continual ſupply; till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Achæans* and of *Machanidas*, were drawn up to the fight: being ſo far advanced, each before their own Phalanx, that it could no otherwiſe be diſcerned which preſſed forward, or which recoyled, than by riſing of the duſt. Thus were *Machanidas* his engines made unſerviceable, by the interpoſition of his own men; in ſuch manner as the Cannon is hindered from doing execution, in moſt of the battels fought in theſe our times. The mercenaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: not only by their advantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well obſerveth) by ſurmounting their oppoſites in degree of courage; wherein uſually the hired Souldiers of Tyrants exceed thoſe that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which live oppreſſed by Tyranny, ſince the one, by doing their beſt in fight, have hope to acquire ſomewhat beneficial to themſelves, whereas the other do fight (as it were) to aſſure their own ſervitude: ſo the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his proſperity, have as good cauſe to maintain his quarrel as their own; whereas they that ſerve under a free State, have no other motive to do manfully, than their bare ſtipend. Further than this, when a free State hath gotten the Victory, many companies (if not all) of forreign Auxiliaries are preſently caſt; and therefore ſuch good fellows will not take much pains to bring the War to an end. But the Victory of a Tyrant, makes him ſtand in need of more ſuch helpers; becauſe that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more ſubjects; and therefore ſtands in fear of more, that ſhould ſeek to take revenge upon him. The ſtipendiaries of the *Achæans*, being forced to give ground, were urged ſo violently in their retreat by thoſe of *Machanidas*; that ſhortly they betook themſelves to flight: and could not be ſtaid by any perſwaſions of *Philopœmen*, but ran away quite beyond the battel of the *Achæans*. This diſaſter had been ſufficient to take from *Philopœmen* the honour of the day; had he not wiſely obſerved the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that error which might reſtore the Victory. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gave chace unto thoſe that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battel his *Lacedæmonians*; whom he thought ſufficient to deal with the *Achæans*, that were already diſheartned

Polyb. ibid.

* *Except. e. Pol. l. 11. Plut. in vita Philopœm.*

by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashness had carried him out of sight, *Philopœmen* advanced towards the *Lacedæmonians* that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the Country a long ditch, without watter at that time, and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficulty, especially for Foot. The *Lacedæmonians* adventured over it, as thinking themselves better Souldiers than the *Achæans*; who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their own Battel; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further bank, than they were stoutly charged by the *Achæans*, who drave them headlong into the ditch again. Their first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopœmen* getting over the ditch, easily chaced them out of the Field. *Philopœmen* knew better how to use his advantage, than *Machanidas* had done. He suffered not all his Army to disband and follow the chace, but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custody of a bridge that was over the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come back. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chace, looked very heavily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet, with a lusty troop of Horse about him, he made towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Achæans* in disorder; and to set upon their backs, as they were carelesly pursuing their Victory. But when he and his Company saw *Philopœmen* ready to make good the bridge against them; then began every one to look, which way he might shift for himself. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch side; and searched for an easie passage over. He was easily discovered by his purple Cassock, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopœmen* therefore leaving the charge of the bridge unto another, coasted him all the way as he rode, and falling upon him at length in the ditch it self, as he was getting over it, slew him there with his own hand. There died in this Battel on the *Lacedæmonians* side about four thousand: and more than four thousand were taken prisoners. Of the *Achæan* Mercenaries, probable it is, that the loss was not greatly cared for; since that War was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they should have need.

§. VI.

Philip *having peace with* Rome, *and with all* Greece, *prepares against* Asia. *Of the Kings of* Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, *and their Lineages. Of the* Galatians.

BY this Victory the *Achæans* learned to think well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (such was their discipline and continual exercise) to account themselves in matter of War inferiour to any, that should have brought against them no great odds of number. As for the *Macedonian*, he made no great use of them. But when he had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, he studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the West. He took in hand many matters together, or very neerly together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Achæans* would have done him service, they must by helping him to oppress others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deal with themselves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had joyned with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in War against him.

This *Attalus*, though a King, was scarce yet a Nobleman, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his own, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune began in *Philetærus* his Uncle: who being guelded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to be the more esteemed: as great men in those times reposed much confidence in Eunuchs, whose affections could not be obliged unto wives or children. He was entertained into the family of *Docimus*, a Captain following *Antigonus the first*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Master, that betook himself to *Lysimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lysimachus* had a good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his money and accounts. But when at length he stood in fear of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant; he fled into *Asia*, where he seized upon the Town of *Pergamus*, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lysimachus*. The Town and money, together with his own service, he offered unto *Seleucus the first*, that then was ready to give *Lysimachus* battel. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that *Seleucus*, having slain *Lysimachus*, died shortly after himself, before he made use of *Philetærus* or his money. So this Eunuch still retained *Pergamus*, with the Country round about it; and reigned therein twenty years as an absolute King. He had

had two brethren: of which the elder is ſaid to have been a poor Carter; and the younger perhaps not much better, before ſuch time, they were raiſed by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetærus* left his Kingdom to the elder of theſe, or to the ſon of the elder, called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his Kingdom; making his advantage of the diſſention between *Seleucus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the ſons of the *ſecond Antiochus*. He fought a battel with *Hierax*, neer unto *Sardis*, and won the Victory. At which time, to animate his men againſt the *Gaules* that ſerved under his Enemy, he uſed a pretty device. He wrote the word * *Victory* upon the hand of his Soothſayer, in ſuch colours as would eaſily come off: and when the hot liver of the beaſt that was ſacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He publiſhed this unto his Army as a Miracle, plainly foreſhewing that the gods would be aſſiſtant in that Battel.

* *Iuſt. Pomp. Trog. Lib. 41.*

After this Victory, he grew a dreadful enemy to *Seleucus*: who never durſt attempt to recover from him, by War, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty years, he died by a ſurfeit of over-much drink, and left his Kingdom to *Attalus*, of whom we now entreat, that was ſon unto *Attalus* the youngeſt brother of *Philetærus*. *Attalus* was an undertaking Prince, very bountiful, and no leſs valiant. By his own proper forces he reſtored his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdom, whence he had been expelled. He was grievouſly moleſted by *Achæus*: who ſetting up himſelf as King againſt *Antiochus the Great*, reigned in the leſſer *Aſia*. He was beſieged in his own City of *Pergamus*: but by the help of the *Tectoſages*, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom he called over out of *Thrace*, he recovered all that he had loſt. When theſe *Gauls* had once gotten footing in *Aſia*, they never wanted employment, but were either entertained by ſome of the Princes reigning in thoſe quarters, or interpoſed themſelves without invitation; and found themſelves work in quarrels of their own making. They cauſed *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia* to ceaſe from his War againſt *Bizantium*. Whereunto when he had condeſcended; they nevertheleſs within a while after invaded his Kingdom. He obtained againſt them a great Victory; and uſed it with great cruelty, ſparing neither age nor ſex. But the ſwarm of them increaſing, they occupied the Region about *Helleſpont* where, in ſeating themſelves, they were much beholding unto *Attalus*. Nevertheleſs, preſuming afterwards upon their ſtrength, they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute: in the ſharp exaction whereof, they had no more reſpect unto *Attalus*, than to any that had worſe deſerved of them. By this they compelled him to fight againſt them: and he being victorious, compelled them to contain themſelves within the bounds of that Province, which took name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they ſtill to oppreſs the weakeſt of their neighbours, and to fill up the Armies of thoſe that could beſt hire them.

The Kings reigning in thoſe parts, were the poſterity of ſuch, as had ſaved themſelves and their Provinces, in the ſlothful reign of the *Perſians*; or in the buſie times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the firſt of their line had married with *Ateſſa*, ſiſter unto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Country was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is ſhewed before. But the ſon of that King, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, eſpying his time while the *Macedonians* were at civil wars among themſelves; recovered his Dominion, and paſſed it over to his off-ſpring. The Kings of *Pontus* had alſo their beginning from the *Perſian* Empire; and are ſaid to have iſſued from the royal houſe of *Achæmenes*. The *Paphlagonians* derived themſelves from *Pylemenes*, a King that aſſiſted *Priamus* at the war of *Troy*. Theſe, applying themſelves unto the times, were alwayes conformable unto the ſtrongeſt. The Anceſtors of *Pruſias* had begun to reign in *Bythinia*, ſome few generations before that of *the great Alexander*. They lay ſomewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therefore, having other employment, they were the leſs moleſted. *Calantus*, one of *Alexanders* Captains, made an expedition into their Country, where he was vanquiſhed. They had afterwards to do with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that made them ſomewhat more humble. And thus they ſhuffled, as did the reſt, until the reign of *Pruſias*, whom we have already ſometimes mentioned.

§. VII.

The Town of Chios *taken by* Philip, *at the inſtance of* Pruſias, *King of* Bithynia, *and cruelly deſtroyed. By this and the like actions,* Philip *grows hateful to many of the* Greeks: *and is warred upon by* Attalus *King of* Pergamus, *and by the* Rhodians.

PRuſias as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whoſe greatneſs

he ſuſpected. He therefore ſtrengthened himſelf, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrary ſide, entred into a ſtrict Confederacy with the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greeks*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Ætolian* war, and was deviſing with *Antiochus* about ſharing between them two the Kingdom of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolomy Philopater*, a friend unto them both, was newly dead; and had left his ſon *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a young child, his heir: the *Bythinian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come over into *Aſia*, there to win the Town of the *Ciani*, and beſtow it upon him. *Pruſias* had no right unto the Town, nor juſt matter of quarrel againſt it: but it was fitly ſeated for him, and therewithal rich. *Philip* came, as one that could not well deny to help his Son-in-law. But hereby he mightily offended no ſmall part of *Greece*. Embaſſadours came to him whilſt he lay at the ſiege, from the *Rhodians*, and divers other States: intreating him to forſake the enterpriſe. He gave dilatory, but otherwiſe gentle anſwers: making ſhew as if he would condeſcend to their requeſt, when he intended nothing leſs. At length he got the Town: where, even in preſence of the Embaſſadours, of whoſe ſolicitation he had ſeemed ſo regardful, he omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendred himſelf odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruel Prince. Eſpecially his fact was deteſted of the *Rhodians*, who had made vehement interceſſion for the poor *Ciani*: and were advertiſed by Embaſſadours of purpoſe ſent unto them from *Philip*, That howſoever it were in his power to win the Town as ſoon as he liſted, yet in regard of his love to the *Rhodians*, he was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency, the Embaſſadours ſaid, that he would manifeſt unto the world what ſlanderous tongues they were, which noiſed abroad ſuch reports, as went of his falſhood and oppreſſion. Whileſt the Embaſſadours were declaming at *Rhodes* in the Theater to this effect; there came ſome that made a true relation of what had hapned: ſhewing that *Philip* had ſacked and deſtroyed the Town of *Cios*, and, after a cruel ſlaughter of the Inhabitants, had made ſlaves of all that eſcaped the ſword. If the *Rhodians* took this in great deſpight, no leſs were the *Ætolians* inflamed againſt him: ſince they had ſent a Captain to take charge of the Town; being warned before by his doings at *Lyſimachia* and *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacy to his own) what little truſt was to be repoſed in the faith of this King. But moſt of all others was *Attalus* moved with conſideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his own eſtate. He had much to loſe; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a ſtrong party in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captains, in purchaſing with much liberality the love of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, having loſt their own. On the friendſhip of the *Ætolians* he had cauſe to preſume; having bound them unto him by good offices, many & great, in their late war with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States, he eaſily drew into a ſtreight alliance with him, by their hatred newly conceived againſt *Philip*.

Upon confidence in theſe his friends, but moſt of all, in the ready aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deal with the *Macedonian* by open war. It had been unſeaſonable to procraſtinate, and expect whereto the doings of the enemy tended; ſince his deſire to faſten upon *Aſia* was manifeſt, and his falſhood no leſs manifeſt, than was ſuch his deſire. They met with him ſhortly not far from *Chios*, and fought with him a battel at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driven to run his own Ship on ground, hardly eſcaping to land: though the Admiral of the *Rhodians* took his deaths wound: and though *Philip* after the battel took harbour under a Promontory, by which they had fought, ſo that he had the gathering of the wracks upon the ſhore: Yet foraſmuch as he had ſuffered far greater loſs of Ships, and men, than had the enemy; and ſince he durſt not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to brave him in his Port; the honour of the victory was adjudged to his enemies. This notwithſtanding, *Philip* afterwards beſieged and won ſome Towns in *Caria*: whether only in a bravery, and to deſpight his oppoſites: or whether upon any hopeful deſire of conqueſt, it is uncertain. The ſtratagem, by which he won *Prinaſſus*, is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a mine: and finding the earth ſo ſtony, that it reſiſted his work; he nevertheleſs commanded the Pioners to make a noiſe under ground; and ſecretly in the night time he raiſed great mounts about the entrance of the mine, to breed an opinion in the beſieged, that the work went marvellouſly forward. At length he ſent word to the Towns-men, that by his undermining, two acres of their wall ſtood only upon wooden

wooden props, to which if he gave fire, and entred by a Breach, they ſhould expect no mercy. The *Prinaſſians* little thought, that he had fetcht all his earth and rubbiſh by night a great way off, to raiſe up thoſe heaps which they ſaw; but rather that all had been extracted out of the mine. Wherefore they ſuffered themſelves to be out-faced, and gave up the Town as loſt, which the enemy had no hope to win by force. But *Philip* could not ſtay to ſettle himſelf in thoſe parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too ſtrong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haſte back into *Macedon*; whither they followed him all the way in manner of purſuit.

§. VIII.

The Romans, *after their* Carthaginian *War, ſeek matter of quarrel againſt* Philip. *The* Athenians *upon ſlight cauſe, proclaim War againſt* Philip; *moved thereto by* Attalus; *whom they flatter.* Philip *wins divers Towns; and makes peremptory anſwer to the* Roman *Embaſſadour. The furious reſolution of the* Abydeni.

THeſe *Aſiatique* matters, which no way concerned the *Romans*, yet ſerved well to make a noiſe in *Rome*; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a deſire of making war in *Macedon*, at leaſt with a conceit that it were expedient ſo to do. The *Roman* Senate was perfectly informed of the ſtate of thoſe Eaſtern Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the *Greeks*, which lay between them and the Lordſhip of *Aſia*. Theſe *Greeks* were factious, and ſeldom or never at peace. As for the *Macedonian*; though length of time, and continual dealings in *Greece* ever ſince the reigns of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference between him and the Naturals: yet moſt of them abhorred his Dominion, becauſe he was originally forſooth a *Barbarian:* many of them hated him upon ancient quarrels: and they that had been moſt beholding unto him, were nevertheleſs weary of him, by reaſon of his perſonal faults. All this gave hope, that the affairs of *Greece* would not long detain the *Roman* Armies: eſpecially ſince the diviſions of the Country were ſuch, that every petty Eſtate was apt to take Counſel apart for it ſelf; without much regarding the generality. But the poor Commonalty of *Rome* had no great affection to ſuch a chargeable enterpriſe. They were already quite exhauſted, by that grievous war with *Hannibal:* wherein they had given by Loan to the Republick, all their mony: neither had they as yet received, neither did they receive until fifteen or ſixteen years after this, their whole ſum back again. That part of payment alſo which was already made, being not in preſent mony, but much of it in Land: it behoved them to reſt a while; and beſtow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the leſs able to beſtow coſt. Wherefore they took no pleaſure to hear, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had ſent Embaſſadours to ſolicite them againſt *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Aſia:* or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in *Greece*, had ſent letters of the ſame tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by ſetting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that ſolicited not only the Towns upon the Continent, but all the Iſlands in thoſe Seas, viſiting them in perſon, or ſending Embaſſadours, as one that meant ſhortly to hold war with the *Romans* upon their own ground. *Philip* had indeed no ſuch intent: neither was he much too ſtrong, either of himſelf, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be reſiſted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*; eſpecially with the help of the *Ætolians* their good friends, and (in a manner) his own profeſſed enemies. But ſuch things muſt be publiſhed abroad, if only to prediſpoſe men unto the war, and give it the more honeſt colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermedling in the affairs of thoſe that were more mighty than himſelf. He was too unſkilful, or otherwiſe too unapt, to retain his old friends: yet would he needs be ſeeking new enemies. And he found them ſuch, as he deſerved to have them: for he offered his help to their deſtruction, when they were in miſery, and had done him no harm. It behoved him therefore, either to have ſtrained his forces to the utmoſt in making war upon them; or in deſiſting from that injurious courſe, to have made amends for the wrongs paſt, by doing friendly offices of his own accord. But he, having broken that League of peace, which is of all other the moſt natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unleſs they think themſelves juſtly provoked; was afterwards too fondly perſwaded, that he might well be ſecure of the *Romans*, becauſe of the *written* Covenants of peace between him and them. There is not any form of Oath, whereby ſuch Articles of peace can be held inviolable, ſave only * *by the water of Styx*, that is, by *Neceſſity:* which whileſt it binds one party, or both

* *Sr Francis Bacon de ſap. Vet. non.*

both unto performance, making it apparent, that he ſhall be a loſer who ſtarts from the Conditions; it may ſo long (and ſo long only) be preſumed, that there ſhall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquiſhed, the *Romans* never hearkened after *Philip*: for neceſſity made them let him alone. But when once they had a peace with *Carthage*; then was the River of *Styx* dryed up: and then could they ſwear as * *Mercury* did in the Comedy, by their own ſelves, even by their good ſwords, that they had good reaſon to make war upon him. The voyage of *Sopater* into *Africk*, and the preſent war againſt *Attalus*, were matter of quarrel as much as needed: or if this were not enough; the *Athenians* helped to furniſh them with more.

* *Plaut. Amphit.*

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territory, took ſtate upon them nevertheleſs, as in their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen of *Acarnania* entring into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of Initiation (wherein were delivered the myſteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous ſuperſtition, vainly ſaid to be available unto felicity after this life) diſcovered themſelves by ſome impertinent queſtions, to be none of thoſe that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meer error, not thinking to have therein done amiſs; yet, as it had been for ſome hainous crime, they were put to death. All their Countrey-men at home took this in ill part; and ſought to revenge it as a publick injury, by war upon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* ſome *Macedonians* to help them, they entred into *Attica*: who waſted it with fire and ſword; and carried thence a great booty. This indignity ſtirred up the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them think upon doing more, than they had ability to perform. All which at the preſent they could do, was to ſend Embaſſadors to King *Attalus*; gratulating his happy ſucceſs againſt *Philip*, and intreating him to viſit their City. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing, becauſe he underſtood that the *Roman* Embaſſadors, hovering about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpoſe to be there at the ſame time. So he went thither, accompanied, beſides his own followers, with ſome of the *Rhodians*. Landing in the *Piræus*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoycing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; and he being no leſs glad, when he heard of their purpoſe to renew the war. The *Athenians* came out of their City, all the Magiſtrates, Prieſts, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as ſolemn a pomp as they could deviſe, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the *Romans* that were with him, in very loving manner: but towards *Attalus* himſelf they omitted no point of obſervance which their flattery could ſuggeſt. At his firſt coming into the City, they called the people to Aſſembly: where they deſired him to honour them with his preſence, and let them hear him ſpeak. But he excuſed himſelf; ſaying, That with an evil grace he ſhould recount unto them thoſe many benefits, by which he ſtudied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he ſhould deliver in writing, what he would have to be propounded. He did ſo. The points of his Declaration were; firſt, what he had willingly done for their ſake: then, what had lately paſſed between him and *Philip*: laſtly, an exhortation unto them, to declare themſelves againſt the *Macedonians*, whileſt he with the *Rhodians* and the *Romans*, were willing and ready to take their part: which if they now refuſed to do, he proteſted, that afterwards it would be vain to crave his help. There needed little intreaty: for they were as willing to proclaim the war, as he to deſire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours: and obtained, That unto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens conſiſted, ſhould be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodians* they alſo decreed a Crown of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the *Rhodians* free Citizens of *Athens*.

Thus began a great noiſe of war, wherein little was left unto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* taking all upon them. But while theſe were vainly miſſpending the time, in ſeeking to draw the *Ætolians* to their party: that contrary to their old manner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* won the Towns of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, with many other ſtrong places about the *Helleſpont*. Likewiſe paſſing over the *Helleſpont*, he laid ſiege unto *Abydus*; and won it, though he was fain to ſtay there long. The Town held out, rather upon an obſtinate reſolution, and hope of ſuccour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, than any great ability to defend it ſelf againſt ſo mighty an Enemy. But the *Rhodians* ſent thither only one *Quadrireme* Gallie: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men, far too weak an aid to make good the place. The

Roman

Roman Embaſſadors wondred much at this great negligence of them that had taken ſo much upon them.

Theſe Embaſſadors, *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmylius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were ſent unto *Ptolomy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*, to acquaint him with their Victory againſt *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as alſo to thank him for his favour unto them ſhewed in that War; and to deſire the continuance thereof, if they ſhould need it againſt *Philip*. This *Egyptian* King was now in the third or fourth year of his reign, which (as his father *Philopater* had done before him) he began a very young boy. The courteſie for which the *Romans* were to thank him, was that out of *Egypt* they had lately been ſupplied with corn, in a time of extream Dearth; when the miſeries of War had made all their own Provinces unable to relieve them. This meſſage could not but be welcome to the *Egyptian*: ſince it was well known, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themſelves againſt him, conſpiring to take away his Kingdom. And therefore it might in reaſon be hoped, that he, or his Councel for him, ſhould offer to ſupply the *Romans* with corn: ſince this their *Macedonian* Expedition concerned his Eſtate no leſs than theirs.

But as the errand was for the moſt part complemental; ſo had the Embaſſadors both leiſure and direction from the Senate, to look unto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmylius* the youngeſt of them ſhould ſtep aſide, and viſit *Philip*, to trie if he could make him leave the ſiege of *Abydus*; which elſe he was like to carry. *Emylius*, coming to *Philip*, tells him that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, upon whom he made War, were Confederate with *Rome*: and the Town of *Abydus*, which he was now beſieging, had a kind of dependancy upon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* anſwered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had made War upon him: and that he did only requite them with the like. *Do you alſo* (ſaid *Æmylius*) *requite theſe poor Abydeni with ſuch terrible War, for any the like Invaſion by them firſt made upon you?* The King was angry to hear himſelf thus taken ſhort: and therefore he roundly made anſwer to *Æmylius*: *It is your youth, Sir, and your beauty, and* (*above all,*) *your being a* Roman, *that makes you thus preſumptuous. But I would wiſh ye to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keep it: If ye do otherwiſe, I will make ye underſtand, that the Kingdom, and Name of* Macedon *is in matter of War, no leſs noble than the* Roman. So he diſmiſſed the Embaſſador; and had the Town immediately yielded to his diſcretion. The people had entertained a reſolution, to have died every one of them; and ſet their Town on fire; binding themſelves hereto by a fearful oath when *Philip* denied to accept them upon reaſonable conditions. But having in deſperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, loſt the greateſt number of their Youth; it was thought meet by the Governours and Ancients of the City to change this reſolution; and take ſuch peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to *Philip*: about which, whileſt they were buſie, the memory of their oath wrought ſo effectually in the younger ſort; that, by exhortation of the Prieſts, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themſelves. Hereof the King had ſo little compaſſion, that he ſaid, he would grant the *Abydeni* three dayes leiſure to die: and to that end forbade his men to enter the Town; or hazzard themſelves in interrupting the violence of thoſe mad fools.

§. IX.

The Romans *decree War againſt* Philip, *and ſend one of their Conſuls into* Greece, *as it were in defence of the* Athenians *their Confederates. How poor the* Athenians *were at this time both in quality and eſtate.*

THis calamity of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the *Romans* unto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it neerly reſembled: though *Rome* was not alike intereſſed in the quarrel. But to help themſelves with pretence for the War, they had found out another *Saguntum*, even the City of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* ſhould win, then reſted there no more to do, than that he ſhould preſently embarque himſelf for *Italy*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum*, in five moneths, but in the ſhort ſpace of five days ſayling. Thus *P. Sulpitius* the Conſul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make War upon *Philip*; which at his firſt propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alledged; to ſhew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater Kingdom, might dare to undertake: as alſo the fortunate voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk*; to ſhew the difference of making War abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own Country. By ſuch arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* indeed to believe, that this War with the *Macedonian* was both juſt and neceſſary. So it was decreed: and imme-

immediately the ſame Conſul haſted away towards *Macedon*, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readineſs, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motives than the people muſt be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, of their conſtancy (as was ſaid) in not changing their faith at ſuch times as they ſtood in danger of being beſieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not upon the ſame occaſion. For the people of *Rome* had no cauſe to think it a benefit unto themſelves; that any *Greek* Town, refuſing to ſue unto the *Macedonian* for peace, requeſted their help againſt him. But the Senate, intending to take in hand the Conqueſt of the Eaſtern parts, had reaſon to give thanks unto thoſe, that miniſtred the occaſion. Since therefore it was an untrue ſuggeſtion, That *Philip* was making ready for *Italy*: and ſince neither *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, nor any other State in thoſe quarters, deſired the *Romans* to give them protection: theſe buſie-headed *Athenians*, who falling out with the *Acarnanians*, and conſequently with *Philip*, a matter of Maygame, (as was ſhewed before) ſent Embaſſadors into all parts of the World, even to *Ptolomy* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbours; muſt be accepted as cauſe of the War, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheleſs as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence; the doings of *P. Sulpitius* the Conſul were ſuch, as might have argued *Athens* to be the leaſt part of his care. He ſailed not about *Peloponneſus*, but took the ready way to *Macedon*, and landing about the River of *Apſus*, between *Dyrrhachium* and *Apollonia*, there began the War. Soon upon his coming, the *Athenian* Embaſſadours were with him and craved his help: whereof they could make no benefit whileſt he was far from them. They bemoaned themſelves as men beſieged, and intreated him to deliver them. For which cauſe he ſent unto them *C. Claudius* with twenty Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the main of his forces he retained with him, for the proſecution of a greater deſign. The *Athenians* were not indeed beſieged: only ſome Rovers from *Chalcis*, in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, and ſome bands of adventures out of *Corinth* uſed to take their Ships, and ſpoil their fields, becauſe they had declared themſelves againſt King *Philip*, that was Lord of theſe two Towns. The robberies done by theſe Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than war-like *Athenians*, *in this declining Age of their* Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From ſuch detriment the arrival of *Claudius*, and ſhortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, eaſily preſerved them. As for the *Athenians* themſelves, they that had been wont, in ancient times to undertake the conqueſts of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Cicil*; to make War upon the great *Perſian* King, and to hold ſo much of *Greece* in ſubjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the reſt; had now no more than three Ships, and thoſe open ones, not much better than long boats. Yet thought they not themſelves a whit the worſe men, but ſtood as highly upon the glory and vertue of their Anceſtors, as if it had been ſtill their own.

§. X.

The Town of Chalcis *in* Eubœa *taken and ſackt by the* Romans *& their Aſſociates, that lay in Garriſon at* Athens. Philip *attempteth to take* Athens *by ſurpriſe: waſteth the Countrey about, and makes a journy into* Peloponneſus. *Of* Nabis *the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon, *and his wife.* Philip *offers to make War againſt* Nabis *for the* Achæans. *He returneth home through* Attica, *which he ſpoileth again: and provides againſt the Enemies. Some exploits of the* Romans. *Divers Princes joyn with them. Great labouring to draw the* Ætolians *into the War.*

PHilip returning home from *Abydus*, heard news of the *Roman* Conſul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he ſtirred forth to give him entertainment, or perhaps before he had well reſolved, whether it were beſt a while to ſit ſtill, and try what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make oppoſition, and reſiſt theſe Invaders with all his forces: he received advertiſement from *Chalcis* of a grievous miſhap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius* with his *Romans*, finding no ſuch work at *Athens* as they had expected, or was anſwerable to the fame that went abroad, purpoſed to do ſomewhat that might quicken the War, and make his own imployment better. He grew ſoon weary of ſitting as a Scar-crow, to ſave the *Athenians* grounds from ſpoil; and therefore gladly took in hand a buſineſs of more importance. The Town of *Chalcis* was very negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand: and more negligently by the Towns-men, who repoſed themſelves upon their Garriſon. Hereof *Claudius* having ad-

advertiſement, ſailed thither by night, for fear of being deſcried: and arriving there a little before break of day, took it by Scalado. He uſed no mercy, but ſlew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keep it, (unleſs he ſhould have left the heartleſs *Athenians* to their own defence) he ſet it on fire; conſuming the Kings Magazines of Corn, and all proviſions for War, which were plenteouſly filled. Neither were he and his Aſſociates contented with the great abundance of ſpoil which they carried aboard their Ships, and with inlarging all thoſe, whom *Philip*, as in a place of moſt ſecurity, kept there impriſoned: but to ſhew their deſpight and hatred unto the King, they overthrew and brake in pieces the Statues to him there erected. This done, they haſted away towards *Athens:* where the news of their exploit was like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias*, about ſome 20. miles thence; whither then theſe tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he ſaw that it was too late to remedy the matter; yet he made all haſte to take revenge. He thought to have taken the *Athenians*, with their truſty friends, buſie at work in ranſacking the Town, and loading themſelves with ſpoil: but they were gone before his coming. Five thouſand light-armed foot he had with him, and three hundred horſe: whereof leaving at *Chalcis* only a few to bury the dead, he marched from thence away ſpeedily toward *Athens:* thinking it not impoſſible to take his enemies in the joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-poſt that ſtood Scout for the City upon the borders, had not deſcried him afar off, and ſwiftly carried word of his approach to *Athens*. It was mid-night when this Poſt came thither: who found all the Town aſleep, as fearleſs of any danger. But the Magiſtrates, hearing this report, cauſed a Trumpet out of their Citadel to ſound the Alarm, and with all ſpeed made ready for defence. Within a few hours *Philip* was there; who ſeeing the many lights, and other ſigns of buſie preparation uſual in ſuch a caſe, underſtood that they had news of his coming; and therefore willed his men to repoſe themſelves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did help well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compaſs about by Sea, and had no cauſe of haſte) yet having in the Town ſome mercenary Souldiers, which they kept of their own, beſides the great multitude of Citizens; they adventured to iſſue forth at a gate, whereto they ſaw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all thoſe his own, that were thus hardy. He therefore only willed his men to follow his example; and preſently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave ſingular proof of his valour: and beating down many of the Enemies with his own hands, drave them with great ſlaughter back into the City. The heat of his courage tranſported him further than diſcretion would have allowed, even to the very gate. But he retired without harm taking; for that they which were upon the Towers over the gate, could not uſe their caſting weapons againſt him, without much indangering their own people that were thronging before him into the City. There was a temple of *Hercules*, a place of exerciſe, with a Grove, and many goodly Monuments beſides, neer adjoyning unto *Athens*: of which he ſpared none; but ſuffered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the ſepulchres of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and ſome Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Ægina*; too late in regard of what was already paſt: but in good time to prevent him of ſatisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed from thence to *Corinth*, and hearing that the *Achæans* held a Parliament at *Argos*, he came thither to them unexpected.

The *Achæans* were deviſing upon War: which they intended to make againſt *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*: who being ſtarted up in the room of *Machanidas*, did greater miſchief than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly upon his mercenaries: and of his ſubjects had no regard. He was a cruel oppreſſor, a greedy extortioner upon thoſe that lived under him; and one that in his natural condition ſmelt rankly of the Hangman. In theſe qualities, his wife *Apega* was very fitly matched with him, ſince his dexterity was no greater in ſpoiling the men, then hers in fleecing their wives; whom ſhe would never ſuffer to be at quiet, till they had preſented her with all their *jewels* and *apparel*. Her huſband was ſo delighted with her property, that he cauſed an Image to be made, lively repreſenting her; and apparelled it with ſuch coſtly garments as ſhe uſed to wear. But it was indeed an Engine, ſerving to torment men. Hereof he made uſe, when he meant to try the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling unto him ſome rich man, of whoſe money he was deſirous; he would bring him into the

Liv. 432.

Excerp. è Polyb. l. 13.

room where this counterfeit *Apega* ſtood, and there uſe all his art of perſwaſion, to get what he deſired, as it were by good will. If he could not ſo ſpeed, but was anſwered with excuſes; then took he the refractory denyer by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apega* (who ſate by in a Chair) could perſwade more effectually. So he led him to the Image, that roſe up and opened the arms, as it were for imbracement. Thoſe arms were full of ſharp iron nails, the like whereof was alſo ſticking in the breaſts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith ſhe griped the poor wretch, to the pleaſure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruel death. Such, and worſe (for it were long to tell all here that is ſpoken of him) was *Nabis* in his government. In his dealings abroad he combined with the *Ætolians*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By theſe he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former War. Of *Philopœmens* vertue he ſtood in fear: and therefore durſt not provoke the *Achæans*, as long as they had ſuch an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a far worſe Captain, was their Prætor, and all, or the greateſt part of their Mercenaries were diſcharged; *Philopœmen* being alſo gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloved occupation of War; then did *Nabis* fall upon their Territory; and waſting all the fields, made them diſtruſt their own ſafety in the Towns.

Againſt this Tyrant the *Achæans* were preparing for War, when *Philip* came among them, and had ſet down what proportion of Souldiers every City of their Corporation ſhould furniſh out. But *Philip* willed them not to trouble themſelves with the care of this buſineſs; foraſmuch as he alone would eaſe them of this War, and take the burden upon himſelf. With exceeding joy and thanks they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, That whileſt he made War upon *Lacedæmon*, he ought not to leave his own Towns unguarded. In which reſpect he thought they would be pleaſed to ſend a few men to *Corinth*, and ſome Companies into he Iſle of *Eubœa*; that ſo he might ſecurely purſue the War againſt *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his device; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his War againſt the *Romans*. Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliades* made him anſwer, That their Laws forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than thoſe for which it was aſſembled. So paſſing the Decree, upon which they had agreed before, for preparing War againſt *Nabis*, he brake up the Aſſembly, with every mans good liking; whereas in former times, he had been thought no better than one of the Kings Paraſites.

It grieved the King to have thus failed in his purpoſe with the *Achæans*. Nevertheleſs he gathered up among them a few Voluntaries; and ſo returned by *Corinth* back into *Attica*. There he met with *Philocles* one of his Captains, that with two thouſand men had been doing what harm he might unto the Country. With this adition of ſtrength, he attempted the Caſtle of *Eleuſine*, the haven of *Pyreus*, and even the City of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made ſuch haſte after him by Sea, thruſting themſelves into every of theſe places; that he could no more than wreak his anger upon thoſe goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time ſingularly beautified. So he deſtroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty of their own: or having long ago been Maſters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where beſt choice was found. Neither did he only pull all down: but cauſed his men to break the very ſtones, that they might be unſerviceable to their reparation. His loſs at *Chalcis* being thus revenged upon *Athens*, he went home into *Macedon*: and there made proviſion, both againſt the *Roman* Conſul that lay about *Apollonia*; and againſt the *Dardanians*, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infeſt him. Among his other cares, he forgot not the *Ætolians*: to whoſe Parliament, ſhortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he ſent an Embaſſage, requeſting them to continue in his friendſhip. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpitius the *Roman* Conſul encamped upon the River of *Apſus*. Thence he ſent forth *Apuſtius* his Lieutenant, with part of the Army to waſte the borders of *Macedon*. *Apuſtius* took ſundry Caſtles and Towns; uſing ſuch extremity of ſword and fire at *Antipatria*, the firſt good Town which he won by force, that none durſt afterwards make reſiſtance, unleſs they knew themſelves able to hold out. Returning towards the Conſul with his ſpoil, he was charged in the Reer, upon the paſſage of a brook, by *Athenagoras* a *Macedonian* Captain: but the *Romans* had the better, and killing many of theſe enemies, took priſoners many more, to the increaſe of their booty, with which they arrived in ſafety at their Camp. The ſucceſs of this Expedition, though

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it were not great, yet ſerved to draw into the *Roman* friendſhip thoſe that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. Theſe were *Pleuratus*, the ſon of *Scerdilaidas* the *Illyrian*: *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians*, and *Bato* the ſon of *Longarus*, Prince of the *Dardanians*. They offered their aſſiſtance unto the Conſul, who thanked them: and ſaid, That he would ſhortly make uſe of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when he entred into *Macedon*: but that the friendſhip of *Aminander*, whoſe Country lay between the *Ætolians* and *Theſſaly*, might be perhaps available with the *Ætolians*, to ſtir them up againſt *Philip*.

So the preſent care was wholly ſet upon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embaſſadors from the *Macedonian*, *Romans*, and *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* ſpake firſt, and ſaid: That as there was nothing fallen out, which ſhould occaſion the breach of peace between his Maſter and the *Ætolians*; ſo was it to be hoped, that they would not ſuffer themſelves, without good cauſe to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to conſider, how the *Romans* heretofore, had made ſhew, as if their War in *Greece* tended only to the defence of the *Ætolians*, and yet notwithſtanding had been angry, that the *Ætolians*, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer need of ſuch their Patronage. What might it be that made them ſo buſie, in obtruding their protection upon thoſe that needed it not? Surely it was even the general hatred, which theſe *Barbarians* bore unto the *Greeks*. For even after the ſame ſort had they lent their help to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards delivered *Syracuſe*, when it was oppreſſed by *Carthaginian* Tyrants; but now both *Syracuſe* and *Meſſana*, were ſubject unto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the ſame effect he alledged many examples, adding, That in like ſort it would happen to the *Ætolians*: who if they drew ſuch maſters into *Greece*, muſt not look hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their own, wherein to conſult about War and Peace: the *Romans* would eaſe them of this care, and ſend them ſuch a Moderator, as went every year from *Rome* to *Syracuſe*. Wherefore he concluded, that it was beſt for them, whilſt as yet they might, and whilſt one of them as yet could help the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, upon light occaſion, they hapned to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three years ago made the peace which ſtill continued; although that the very ſame *Romans* were then againſt it, who ſought to break it now. It would have troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good anſwer to theſe objections. For the *Macedonian* had ſpoken the very truth, in ſhewing whereunto this their Patronage, which they offered with ſuch importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were ſet on by them to ſpeak next: who had ſtore of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. Theſe affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* Embaſſador, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*; knowing in what barbarous manner his own King had, in few dayes paſt, made War upon the gods themſelves, by deſtroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithal they made a pittiful reherſal of their own calamities: and ſaid, that if *Philip* might have his will, *Ætolia*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, ſhould feel the ſame that *Attica* had felt; yea, that *Athens* it ſelf, together with *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the Walls and the *Roman* arms had not defended them.

Then ſpake the *Romans*: who excuſing, as well as they could, their own oppreſſion of all thoſe, in whoſe defence they had heretofore taken Arms, went roundly to the point in hand. They ſaid, that they had of late made War in the *Ætolians* behalf, and that the *Ætolians* had without their conſent made peace: whereof ſince the *Ætolians* muſt excuſe themſelves, by alledging that the *Romans*, being buſied with *Carthage*, wanted leiſure to give them aid convenient; ſo this excuſe being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent againſt their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their war and victory, unleſs they had rather periſh with *Philip*.

It might eaſily be perceived, that they which were ſo vehement, in offering their help ere it was deſired, were themſelves carried unto the War by more earneſt motives, than a ſimple deſire to help thoſe friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cauſe, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor ſhifted them off a while with a dilatory anſwer: though he told his Country-men, That by reſerving themſelves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with thoſe that had the better fortune. His anſwer was, firſt, in general terms; That over-much haſte was an enemy to good counſel: for which cauſe they muſt further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming nearer to the matter in hand, he paſſed a Decree, *That the*

Prætor *might at any time call an Assembly of the States, and therein conclude upon this business; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding:* whereas otherwise it was unlawful to treat of such affairs, excepting two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

§. XI.

The meeting of Philip *with the* Romans, *and skirmishing with them on his borders. The* Ætolians *invade his Dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of* Attalus *and the* Roman *Fleet.*

PHilip was glad to hear, that the *Romans* had sped no better in their solicitation of the *Ætolians*. He thought them hereby disappointed in the very beg nning, of one great help; and meant himself to disappoint them of another. His son *Perseus*, a very boy, was sent to keep the Streights of *Pelagonia* against the *Dardanians*; having with him some of the Kings Councel, to govern both him and his Army. It was judged, as may seem, that the presence of the Kings son, how young soever, would both encourage his Followers, and terrifie the Enemies, by making them at least believe, that he was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few years before this, was in like manner left upon the borders of *Ætolia* by his father; whom earnest business called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand; it was thought that the *Macedonian* Fleet under *Heraclides*, would serve to keep *Attalus*, with the *Rhodians* and *Romans*, from doing harm by Sea, when the Kings back was turned: who took his journey Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

The Armies met in the Country of the *Dessaretii*, a people in the utmost borders of *Macedon* towards *Illyria*, about the Mountains of *Candavia*; that running along from *Hæmus* in the North, until they joyn in the South with *Pindus*, inclose the Western parts of *Macedon*. Two or three dayes they lay in sight the one of the other, without making offer of battel. The Consul was the first that issued forth of his Camp into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed Mercenaries, and some part of horse, to entertain them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the *Romans*, and driven back into their Camp. Now although it was so, that the King was unwilling to hazzard all at first upon a Cast, and therefore sent for *Perseus* with his Companies, to increase his own forces: yet being no less unwilling to lose too much in reputation; he made shew a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and so gave charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains, to provoke out the *Romans* to fight; instructing both him and his Targettiers, how to behave themselves respectively, as opportunity should fall out. The *Romans* had no mistrust of any ambush, having fought upon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have sustained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had been well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall back, they charged him so hotly, that they drave him to an hasty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captains of the Targettiers, not staying to let them run into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the work to which they were appointed. The Consul hereby gathered, that the King had some desire to try the fortune of a battel: which he therefore presented the second time: leading forth his Army, and setting it in order, with Elephants in the front: a kind of help which the *Romans* had never used before, but had taken these of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce above fourscore years ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italy*, to affright the *Romans*, who had never seen any of those beasts before. But now the same *Romans* (whilst possibly some were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) came into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* have none. *Philip* had patience to let the Consul brave him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely; for the *Roman* had greater need to fight, than he. *Sulpicius* was unwilling to lose time: neither could he without great danger, lying so near the Enemy, that was strong in horse, send his men to fetch in corn out of the fields. Wherefore he removed 8. miles off: presuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on even ground: and so the more boldly he suffered his Forragers to over-run the Country. The King was nothing sorry of this: but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleasure: even till their presumption, and his

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own ſuppoſed fear, ſhould make them careleſs. When this was come to paſs, he took all his horſe, and light-armed foot, with which he occupied a place in the mid-way, between the Forragers and their Camp. There he ſtayed in covert with part of his forces, to keep the paſſages that none ſhould eſcape. The reſt he ſent abroad the Countrey, to fall upon the ſtragglers: willing them to put all to the ſword, and let none run home with news to the Camp. The ſlaughter was great: and thoſe which eſcaped the hands of them that were ſent abroad to ſcowre the fields, lighted all or moſt of them upon the King and his companies in their flight: ſo as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Camp had news of this. But in the end there eſcaped ſome: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had hapned to themſelves, raiſed a great multitude. *Sulpicius* hereupon ſends forth all his horſe, and bids them help their fellows where they ſaw it needful: He himſelf with the Legions followed. The companies of horſe divided themſelves, accordingly as they met with advertiſements upon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was moſt of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon *Philips* Troops, that were canvaſſing the field, took their taſk where they found it: But the main bulk of them fell upon the King himſelf. They had the diſadvantage; as coming fewer, and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away; as their fellows alſo might have been, if the King had well bethought himſelf, and given over in time. But while, not contented with ſuch an harveſt, he was too greedy about a poor gleaning; the *Roman* Legions appeared in ſight: which emboldened their horſe to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent, enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their own ſafety. They ran which way they could: and (as men that lie in wait for others, are ſeldom heedful of that which may befal themſelves) to eſcape the Enemy; they declined the faireſt way; ſo as they were plunged in Mariſhes and Bogs, wherein many of them were loſt. The Kings horſe was ſlain under him: and there had been caſt away, if a loving ſubject of his he had not alighted, mounted him upon his own horſe, and delivered him out of peril, at the expence of his own life, that running on foot was overtaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident raſhneſs; and the Conſul with as much dulneſs, for his dayes ſervice. A little longer ſtay would have delivered the King from theſe enemies without any blow: ſince when all the fields about them were waſted, they muſt needs have retired back to the Sea. On the other ſide, it was not thought unlikely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had ſet upon his Camp, at ſuch time as he fled thither, half amazed with either being ſlain or taken, they might have won it. But that noble Hiſtorian, *Livie*, (as is commonly his manner) hath judiciouſly obſerved, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this days work. For the main body of the Kings Army lay ſafe in his Camp; and could not be ſo aſtoniſhed with the loſs of two or three hundred horſe, that it ſhould therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himſelf, he was advertiſed, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardanians*, were fallen upon his Country; when they found the paſſage thereinto open, after *Perſeus* was called away from cuſtody of the Streights. This was it which made him adventure to do ſomewhat betimes; that he might ſet the *Romans* going the ſooner, and afterwards look unto his troubleſome neighbours. In conſideration of this, *Philip* was deſirous to clear himſelf of the *Romans*, as ſoon as he might. And to that purpoſe he ſent unto the Conſul; requeſting a day of truce for burial of the dead. But inſtead of ſo doing, he marched away by night, and left fires in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not ſtirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not ſlow to follow him. He overtook the *Macedonians* in a place of ſtrength, which they had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting down trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was moſt open. In making of ſuch places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little uſe; being a ſquare battel of pikes, not fit for every ground. The Archers of *Crete* were judged, and were indeed, more ſerviceable in that caſe. But they were few; and their arrows were of ſmall force againſt the *Roman* ſhields. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of ſtones. But to no purpoſe. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This Victory (ſuch as it was) laid open unto the Conſul ſome poor Towns thereabout; which partly were taken by ſtrong hand, partly yielded for fear. But the ſpoil of theſe, and of the fields adjoyning, was not ſufficient to maintain his Army; and therefore he returned back to *Apollonia*.

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The *Dardanians*, hearing that *Philip* was come back, withdrew themſelves a pace out of the Country. The King ſent *Athenagoras* to wait upon them home; whileſt he himſelf went againſt the *Ætolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Ætolians*, who had reſerved himſelf and his Nation unto the event of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once and again: as alſo that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardanians* were fallen upon *Macedon*; grew no leſs buſie on the ſudden, than before he had been wiſe. He perſwaded his Nation to take their time: and ſo, not ſtaying to proclaim War, joyned his forces with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; and made invaſion upon *Theſſaly*. They took, and cruelly ſacked a few Towns: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might do what they liſted. But *Philip* came upon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay diſperſed, was like to have taken their Camp, if *Aminander* more warie than the *Ætolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his own mountainous Country.

About the ſame time the *Roman* Fleet, aſſiſted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken ſome ſmall Iſlands in the *Ægean* Sea. They took likewiſe the Town of *Oreum* in the Iſle of *Eubœa*: and ſome other places thereabout. The Towns were given unto *Attalus*, after the ſame Compact that had formerly been made with the *Ætolians*: the goods therein found were given unto the *Romans*: and the people, for ſlaves. Other attempts on that ſide were hindred: either by foul weather at Sea: or by want of daring, and of means.

§. XII.

Villius *the Roman Conſul waſtes a yeer to no effect. War of the Gaules in Italy. An Embaſſadour of the Romans to Carthage*, Maſaniſſa, *and* Vermina. *The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdom: and* T. Quintius Flaminius *is ſent againſt him.*

THus the time ran away: and *P. Villius* a new Conſul, took charge of the War in *Macedon*. He was troubled with a mutiny of his oldeſt Souldiers: whereof two thouſand, having ſerved long in *Sicil* and *Africk*, thought themſelves much wronged, in that they could not be ſuffered to look unto their own eſtates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had ſerved at *Cannæ*: as may ſeem by their complaint, of having been long abſent from *Italy*: whither fain they would have returned, when by their Colonels they were ſhipped for *Macedon*. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is uncertain. For the Hiſtory of his year is loſt: whereof the miſs is not great, ſince he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antius*, as we finde in *Livie*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit againſt *Philip*. Yet ſince *Livie* himſelf, an Hiſtorian to whom few of the beſt are matchable, could finde no ſuch thing recorded in any good Author: we may reaſonably believe, that *Villius* his year was idle.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* War, the *Romans* found more trouble than could have been expected with the *Gauls*. Their Colony of *Placentia*, a goodly and ſtrong Town, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Aſdrubal*, had been able to force: was taken by theſe *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like ſort *Cremona* was attempted: but ſaved her ſelf, taking warning by her neighbours calamity. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that ſtayed behind *Aſdrubal*, or *Mago* in thoſe parts: was now become Captain of the *Gaules*, in theſe their enterpriſes. This when the *Romans* heard, they ſent Embaſſadours to the *Carthaginians*: giving them to underſtand, That if they were not weary of the peace, it behoved them to call home, and deliver up, this their Citizen *Amilcar*; who made War in *Italy*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps leſt the meſſage might ſeem otherwiſe to have ſavoured a little of ſome fear) That of the fugitive ſlaves belonging to the *Romans*, there were ſome reported to walk up and down in *Carthage*: which if it were ſo, then ought they to be reſtored back to their Maſters: as was conditioned in the late peace. The Embaſſadours that were ſent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Maſaniſſa*, as alſo with *Vermina* the ſon of *Syphax*. Unto *Maſaniſſa*, beſides matter of complement, they were to ſignifie what pleaſure he might do them, by lending them ſome of his *Numidian* Horſe, to ſerve in their War againſt the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchſafe unto him the name of King: and promiſed thereafter to deſerve it, by his readineſs in doing them all good offices. But they were ſomewhat ſcrupulous in the matter, and ſaid, That having been, and being ſtill (as they took it) their Enemy, He ought firſt of all to deſire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they uſed not to confer upon any, ſave only upon ſuch as had royally deſerved it at their hands. The au-

authority to make peace with him; was wholly committed unto these Embassadors, upon such termes as they should think fit; without further relation to the Senate and People: For they were then busied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banishing him, and confiscating his good. As for the Fugitives, they had restored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as far as was requisite, give satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithal they sent a great proportion of Corn to *Rome*; and the like unto the Army that was in *Macedon*. King *Masanissa* would have lent unto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Numidian* horse: but they were contented with half the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embassadours, to give them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdom; and without any disputation, agreed with them upon terms of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* busied in taking order for their *Macedonian* War, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gaules*, they laid siege unto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Prætor came upon them, fought a battel with them, and overcame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battel: and the fruit of the Victory was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the work easie to those, that afterwards should have the managing of War among those *Gaules*. So was there good leisure to think upon the business of *Macedon:* where *Philip* was carefully providing to give contentment unto his Subjects, by punishing a bad Counseller whom they hated: as also to assure unto himself the *Achæans*, by rendring unto them some Towns that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdom, not only by exercising and training his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing when *Villius*, having unprofitably laboured to finde way into *Macedon*, taking a journey (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came advertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Consul, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Province; whose coming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Army.

§. XIII.

The Romans begin to make War by negotiation. T. Quintius *wins a passage against* Philip. *Thessaly wasted by* Philip. *the Romans, and Ætolians. The Achæans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace, that was vain.* Philip *delivers Argos to* Nabis *the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.*

THe *Romans* had not been wont in former times, to make War after such a trifling manner. It was their use, to give battel to the enemie, as soon a they met with him. If he refused it, they besieged his Towns: and so forced him to try the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborn it (as it would be interpreted) upon knowledge of his own weakness. But in this their War with *Philip*, they began to learn of the subtle *Greeks*, the art of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not grown so fine, as within a little while they proved. Their Treasury was poor, and stood indebted, * many years after this unto private men, for part of those moneys that had been borrowed in the second Punick War. This had made the Commonalty averse from the *Macedonian* War; and had thereby driven the Senators, greedy of the enterprize, to make use of their cunning. Yet being weary of the slow pace wherewith their business went forward, they determined to increase their Army, that they might have the less need to relie upon their Confederates. So they levied eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Consul, into *Macedon*. Their Navie, and other means could well have served, for the setting forth and transportation of a greater Army; but by straining themselves to the most of their ability, they should (besides other difficulties incident unto the sustenance of those that are too many and too far from home) have bred some jealousie in their friends of *Greece*, and thereby have lost some friends, yea, perhaps have increased the number of their enemies, more than of their own Souldiers. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite; for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himself unto them by his Embassadour; requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdom against *Antiochus*, who invaded it; or else that they would not take it uncourteously;

* *Liv. lib.* 34.

courteouſly, that he quitted the War with *Philip*, and returned home, to look unto that which moſt concerned him. Their anſwer was remarkable. They ſaid, That it was not their manner to uſe the aid of their friends, longer then their friends had good opportunity, and could alſo be well contented to affoord it; That they could not honeſtly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend, though he were againſt *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deal with *Antiochus* by Embaſſadors, and (as common friends unto both of the Kings) do their beſt to perſwade an atonement between them. In ſuch loving faſhion did they now carry themſelves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the Kingdom of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded theſe terms of friendſhip, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very ſoon appear.

T. Quintius haſting away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Province, with the ſupply decreed unto him; which conſiſted for the moſt part, of old Souldiers, that had ſerved in *Spain* and *Africk*. He found *Villius* the old Conſul, (whom at his coming he preſently diſcharged) and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one againſt the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the river of *Apſus*, or *Aous*. It was manifeſt, that either the *Romans* muſt fetch a compaſs about, and ſeek their way into *Macedon*, through the poor Country of the *Daſſaretians*; or elſe win, by force, that paſſage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two years together miſ-ſpent their time, and been forced to return back without profit, for want of victuals: whereof they could neither carry with them ſtore ſufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get over theſe Mountains, which divided the South of *Epirus* from *Theſſaly*, then ſhould they enter into a plentiful Country; and, which by long dependance on the *Macedonian*, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdom, whereof it made the South border. Nevertheleſs, the deſire of winning this paſſage, was greater than the likelihood. For the river of *Apſus* running along through that valley which alone was open between the Mountains, made it all a deep *Mariſh* and unpaſſable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the main rock by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* aſſailed to climb in the Mountains: but finding himſelf diſappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemy, who neglected not the guard of them that was very eaſie; he was compelled to ſit ſtill, without doing any thing for the ſpace of forty dayes.

This long time of reſt gave hope unto *Philip*, that the War might be ended by compoſition, upon ſome reaſonable terms. He therefore ſo dealt with ſome of the *Epirots*, (among whom he had many friends) that He and the Conſul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Conſul would have him to ſet all Towns of *Greece* at liberty; and make amends for the injuries, which he had done to many people in his late Wars. *Philip* was contented to give liberty to thoſe whom he had ſubdued of late: but unto ſuch, as had been long ſubject unto him and his Anceſtors, He thought it againſt all reaſon, that he ſhould relinquiſh his claim and dominion over them. He alſo ſaid, That as far forth as it ſhould appear that he had done wrong unto any Town or people whatſoever, He could well be pleaſed to make ſuch amends, as might ſeem convenient in the judgement of ſome free State, that had not been intereſſed in thoſe quarrels. But herewithal *Quintius* was not ſatisfied. There needed (he ſaid) no judgement or compromiſe; foraſmuch as it was apparent, that *Philip* had alwayes been the invader; and had not made War, as one provoked, in his own defence. After this altercation, when they ſhould come to particulars: and when the Conſul was required to name thoſe Towns, that he would have to be ſet at liberty; the firſt that he named were the *Theſſalians*: Theſe had been ſubjects (though conditional) unto the *Macedonian* Kings, ever ſince the dayes of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as ſoon as *Flaminius* had named the *Theſſalians*; the King in a rage demanded what ſharper condition He would have laid upon him, had he been but vanquiſhed. And herewithal abruptly he flang away: refuſing to hear any more of ſuch diſcourſe.

After this the Conſul ſtrove in vain two or three dayes together, to have prevailed againſt the difficulties of that paſſage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himſelf, and could not reſolve what courſe to take: there came to him an Heards-man ſent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots* that favoured the *Romans*, who having long kept beaſts in thoſe Mountains, was throughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore undertook to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they ſhould have advantage of the Enemy. This guide,

guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was faſt bound: and being promiſed a great reward, in caſe he made good his word, had ſuch Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night (it being then about the full of the Moon) and reſted in the day-time, for fear of being diſcovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the *Macedonians*, (though undiſcovered by them, becauſe at their banks) they raiſed a great ſmoke, whereby they gave notice of their ſucceſs unto the Conſul. Some ſkirmiſhes, whilſt theſe were on their journy, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonian*; thereby to avert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he ſaw the ſmoke ariſe more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were ſent, he preſſed as near as he could unto the Enemies Camp, and aſſailed them in their ſtrength. He prevailed as little as in former times, until the ſhoutings of thoſe that ran down the hill, and charged *Philip* on the back, aſtoniſhed ſo the *Macedonians*, that they betook themſelves unto flight. The King, upon firſt apprehenſion of the danger, made all ſpeed away to ſave himſelf. Yet anon conſidering, that the difficulty of the paſſage muſt needs hinder the *Romans* from purſuing him: he made a ſtand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken troops, of whom he found wanting no more than two thouſand men. The greateſt loſs was of his Camp and proviſions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation: for that now the *Macedonians* began to ſtand in fear, leſt being driven from a place of ſuch advantage, they ſhould hardly make good their party againſt the Enemy, upon equal ground. Neither was *Philip* himſelf much better perſwaded. Wherefore he cauſed the *Theſſalians*, as many of them as in his haſty retrait he could viſit, to forſake their Towns and Country, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and ſpoiling all the reſt. But all of them could not be perſwaded, thus to abandon (for the pleaſure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the ſubſtance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly reſiſted him; which they might the better do, for that he could not ſtay to uſe any great compulſion. He alſo himſelf took it very grievouſly, that he was driven to make ſuch waſte of a moſt pleaſant and fruitful Country, which had ever been well affected unto him: ſo that a little hindrance did ſerve, to make him break off his purpoſe, and withdraw himſelf home into his Kingdom of *Macedon*.

The *Ætolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were even in a readineſs to invade *Theſſaly*; whereinto the ways lay more open, out of their ſeveral Contries. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*: they foreſtowed not the occaſion, but made all ſpeed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten ſo much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their harveſt, could not find enough to maintain his Army. Thus were the poor *Theſſalians*, of whoſe liberty the *Romans* a few days ſince had made ſhew to be very deſirous, waſted by the ſame *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turn themſelves, or whom to avoid. *T. Quintius* won *Phaleria* by aſſault: *Metropolis* and *Piera* yielded unto him. *Rhage* he beſieged: and having made a fair breach, yet was unable to force it: ſo ſtoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a *Macedonian* garriſon therein. *Philip* alſo at the ſame time, having ſomewhat recollected his ſpirits, hovered about *Tempe* with his Army, thruſting men into all places, that were like to be diſtreſſed. So the Conſul, having well near ſpent his victuals, and ſeeing no hope to prevail at *Rhage*: brake up his ſiege, and departed out of *Theſſaly*. He had appointed his Ships of burden to meet him at *Anticyra*, an Haven Town of *Phocis*, on the Gulph of *Corinth*: which Country being friend to the *Macedonian*, he preſently invaded; not ſo much for hatred unto the people, as becauſe it lay conveniently ſeated between *Theſſaly* and other regions, wherein he had buſineſs, or was ſhortly like to have. Many Towns in *Phocis* he won by aſſault: many were yielded up unto him for fear; and within ſhort ſpace he had (in effect) maſtered it all.

In the mean time *L. Quintius* the Conſuls brother, being then Admiral for the *Romans* in this War, joyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They won two Cities in *Eubœa*; and afterward laid ſiege unto *Cenchree*, an Haven and Arcenal of the *Corinthians* on their Eaſtern Sea. This enterpriſe did ſomewhat help forward the *Achæans*, in their deſire to leave the part of *Philip*; ſince it might come to paſs, that *Corinth* it ſelf, ere long time were ſpent; and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now very ſhortly ſhould be rendered unto their Nation, by favour of the *Romans*.

But there were other motives, inducing the *Achæans* to preferr the friendship of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had been long accustomed. For this King had so many ways offended them in time of peace, that they thought it best course to rid their hands of him, whilst being intangled in a dangerous War, he wanted means to hinder the execution of such counsel as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practises to make himself their absolute Lord: his poysoning of *Aratus* their old Governour: his false dealing with the *Messenians*, *Epirots*, and other people their Confederates, and his own dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed: caused them long since to hold him as a *necessary evill*, even whilst they were unable to be without his assistance. But since by the vertue of *Philopœmen*, they were grown somewhat confident in their own strength: so as without the *Macedonians* help they could as well subsist, as having him to friend: then did they only think how *evil* he was; and thereupon rejoyce the more, in that he was become no longer *necessary*. It angred him to perceive how they stood affected: and therefore he sent murderers to take away the life of * *Philopœmen*. But failing in this enterprise; and being detected, he did thereby only set fire to the Wood, which was throughly dry before, and prepared to burn. *Philopœmen* wrought so with the *Achæans*, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the *Macedonian*. *Cycliadus*, a principal man among them: and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for shewing himself passionate in the cause of *Philip*; and *Aristænus* chosen Prætor, who laboured to joyn them in society with the *Romans*.

* *Plut. in v. Philopœm. Just. l. 29.*

These news were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embassadors were sent from the *Romans* and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Achæans*, making promise, that they should have *Corinth* restored unto them, if they would forsake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Achæans* was held at *Sycion*, to deliberate and resolve in this weighty case. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents desired the *Achæans* to joyn with them in making War upon *Philip*. Contrariwise, the Embassadors of *Philip*, whom he had also sent for this business, admonishing the *Achæans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due unto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remain as Neuters. This moderate request of *Philips* Embassadors did no way advance their Masters cause. Rather it gave the *Achæans* to understand, That he, who could be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himself unable to gratifie them in any reciprocal demand. Yet were there many in that great Councel, who remembring the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sense of late injuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future; prevailed against the memory of those old good turns, which he (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly sold unto them, and partly had used as baits, whereby to allure them into absolute subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance; That the *Romans* were strong, and likely to prevail in the end. So after much altercation, the Decree passed, That they should thence-forward renounce, the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this War. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* they forthwith entred into society; with the *Romans* (because no League would be of force, until the Senate and people had approved it) they forbore to decree any society at the present, until the return of those Embassadors from *Rome*, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dymeans*, and *Argives*, having done their best for the *Macedonean*, as by many respects they were bound, rose up out of the Councel, and departed before the passing of the Decree; which they could not resist, nor yet with honesty thereto give assent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the *Argives* had so little thank, that all the rest of the *Achæans* may be the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soon after this, upon a solemn day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens discovered it self so plainly, in the behalf of *Philip*, that they which were his Partisans within the Town, made no doubt of putting the City into his hands, if they might have any small assistance. *Philocles* a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*, which he had manfully defended against the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conspirators drew to *Argos*; whither coming on a sudden, and finding the multitude ready to joyn with him, he easily compelled the *Achæan* Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth*, and some other Towns, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, so they gave him hope to obtain some

ſome good end by Treaty, whileſt as yet with his honour he might ſeek it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Conſul would ſhortly be choſen; who ſhould take the work out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the ſooner. *Titus* had the like reſpect unto himſelf; and therefore thought it beſt, ſince more could not be done, to pre-diſpoſe things unto a Concluſion, for his own reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-ſhore, in the *Bay* then called the *Malian*, or *Lamian Bay*, now (as is ſuppoſed) the *Gulf of Ziton*; in the *Ægean Sea*, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus* with *Animander* the *Athamanian*; an Embaſſador of *Attalus*; the Admiral *Rhodes*; and ſome Agents for the *Ætolians* and *Achæans*. *Philip* had with him ſome few of his own Captains, and *Cycliadas*, lately baniſhed for his ſake out of *Achaia*. He refuſed to come on ſhore: though fearing (as he ſaid none but *the immortal Gods:* yet miſdoubting ſome treachery in the *Ætolians*. The demands of *Titus* in behalf of the *Romans*, were, That he ſhould ſet all Cities of *Greece* at liberty; deliver up to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all priſoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewiſe whatſoever he held of theirs in *Illyria:* and whatſoever about *Greece* or *Aſia* he had gotten from *Ptolomy* then King of *Egypt*, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded reſtitution to be made, entire of Ships, Towns, and Temples by him taken and ſpoiled in the late War between them. The *Rhodians* would have again the Country of *Perea*, lying over againſt their Iſland; as alſo that he ſhould withdraw his garriſons out of divers Towns about the *Helleſpont*, and other Havens of their friends. The *Achæans* deſired reſtitution of *Argos* and *Corinth:* about the one of which they might, not unjuſtly, quarrel with him; the other had been long his own by their conſent. The *Ætolians* took upon them angerly, as Patrons of *Greece:* willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole Country, leaving it free; and withal to deliver up unto them, whatſoever he held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithal content: but inſolently declaimed againſt him, for that which he had lately done in *Theſſaly*; corrupting (as they ſaid) the rewards of the Victors, by deſtroying, when he was vanquiſhed, thoſe Towns, which elſe they might have gotten. To anſwer theſe malapart *Ætolians*, *Philip* commanded his Gally to be rowed nearer the ſhore. But they began to plie him afreſh: telling him that he muſt obey his betters, unleſs he were able to defend himſelf by force of Arms. He anſwered them (as he was much given to gybing) with ſundry ſcoffs; and eſpecially with one, which made the *Roman* Conſul underſtand what manner of companions theſe *Ætolians* were. For he ſaid, That he had often dealt with them; as likewiſe the beſt of the *Greeks*; deſiring them to abrogate a wicked law, which permitted them *to take ſpoil from ſpoil:* yet could he get no better an anſwer, than that *they would ſooner take* Ætolia *out of* Ætolia. *Titus* wondred what might be the meaning of this ſtrange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable cuſtome, as often as War happened between their friends, to hold up the quarrel, by ſending Voluntaries to ſerve on both ſides, that ſhould ſpoil both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, he ſaid it was ſtrange, that the *Ætolians* ſhould be ſo careful thereof, ſince divers Tribes of their own, which he there named, were indeed no *Græcians:* wherefore he would fain know, whether the *Romans* would give him leave to make ſlaves of thoſe *Ætolians*, which were no *Greeks*. *Titus* hereat ſmiled, and was no whit offended, to hear the *Ætolians* well ratled up; touching whom he began to underſtand, how odious they were in all the Country. As for that general demand of ſetting all *Greece* at liberty, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well beſeem that greatneſs of the *Romans*; though he would alſo conſider, what might beſeem his own dignity. But that the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other petty Eſtates, ſhould thus preſume, under countenance of the *Romans*, to take upon them, as if by their great might he ſhould be thereunto compelled: it was, he ſaid, a ſtrange and ridiculous inſolence. The *Achæans* he charged with much ingratude; reciting againſt them ſome Decrees of their own; wherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honours. Nevertheleſs, he ſaid, that he would render *Argos* unto them: but as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himſelf. Thus he addreſſed himſelf wholly to the *Roman* General; unto whom if he could give ſatisfaction, he cared little for all the reſt. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late War (he ſaid) was only defenſive; they having been the offerers: or if he gave them any occaſion, it was only in helping *Pruſias*, his ſon-in-law; neither did he ſee why they ſhould rather ſeek amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that ſpoiling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut down the Grove, and pleaſant walks

Excerp. è Polyb. l. 17.

thereabouts: what could he do more, than ſend Gardners thither with young plants; if one King of another would ſtand to aſk ſuch recompence? Thus he jeſted the matter out: but offered nevertheleſs, in honour of the *Romans*, to give back the Region of *Peræa* to the *Rhodians*; as likewiſe to *Attalus*, the Ships and Priſoners of his, whereof he had then poſſeſſion. Thus ended that dayes conference, becauſe it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leiſure to think upon the Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Counſel, wherewith to adviſe about them. *For your being ſo ill provided of Counſel* (ſaid *Titus*) *you may even thank your ſelf; as having murdered all your friends, that were wont to adviſe you faithfully.* The next day *Philip* came not, until it was late at night; excuſing his long ſtay by the weightineſs of the things propounded, whereon he could not ſuddenly tell how to reſolve. But it was believed, that he thereby ſought to abridge the *Ætolians* of leiſure to rail at him. And this was the more likely, for that he deſired conference in private with the *Roman* General. The ſum of his diſcourſe, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would give the *Achæans* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as alſo that he would render unto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* what he had promiſed the day before; likewiſe to the *Ætolians*, that he would grant ſome part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatſoever they did challenge. This when *Titus* his aſſociates heard, they exclaimed againſt it, ſaying, That if the King were ſuffered to retain any thing in *Greece*, he would ſhortly get poſſeſſion of all which he now rendred up. The noiſe that they made came to *Philips* ear: who thereupon deſired a third day of meeting; and proteſted, that if he could not perſwade them, he would ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with ſincere affection hearken unto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of thoſe Conditions which he had already tendred; or otherwiſe, that they would make truce with him for the preſent, and let him ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, where he would referr himſelf to the courteſie of the Senate.

This was even as *Quintius* would have it: who ſtood in doubt, leſt a new Conſul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the War. So he eaſily prevailed with the reſt to aſſent hereunto: foraſmuch as it was Winter, a time unfit for ſervice in the War; and ſince, without authority of the Senate, he ſhould be unable to proceed reſolvedly either in War or Peace. Further, he willed them to ſend their ſeveral Embaſſadors to *Rome*, which intimating unto the Senate what each of them required, ſhould eaſily hinder *Philip* from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the reſt, he perſwaded King *Aminander* to make a journey to *Rome* in perſon: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of ſo many Embaſſadors, would ſerve to make his own actions more glorious in the City. All this tended to procure that his own command of the Army in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the ſame end had he dealt with ſome of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet he knew not ſo much) obtained it for him, partly by their authority, partly by good reaſons which they alledged unto the Senate.

The Embaſſadors of the *Greeks*, when they had audience at *Rome*, ſpake bitterly againſt the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more deſirous of Victory, than of ſatisfaction. They magified the honourable purpoſe of the *Romans*, in undertaking to ſet *Greece* at liberty. But this (they ſaid) could never be effected: unleſs eſpecial care were taken, that the King ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were ſo vehement, producing a Map of the Country, and making demonſtration how thoſe places held all the reſt in ſervility; that the Senate agreed to have it even ſo as they deſir . When therefore the Embaſſadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the middeſt of their Preface, with this one demand: *Whether their Maſter would yeild up Corinth, Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. Hereto they made anſwer, That concerning thoſe places, the King had given them no direction or commiſſion what to ſay or do. This was enough. The Senate would no longers hearken to *Philips* deſire of peace: wherein they ſaid he did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embaſſadors have truly ſaid, That neither the *Ætolians*, *Achæans*, nor any of their fellows, had in the late Treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* ſhould be yielded up. For which of them indeed could make any claim to either of theſe Towns? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achæans* had ſome right; (though their right were no better, than that, having ſtoln it from one *Macedonian* King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away

away by bargain unto another) *Philip* had already condeſcended to give it back unto them, And this perhaps would have been alledged, even againſt the *Greeks*, in excuſe of the King, by ſome of *T. Quintius* his friends; that ſo he might have had honour to conclude the War, if a ſucceſſor had been decreed unto him. But ſince he was appointed to continue General: neither his friends at *Rome*, nor he himſelf, after the return of the Embaſſadours into *Greece*, cared to give ear unto any talk of peace.

Philip ſeeing that his *Achæans* had forſaken him, and joyned with their common enemies; thought even to deal with them in the like manner, by reconciling himſelf unto *Nabis*, whom they hated moſt. There were not many years paſt, ſince the *Lacedæmonians* under *Cleomenes*, with little other help then their own ſtrength, had been almoſt ſtrong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achæans* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force conſiſted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though ſtiling himſelf King. Yet he ſorely vexed the *Achæans:* and therefore ſeemed to *Philip* one likely to ſtand him in great ſtead, if he could be won. To this purpoſe it was thought meet, that the Town of *Argos*, which could not otherwiſe be eaſily defended, ſhould be conſigned over into his hands; in hope, that ſuch a benefit would ſerve to tie him faſt unto the *Macedonian*. *Philocles* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deal with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Maſters purpoſe to make a ſtreight alliance with the *Lacedæmonian*, by giving ſome daughters of his own in marriage unto *Nabis* his ſons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made ſome ſcruple in accepting the Town of *Argos*; unleſs by decree of the Citizens themſelves he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philocles* dealt with the *Argives:* but found them ſo averſe, that, in open aſſembly of the people, they deteſted the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occaſion to rob and fleece them. So he willed *Philocles*, without more a do, to make over the Town which he was ready to recieve. *Philocles* accordingly did let him with his Amy into it by night; and gave him poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argives:* who for very love had forſaken the *Achæans*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himſelf maſter of all the gates. A few of the principal men, underſtanding how things went, fled out of the City at the firſt tumult. Wherefore they were all baniſhed, and their goods confiſcated. The reſt of the chief Citizens that ſtayed behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Alſo a great impoſition of money was laid upon all thoſe that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were diſmiſſed without more a do. But if any ſtood long upon the matter: or played the theeves in purloyning their own goods: they were put to the whip, and beſides loſs of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular laws: namely, ſuch as might ſerve to make him gracious with the raſcal multitude: abrogating all debts, and dividing the lands of the rich among the poor. By ſuch art of oppreſſing the great ones, it hath been an old cuſtom of Tyrants, to aſſure themſelves of the Vulgar for a time.

As ſoon as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, He ſent the news to *T. Quintius* and others to joyn with him againſt *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: ſo as he took the pains to croſs over the Streights into *Peloponneſus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had ſoon agreed (though King *Attalus* who was preſent with the Conſul, made ſome cavil touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent unto the *Roman*, ſix hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete:* as alſo he agreed with the *Achæans*, upon a Truce for four moneths, reſerving the final concluſion of peace between them until the War of *Philip* ſhould be ended; which after this continued not long.

§. XIV.

The battel at Cynoſcephalæ, wherein Philip *was vanquiſhed by* T. Quintius.

Titus Quintius, as ſoon as he underſtood that he was appointed to have command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleaſure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent purſuit of the War. The like did *Philip:* who having failed in his negotiation of peace, and no leſs failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that War, meant afterwards wholly to rely upon himſelf.

Titus had in his Army about ſix and twenty thouſand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the other's ſtrength, or what his Enemy intended to do. Only *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Theſſaly*, *Plut. in vit. T. Q. Flam.*

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T. Quintius *falleth out with the Ætolians, and grants truce unto* Philip, *with conditions upon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Romans quarrel with* Antiochus.

THe *Ætolians* wonderfully vaunted themselves, and desired to have it noised through all *Greece*, that the Victory at *Cynoscephalæ* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the booty by sacking the *Macedonian* Camp, whilest the *Romans* were busied in the chase. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, and at their ravenous condition; purposed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceived, That by using them with any extraordinary favour, he should greatly offend the rest of his confederates in *Greece*; who detested the *Ætolians* much more vehemently, than ever they had done the *Macedonians*. But this displeasure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battel, *Titus* made haste unto *Larissa*, a City in *Thessaly*, which he presently took. Before his coming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his Courtiers to burn all his letters, and passages whatsoever in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much adversity, he forgot not to provide for the safety of his friends. Yet by thus doing, they of *Larissa* might well perceive, that he gave them as already lost. Wherefore we find not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the same time, the Town of *Leucas*, bordering upon *Arcanania*, was taken by the *Roman* Fleet, and very soon after, all the *Arcananians*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Ætolians* ever true to *Philip*; gave up themselves unto the *Romans*, hearing of the Victory at *Cynoscephalæ*. The *Rhodians* also were then in hand with the conquest of *Pærea*, a Region of the Continent over against the Island; whereof they had demanded restitution in the late Treaty of Peace. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greeks*: forasmuch as they awaited not the good leasure of the *Romans*; but with an Army of their own, and some help which they borrowed of the *Achæans* and other their friends gave battel to *Dinocrates* the Kings Lieutenant. wherein they had the Victory, and consequently recovered the whole Province. It angred *Philip* worse then all this, that the *Dardanians* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdom; wasting and spoiling, as if all had been abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Army in all haste of 6000. Foot, and 500. horse: wherewith coming upon them, he drave them, with little or no loss of his own, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the Kingdom. Which done, he returned to *Thessalonica*.

In this one enterprise he had success answerable to his desire: but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affairs, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisdom to yield unto necessity; and therefore sent in all haste *Limnæus* and *Demosthenes* with *Cycliadas* the banished *Achæan*, in whom he reposed much confidence, Embassadours unto *Titus*. These had conference a long while in private, with *Titus* and some of his *Roman* Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wise dismissed. It seems that they had Commission, to refer all unto *Titus* his own discretion; as *Philip* himself in few dayes after did. There was granted unto him a Truce for fifteen dayes: in which time, the King himself might come and speak with the *Roman* General. In the mean season, many suspicious rumours went of *Titus*, as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greeks* his Confederates. Of these bruits the *Ætolians* were chief authors: who being wont to regard neither friendship nor honesty, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men else. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had sent letters unto his Associates; willing them to have their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the treaty should be held. There when they were all assembled, they entred into consultation before the Kings arrival, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every state in particular. The poor King *Amynander* besought them all, and especially the *Romans*, that they would think upon him; and, considering his weakness which he confessed, make such provision, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreak his anger upon him who was not able to resist. Then spake *Alexander*, one of the *Ætolians*: who commending *Titus* forasmuch as he had thus assembled the Confederates to advise upon their own good,

good, and had willed them to deliver their minds freely: added, That in the main of the purpoſe, which he had in hand, he was utterly deceived: for that by making peace with *Philip*, he could neither aſſure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their liberty. There was, he ſaid, none other end to be made of the War, which could agree either with the purpoſe of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the fair promiſes made by *Titus* himſelf unto the *Greeks*, than the chaſing of *Philip* quite out of his Kingdom. And to this effect he made a long diſcourſe. But *Titus* anſwered, That this *Ætolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleaſure of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the laudable cuſtoms which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to ſeek the utter deſtruction of any King or Nation, at ſuch time as they firſt made War with them, until by ſome rebellion they found it a matter of neceſſity, to take ſuch a rigorous courſe. And hereof he alledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victory, to generous minds, was only an inducement to moderation. As concerning the publick benefit of *Greece*, it was (he ſaid) expedient, that the Kingdom of *Macedon* ſhould be greatly weakned and brought low; not that it ſhould be utterly deſtroyed: foraſmuch as it ſerved as a bar to the *Thracians*, *Gaules*, and a multitude of other ſalvage Nations, which would ſoon over-flow the whole continent of *Greece*, if this Kingdom were not interpoſed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yield unto thoſe demands, wherewith he had preſſed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reaſon to deny him peace. As for the *Ætolians*: if they thought otherwiſe, it ſhould be at their own pleaſure, to take Counſel apart for themſelves as they thought good. Then began *Phaneas*, another of the *Ætolians*, to ſay, that all was come to nothing: for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greeks*, no leſs than he had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bade him leave his bablings; ſaying, That himſelf would take ſuch order, as that *Philip*, were he never ſo deſirous, ſhould thenceforth not have it in his power to moleſt the *Greeks*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* uſed friendly: and ſuffering him to repoſe himſelf that night, held a Councel the day following: wherein the King yielded unto all that had been required at his hands; offering yet further to ſtand to the good pleaſure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. *Phaneas* the *Ætolian*, inſulting over him, ſaid It was to be hoped, that he would then at length give up to the *Ætolians* a many of Towns, (which he there named) bidding him ſpeak whether he would or no. His anſwer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interpoſing himſelf, ſaid it ſhould be otherwiſe. There were *Theſſalian* Towns, and ſhould be all free; one of them only excepted, which not long ago had refuſed to commit it ſelf to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore ſhould now be given to the *Ætolians*. Hereat *Phaneas* cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to be defrauded of the Towns that had ſometimes belonged unto their Common-weal. Rather he willed *Titus* to conſider, that by an ancient Covenant between him and the *Romans*, all the Towns taken ought to be their own, and the *Romans* to have nothing ſave the pillage and captives. It is true, that there had been ſuch a condition in the former War: but it ceaſed to be of any validity, as ſoon as the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gave them to underſtand; aſking them whether they thought it reaſonable, that all the Towns in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by compoſition, ſhould be delivered into ſubjection of the *Ætolians*. The reſt of the Confederates were very much delighted with theſe angry paſſages between the *Romans* and the *Ætolians*: neither had they great reaſon to fear any hard meaſure; ſince *Titus* was ſo earneſt in the behalf of thoſe *Theſſalians*, to give them liberty, though they had ſtood out againſt him, even till very fear made them open their gates. Wherefore they oppoſed not themſelves; but gave their conſent willingly unto a Truce for four Moneths.

The chief cauſe that moved *Titus* to grant peace ſo readily to the *Macedonians*, beſides that laudable cuſtom by him before alledged, was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an army from *Syria*, and drawing near toward *Europe*. He had alſo perhaps yet a greater motive; even the conſideration that his ſucceſſor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the War ſhould happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embaſſadors from the *Macedonian*, and ſundry States of *Greece*, came unto *Rome*, new Conſuls were choſen: who (eſpecially the one of them) ſtood very earneſtly againſt the peace; alledging frivolous matter of their own ſuſpition, in hope to get the honour of concluding the War. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embaſſa-

dors of *Philip*, offering to ſtand to whatſoever was demanded; and the letters of *Titus*, preſſing them to accept this offer, on the one ſide, and the importunity of the Conſul on the other; who ſaid, that all theſe goodly ſhews were fraudulent, and that the King would rebel, as ſoon as the Army was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Aſſembly of the People; by whoſe ſoveraign authority it was concluded, that peace ſhould be granted to the King. So ten Embaſſadors were ſent from *Rome*, over into *Greece*: in which number were they that had been Conſuls before *Titus*: and it was ordained by their advice, that *Titus* ſhould go through with the buſineſs of Peace. Theſe would very fain have retained thoſe three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, until the eſtate of *Greece* were ſomewhat better ſetled. But finally, *Titus* prevailed ſo, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred unto the *Achæans*; and all the other *Greek* Towns which *Philip* held, as well in *Aſia* as in *Greece*, reſtored unto liberty.

The Conditions of Peace granted unto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next * *Iſthmian Games*, He ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of all the *Greek* Towns which he held, and confine them over to the *Romans*: That he ſhould deliver up unto them all Captives that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's. Likewiſe all his Ships of War, reſerving to himſelf only five of the leſſer ſort, and one of extraordinary greatneſs, wherein ſixteen men laboured at every oar: Further, that he ſhould pay a thouſand talents, the one half in hand, the other in ten years following, by even portions. Hereto * *Livie* adds, That he was forbidden to make War out of *Macedon*, without permiſſion of the Senate. But I find not that he obſerved this Article; or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already delivered to *Titus*, together with his younger ſon *Demetrius*, to remain as hoſtage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at ſuch time as he lately ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome*: when it was promiſed, that the money, and his ſon, ſhould be reſtored back unto him, if the Senate were not pleaſed with the agreement. Whither this money were reckoned as part of the thouſand talents, I cannot find: and it ſeemeth otherwiſe, foraſmuch as young *Demetrius*, who, together with thoſe four hundred talents, was given for hoſtage, remained ſtill in cuſtody of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters alſo were then ſent by *Titus* unto *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*: giving him to underſtand, what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalf of the *Greeks*; and how the Senate held it reaſonable, that the *Ciani*, moſt miſerably ſpoiled and oppreſſed by *Philip*, to gratifie this *Bithynian* his ſon-in-law, ſhould be reſtored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the ſame benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did. What effect theſe letters wrought, it was not greatly material; ſince the *Romans* were ſhortly buſied with *Antiochus*, in ſuch wiſe, that they had not leiſure to examine the conformity of *Pruſias* to their will.

All *Greece* rejoyced at the good bargain which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Only the *Ætolians* found themſelves agrieved that they were utterly neglected: which was to the reſt no ſmall part of their contentment. The *Bœotians* continued to favour the *Macedonian*; and thereby occaſioned much trouble unto themſelves. There were ſome among them well-affected to the *Romans*: who, ſeeing how things were like to go, made their complaint unto *Titus*; ſaying, that they were no better than loſt, for the good will which they had born unto him; unleſs at this time, when he lay cloſe by them with his Army, their Prætor, which was head of the oppoſite Faction, might be made away. *Titus* refuſed to have a hand in the execution, yet nevertheleſs did animate them in their purpoſe. So they commited the fact, and hoped to have kept themſelves undiſcovered. But when the murder came out, and ſomewhat was confeſſed by thoſe which were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently againſt the *Romans*: in ſuch wiſe, that howſoever they durſt not take Arms againſt them, yet ſuch of them as they found ſtragling from their Camp, they murdered in all parts of the Country. This was deteſted within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the *Bœotians*, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred Souldiers, which he had loſt by them, to have paid unto him five hundred talents. In ſtead of making any ſuch amends, they paid him with excuſes; which he would not take as good ſatisfaction. He ſends Embaſſadors to the *Achæans*, and *Athenians*, informing them what had hapned: and requeſted them not to take it amiſs, though he dealt with theſe their friends as they had deſerved. Herewithal he falls to waſting their Country; and beſiegeth two ſuch

* *Extat. apud Polyb. Legat. 9.*

* *Liv. l. 33.*

ſuch Towns of theirs, as did ſeem to be moſt culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embaſſadors of the *Achæans* and *Athenians* (eſpecially of the *Achæans*, who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this War; yet beſought him rather to grant peace unto the *Bœotians*) prevailed ſo far with him, that he was pacified with 30. talents, and the puniſhments of ſuch as were known offenders.

In like ſort, though not ſo violently, were many States of *Greece* diſtracted: ſome among them rejoycing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting, that the *Roman* would prove a worſe neighbour. The *Ætolian* would have been glad of any Commotion; and therefore publiſhed rumours abroad, That it was the purpoſe of the *Romans*, to keep in their own hands all thoſe places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garriſons. Little did they, or the reſt of the *Greeks*, conceive, that this *Macedonian* War ſerved as an introduction to the War to be made in *Aſia* againſt King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to ſtay the progreſs of bad rumors, when the *Iſthmian games* were held, which in time of peace were never without great ſolemnity and concourſe; *Titus* in that great aſſembly of all *Greece*, cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the General, having vanquiſhed King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did will to be at liberty, free from Impoſitions, free from Garriſons, and living at their own Laws, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubœans*, *Achæans* of *Phthiotis*, *Magneſians*, *Theſſalians*, and *Perrhæbians*. The ſuddenneſs of this Proclamation aſtoniſhed men: ſo as though they applauded it with a great ſhout, yet preſently they cried out to hear it again, as if they durſt ſcarce credit their own ears. The *Greeks* were Crafts-maſters in the Art of giving thanks; which they rendred now to *T. Quintius* with ſo great affection, as that they had well-near ſmothered him, by thronging officiouſly about him.

This good will of the *Greeks*, was like to be much more available unto the *Romans* in their War againſt *Antiochus*, then could have been the poſſeſſion of a few Towns, yea, or of all thoſe Provinces which were named in the Proclamation. Upon confidence hereof, no ſooner were the *Iſthmian games* at en end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Councel, gave audience to *Hageſianax* and *Lyſias*, King *Antiochus* his Embaſſadors: whom they willed to ſignifie unto their Lord, That he ſhould do well to abſtain from the free Cities in *Aſia*, and not vex them with War: as alſo to reſtore whatſoever he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolomy* or *Philip*. Moreover they willed him by theſe his Embaſſadors, that he ſhould not paſs over his Army into *Europe*; adding, That ſome of them would viſit him in perſon ere it were long, to talk with him further concerning theſe points. This done, they fell to accompliſhing their promiſes unto the *Greeks*; to the reſt they gave what they had promiſed. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they gave unto the *Ætolians*; whom they thought it no wiſdom to offend overmuch, being ſhortly to take a greater work in hand. The *Achæans* of *Phthiotis* they annexed unto the *Theſſalians*; all ſave the Town of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, the ſame which had been abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Ætolians* in the laſt Treaty with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended very earneſtly about *Pharſalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatory anſwer, and rejected unto the Senate: for howſoever ſomewhat the Councel might favour them, yet was it not meet that they ſhould have their wills, as it were in deſpight of *Titus*. So the *Achæans* were reſtored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Herea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeed, (though the *Romans* yet a while kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achæan* Common-wealth, enjoyed their liberty in as abſolute manner as they could deſire. To *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian* were given one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and upon *Aminander* were beſtowed thoſe Caſtles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this War; to reign in them, and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Athamanians*. The *Rhodians* had been their own Carvers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore loſt his ſhare. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councel, would have given the Towns of *Oreum* and *Euretia*, in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, to his ſon and ſucceſſor King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that theſe as well as the reſt of the *Eubœans*, ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy their liberty. *Oreſtes*, a little Province of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, yet yielded unto the *Romans* long ere this, and ſince continued true to them: for which cauſe it was alſo ſet at liberty, and made it a free eſtate by it ſelf.

Theſe buſineſſes being diſpatcht, it remained, that all care ſhould be uſed, not how to avoid the War with King *Antiochus*, but

how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore Embassadors were sent, both to *Antiochus* himself, to pick matter of quarrel; and about unto others, to prediſpose them unto the assisting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of War against this King, the *Romans* now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents dealt and sped abroad, I refer unto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Wars of the Romans *with* Antiochus *the Great, and his Adherents.*

§. I.

What Kings of the races of Seleucus *and* Ptolomy *reigned in* Asia *and* Egypt *before* Antiochus *the Great.*

Seleucus Nicanor, the first of his race, King of *Asia* and *Syria*, died in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth *Olympiad*. He was treacherously slain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, at an Altar called *Argos*; having (as is said) been warned before by an Oracle, to beware of *Argos*, as the fatal place of his death. But I never read that any mans life hath been preserved, or any mischance avoided by the predictions of such Divellish Oracles. Rather I believe, that many such predictions of the Heathen gods, have been ante-dated by their Priests; or by others, which devised them after the event.

Antiochus Soter, the son and heir of this *Seleucus*, was dearly beloved of his father: who surrendred unto him his own wife *Stratonica*, when he understood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had great cause to fear, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be unrevenged by this his Successor. But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with fair words containing himself within *Asia*; and letting *Ceraunus* enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in *Europe*, with the blood of *Seleucus*. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queen *Stratonica* in his fathers life, yet out of modesty he forbore to embrace her, till his father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous love was partly, if not chiefly, that cause of his not prosecuting that revenge, whereunto Nature should have urged him. Afterwards he had Wars with *Antigonus Gonatus*, and with *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. Also *Lutarius* and *Leonorius* Kings or Captains of the *Gauls*, were set upon him by the same *Nicomedes*. With these he fought a great battel: wherein, though otherwise the enemies had all advantage against him, yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their horses and them, he won the Victory. He took in hand an enterprise against *Ptolomy Philadelphus*: but finding ill success in the beginning, he soon gave it over. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Berosus* the *Chaldæan* dedicated his History of *Assyria*; the same which hath since been excellently falsified by the Friar *Annius*. He left behind him one son, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married unto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twenty and ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth year of *the Kingdom of the Greeks*, when he had reigned nineteen years. *Genes. xii. l. 2. Jos. Mat. Par.*

Antiochus, surnamed *Theos*, or the *god*, had this vain and impious title given to him, by flattery of the *Milesians*; whom he delivered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitless War with *Ptolomy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomy*.

Of these two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, S. *Hierom* and other Interpreters have understood that Prophecy of *Daniel*: *The Kings daughter of the South shall come to the King of the North to make an agreement*; and that which followeth. *Dan. 11.*

Ptolomy Philadelphus was a great lover of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his own Sister *Arsinoe*) a very excellent Prince: howsoever, the worthiest of all that race. It was he that built, and furnished with Books, that famous Library in *Alexandria*: which to adorn,

adorn and to honour the more, he sent unto *Eleazar*, then high Priest of the *Jews*, for the Books of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King unto the *Jews* had formerly been very great; for he had set at liberty as many of them, as his father held in slavery throughout all *Ægypt*; and he had sent unto the * Temple of God in *Jerusalem* very rich Presents. Wherefore *Eleazar*, yielding unto the Kings desire, presented him with an *Hebrew* copy: which *Ptolomy* caused to be translated into *Greek*, by seventy two of the most grave and learned persons that could be found among all the Tibes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seventy*, *Jesus* the son of *Syrach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to have been one; who that he lived in this Age, it seems to me very sufficiently proved by *Jansenius*, in his Preface unto *Ecclesiasticus*. The whole passage of this business between *Philadelphus* and the high Priest, was written (as (a) *Josephus* affirms) by *Aristæus* that was employed therein. Forty years *Ptolomy Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time wherein he joyntly reigned with his father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had been in his former years: in which time he boasted, that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had been referred unto his honourable deeds, it might have stood with reason: otherwise the Gout, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his own errour. He was the first of the Kings derived from *Alexanders* Successors, that entred into League with the *Romans*: as also his off-spring was the last among those Royal Families, which by them was rooted up.

* *Ant. de civ. Dei. lib. 18. c. 42.*

(a) *Jos. ant. l. 12. cap. 2.* Concerning that Book which goes under the name of *Aristæus*; many learned men, and among the rest, *Lodovicus Vives*, hold suspicion that it is counterfeit, and the invention of some late Author. Surely if it were to be suspected in the time of *Vives*; it may be now much more justly suspected: since a new Edition of it is come forth, *purged from faults*, (as the Papists term those Books, wherein they have changed what they please) and set forth by *Middendorpius* at *Colen*, An Dom. 1578.

Antiochus Theos had another wife called *Laodice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolomy*. After his second marriage, he used his first wife with no better regard, then if she had been his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet adventured not to seek revenge, until her own son *Seleucus Callinicus* was of ability to be King. This was two or three years after the death of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*: at what time she poysoned her husband *Theos*; and, by permission of *Seleucus* her son, murdered *Berenice*, together with a son that she had born to *Antiochus*. *Justine* reports, that *Berenice* saved her self, together with the young Prince her child, a while in the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not only some Cities of *Asia* prepared to succour her, but her brother *Ptolomy Energetes* King of *Ægypt*, came to rescue her with an Army; though too late, for she was slain before. *Just. l. 27.*

With such cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, succeding unto his Father, that had fifteen years been King, began his reign. His subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they discovered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Estate would have been much endangered, if *Ptolomy Energetes*, who came against him, had not been drawn back into his own Countrey, by some Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would bear armes against *Ptolomy*, in defence of their own King: but rather they sided with the *Ægyptian*; who took *Laodice* the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as she had well deserved. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this invasion, by occasion of those domestical troubles which recalled *Energetes* home inro *Ægypt*; went about a dangerous piece of work, even to make War upon his own subjects, because of their bad affection towards him; when it had been much better, by well deserving to have changed their hatred into love. A great Fleet he prepared: in furnishing and maning whereof he was at such charges, that he scarce left himself any other hope, if that should miscarry. Herein he embarqued himself, and putting to Sea, did meet with such a tempest, as devoured all save himself, and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned nevertheless to his great good; as anon after it seemed. For when his subjects understood in what sort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his Estate; and, presuming that he would thenceforth become a new man, offered unto him their service with great alacrity. This revived him, and filled him such a spirit; as thinking himself well enough able to deal with the *Ægyptian*, he made ready a mighty Army for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, that it had been at Sea. He was vanquished by *Ptolomy* in a great battel: whence he escaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late Shipwrack. Hasting therefore back to *Antioch*, and fearing that the enemy would soon be at his heels;

heels; He wrote unto his brother *Antiochus Hierax* who lay then in *Asia*, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Asia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteen years old, but extreamly ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himself great, He levied a mighty Army of the Gaules; wherewith he set forward to help his brother, or rather to get what he could for himself. Hereof *Ptolomy* being advertised: and having no desire to put himself in danger more then he needed; took Truce with *Seleucus* for ten years. No sooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Ægyptian* War, but his brother *Antiochus* came upon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himself to have the better Army. So *Seleucus* was vanquished again; and saved himself with so few about him, that he was verily supposed to have perished in the battel. Thus did Gods Justice take revenge of those murders by which the Crown was purchased; and setled (as might have been thought) on the head of this bloody King. *Antiochus* was very glad to hear of his brothers death, as if thereby he had purchased his hearts desire. But the *Gaules*, his Mercenaries, were gladder then he, For when he led them against *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, being in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reign: these perfidious Barbarians took counsel against him, and devised how to strip him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royal house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to do what should be best pleasing to themselves, in the lower *Asia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ransome himself with money, as if he had been their lawful Prisoner. Neither were they so contented: but made him enter into such Composition with them, as tended but little to his honour. In the mean while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Army: and prepared once more to try his fortune against his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the season fit for himself, to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great marvail, since he had great reason to stand in no less fear of the *Gaules*, his own Souldiers, than of the enemy with whom he had to deal. After this, *Eumenes* won much in *Asia*; whilest *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battel, fought between the brethren, *Seleucus* had the upper hand: and *Antiochus Hierax* (or *the Hawk*) which surname was given him, because he sought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not) soared away as far as he could, both from his brother, and from his own *Gaules*. Having fetcht a great compass through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* took him up. He was entertained very lovingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him. This he soon perceived: and therefore betook him to his wings again; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolved to bestow himself upon *Ptolomy*; his own conscience telling him, what evil he had meant unto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can find no sure harbour. *Ptolomy* well understood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he laid him up in close prison: whence though by means of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the hands of thieves, by whom he was murthered. Near about the same time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled against him, during his Wars with his brother. He therefore made a journey against *Arsaces* founder of the *Parthian* Kingdom: wherein his evil fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. *Arsaces* dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, having every way given him royal entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his neck by a fall from his horse, and so ended his unhappy reign of twenty years. He had to wife *Laodice* the sister of *Andromachus*, one of his most trusty Captains: which was father unto that *Achæus*, who making his advantage of this affinity, became shortly after (as he stiled himself) a King; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By *Laodice* he had two sons; *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards *the Great*.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned only three years: in which time he made War upon *Attalus* the first, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weak of body through sickness, and in want of money, he could not keep his men of War in good order: and finally he was slain by treason of *Nicanor* and *Apaturius* a *Gaule*. His death was revenged by *Achæus*, who slew the Traitors, and took charge of the Army: which he ruled very wisely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus* the brother of *Seleucus* being a Child.

§. II.

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The beginning of the Great Antiochus *his reign.* *Of* Ptolomy Euergetes, *and* Philopater, *Kings of Ægypt.* *War between* Antiochus *and* Philopater. *The rebellion of* Molo: *an expedition of* Antiochus *againſt him.* *The recontinuance of* Antiochus *his Ægyptian War: with the paſſages between the two Kings: the Victory of* Ptolomy, *and peace concluded.* *Of* Achæus, *and his rebellion; his greatneſs, and his fall.* Antiochus *his expedition againſt the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians.* *Somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great* Alexander.

Antiochus was ſcarcely fifteen years old, when he began his reign, which laſted ſix and thirty years. In his minority he was wholly governed by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithful ſervants. This vile quality in a Counſellor of ſuch great place, how harmful it was unto his Lord, and finally unto himſelf; the ſucceſs of things will ſhortly diſcover.

Soon after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reign, *Ptolomy Euergetes* King of *Ægypt* died, and left his heir *Ptolomy Philopater*, a young Boy likewiſe, as hath elſewhere been remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who relieved *Aratus* and the *Achæans*: who afterwards took part with *Cleomenes*: and lovingly entertained him, when he was chaſed out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatus*. He annexed unto his Dominion the Kingdom of *Cyrene* by taking to wife *Bernice*, the daughter of King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolomies*; and the laſt good King of that race. The name of *Euergetes*, or *the doer of good*, was given to him by the *Ægyptians*; not ſo much for the great ſpoils which he brought home, after his victories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered ſome of thoſe Images or Idols, which *Cambyſes*, when he conquered *Ægypt*, had carried into *Perſia*. He was ready to have made War upon the *Jews*, for that *Onias* their high Prieſt, out of meer covetouſneſs of money, refuſed to pay unto him his yearly tribute of 20. talents: but he was pacified by the wiſdom of *Joſephus* a *Jew*, to whom afterwards he let in farm the Tributes and cuſtoms that belonged unto him in thoſe parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Cæloſyria*, with *Palæſtina*, and all thoſe parts of the Country that lay neareſt unto *Egypt*, were held by the *Egyptian*; either as having fallen to the ſhare of *Ptolomy* the firſt, at ſuch time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquiſhed and ſlain in the battel at *Ipſus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troubleſome and unhappy reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that laſted for many ſucceeding ages between the *Ptolomies* and the *Seleucidæ*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecy before cited, which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. Thus *Ptolomy Euergetes* reigned ſix and twenty years; and died towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may ſeem by that which we find in the Prologue unto *Jeſus* the ſon of *Syrach* his book, that he ſhould have reigned a much longer time. For *Siracides* there ſaith that he came into *Egypt* in the eight and thirtieth year, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that thoſe eight and thirty years were the years of *Jeſus* his own age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Jews* did otherwhiles reckon) from ſome notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counſellor, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord unto War againſt the *Egyptians*; for the recovery of *Cæloſyria* and the Countries adjoyning. This Counſel was very unſeaſonably given, when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out in rebellion, and ſought to make himſelf abſolute Lord of that rich Country. Nevertheleſs *Hermias*, being more froward than wiſe, maintained ſtiffely, that it was moſt expedient and agreeable with the Kings honour, to ſend forth againſt a rebellious Captain, other Captains that were faithful; whileſt he in perſon made War upon one that was like himſelf, a King. No man durſt gain-ſay the reſolution of *Hermias*; who therefore ſent *Xenætas* an *Achæan*, with ſuch forces as he thought expedient, againſt the Rebel; whileſt in the mean ſeaſon an Army was preparing for the Kings expedition into *Cæloſyria*. The King having marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and ſo over the Deſarts into the Valley of *Maſſias*, between the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*, found his way there ſtopped by *Theodotus* an *Ætolian*, that ſerved under *Ptolomy*. So he conſumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came news, that *Xenætas*, his Captain, was deſtroyed with his whole Army; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Countrey, as far as unto *Babylon*.

Xenætus, whileſt he was yet on his journey, and

and drew near to the River of *Tygris*, received many advertisements, by such as fled over unto him from the Enemy, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wills drawn by their Commander to bear arms against their King. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himself stood in some doubt lest his followers would leave him in time of necessity. *Xenætas* therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to pass the River by Boats in face of his enemy; left in the night time such as he thought meet to defend his Camp: and with all the flower of his Army went over *Tygris*, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo* his Camp. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to give impediment: but hearing that *Xenætas* could not so be stopped, He himself dislodged, and took his journey towards *Media*; leaving all his baggage behind him in his Camp. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his own Souldiers; or whether thereby to deceive his Enemy: the great folly of *Xenætas* made his stratagem prosperous. For *Xenætas*, having born himself proudly before, upon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was advanced unto this charge; did now presume that all should give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of using the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken Camp: or rather he commanded them so to do, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish up themselves against the journey, which he intended to take the next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himself, in transporting the remainder of his Army, which he had left on the other side of *Tygris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than he could easily return the same night. Wherefore understanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made such haste back unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning; whilest they were yet heavy with the Wine and other good cheer that they had spent at supper. So *Xenætas* and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the Camp: the rest were slaughtered without making resistance; and many of them ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Camp on the other side of *Tygris*, was easily taken by *Molo*: the Captains flying thence, to save their own lives. In the heat of this Victory, the Rebel marched unto *Seleucia*, which he presently took: and, mastering within a little while the Province of *Babylonia*, and all the Countrey down to the red Sea, or Bay of *Persia*, He hasted unto *Susa*; where at his first coming, he won the City; but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned back to *Seleucia*, there to give order concerning this business.

The report of these things coming to *Antiochus*, whilest he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of *Mapsyas*; filled him with great sorrow, and his Camp with trouble. He took Counsel what to do in this needfull case: and was well advised by *Epigenes*, the best man of War he had about him, to let alone this enterprise of *Cœlosyria*; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This Counsel was put in execution with all convenient haste. Yet was *Epigenes* dismissed by the way, and soon after slain, by the practice of *Hermias*: who could not endure to hear good Counsel given, contrary to his own good liking and allowance. In the journey against *Molo*, the name and presence of the King was more available, than any odds which he had of the Rebel in strength. *Molo* distrusted his own followers: and thought, that neither his late good success, nor any other consideration, would serve to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience, if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him to assail the Kings Camp in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was discovered by some that fled over from him to the King. This caused him to return back to his Camp: which by some errour, took alarm at his rturn: and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The King was thus forward in giving battel to *Molo*, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his belief. For not a few men or Ensigns: but all the left wing of the enemy which was opposite unto the King, changed side forthwith as soon as ever they had sight of the Kings person; and were ready to do him service against *Molo*. This was enough to have won the Victory: but *Molo* shortned the work, by killing himself; as did also divers of his friends, who for fear of torments, prevented the Hang-man with their own swords.

After this Victory, came joyful news, that the Queen *Laodice* daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was married unto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a son. Fortune seemed bountiful unto the King: and therefore he purposed to make what use he could of her friendly disposition while it lasted. But now in the Eastern parts of his Kingdom, He judged it convenient to visit his frontiers, were it only

only to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his Counſellor *Hermias* gave aſſent: not ſo much reſpecting the Kings honour, as conſidering what good might thereby happen to himſelf. For if it ſhould come to paſs, that the King were taken out of the World by any caſuality: then made he no doubt of becoming Protector to the young Prince; and thereby of lengthening his own Goverment. *Antiochus* therefore went againſt *Artabanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; having the greateſt part of his Kingdom ſituate between the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearful; and therefore yielded unto whatſoever conditions it pleaſed *Antiochus* to lay upon him. So in this journey *Antiochus* got honour, ſuch as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a Phyſition of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truly how odious he was to the people; and how dangerous he would be ſhortly unto the Kings own life. *Antiochus* believed this, as having long ſuſpected the ſame *Hermias*; but not daring for fear of him to utter his ſuſpitions. It was therefore agreed, that he ſhould be made away on the ſudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a ſleight, a good way out of the Camp, and there killed without warning or diſputation. The King needed not to have uſed ſo much art in ridding his hands of a man ſo much deteſted. For howſoever he ſeemed gracious whileſt he was alive: yet they that for fear had been moſt obſequious to him, whileſt he was in caſe to do them hurt, was as ready as the foremoſt, to ſpeak of him as he had deſerved, when once they were ſecure of him: yea, his wife and children, laying then at *Apamea*, were ſtoned to death by the wives and children of the Citizens; whoſe indignation brake forth the more outragiouſly, the longer that it had been concealed.

About theſe times, *Achæus* (of whom we ſpake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to periſh in ſome of theſe expeditions which he took in hand; was bold to ſet a Diadem upon his own head, and take upon him as a King. His purpoſe was to have invaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterpriſe; and ſtudy to ſet ſome handſome colour on his former preſumption. It is very ſtrange that *Antiochus* neither went againſt *Achæus*; nor yet diſſembled the notice which he had taken of theſe his traiterous purpoſes: but wrote unto him, ſignifying that he knew all, and upbraiding him with ſuch infidelity, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By theſe means he emboldned the Traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by ſtrong hand, than to excuſe them or get pardon by ſubmiſſion. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement deſire to recover *Cœloſyria*, or what elſe he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolomy Philopater* in thoſe parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a very ſtrong City near to the mouth of the River *Orontes*; which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captains that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the Great*, who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonia*: but *Seleucus* getting it ſhortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolomy Euergetes* having lately won it, might if it had ſo pleaſed him, have changed the name into *Ptolomais*. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchaſe an endleſs memorial unto their names, by works proceeding rather from their greatneſs, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their own, than the ſame greatneſs hath continuance. *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, he that before had oppoſed himſelf to *Antiochus*, and defended *Cœloſyria* in the behalf of *Ptolomy*; was now grown ſorry, that he had uſed ſo much faith and diligence, in ſervice of an unthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore as a Mercenary, he began to have regard to his own profit: which thinking to find greater, by applying himſelf unto him that was (queſtionleſs) the more worthy of theſe two Kings; he offered to deliver up unto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrus* and *Ptolomais*. Whilſt he was deviſing about this Treaſon, and had already ſent meſſengers to King *Antiochus*: his practice was detected, and he beſieged in *Ptolomais* by one of *Ptolomies* Captains, that was more faithful than himſelf. But *Antiochus* haſting to his reſcue, vanquiſhed this Captain who met him on the way: and afterwards got poſſeſſion, not only of *Tyrus* and *Ptolomais*, with a good Fleet of the *Egyptian* Kings that was in thoſe Havens: but of ſo many other Towns in that Country, as emboldned him to think upon making a journey into *Egypt* it ſelf. *Agathocles* and *Soſibius* bore all the ſway in *Egypt* at that time: *Ptolomy* himſelf being loath to have his pleaſures interrupted, with buſineſs of ſo ſmall importance, as the ſafety of his Kingdom. Wherefore theſe two agreed together, to make proviſion as haſtily, and yet as ſecretly as might be for the War: and nevertheleſs at the ſame time, to preſs *Antiochus* with daily Embaſſadours

to ſome good agreement. There came in the heat of this buſineſs, Embaſſadours from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewiſe from the *Ætolians*; according to the uſual courteſie of the *Greeks*, deſiring to take up the quarrel.

Theſe were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Soſibius*: who intreated them to deal effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilſt this treaty laſted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the War: wherein theſe two Counſellors perſwaded themſelves reaſonably, that the victory would be their own; if they could get, for money, a ſufficient number of the *Greeks* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how deſirous the Governours of *Ægypt* were to be at quiet: whereunto he gave the readier belief, not only for that he knew the diſpoſition of *Ptolomy*, but becauſe the *Rhodians*, and other Embaſſadours, coming from *Memphis*, diſcourſed unto him all after one manner; as being all deceived by the cunning of *Apathocles* and his fellow: *Antiochus* therefore having wearied himſelf, at the long ſiege of a Town called *Dura*, which he could not win: and being deſirous to refreſh himſelf and his Army in *Seleucia*, during the winter which then came on, granted to the *Ægyptian* a Truce for four moneths, with promiſe that he would be ready to hearken unto equal Conditions, when they ſhould be offered. It was not his meaning to be ſo courteous, as he would fain have ſeemed, but only to lull his enemies aſleep, whileſt he took time to refreſh himſelf; and to bring *Achæus* to ſome good order, whoſe treaſon daily grew more open and violent. The ſame negligence which he thought the *Ægyptian* would have uſed, he uſed himſelf, as preſuming that when time of the year better ſerved, little force would be needful; for that the Towns would voluntarily yield unto him, ſince *Ptolomy* provided not for their defence. Nevertheleſs, he gave Audience to the Embaſſadours, and had often conference with thoſe that were ſent out of *Ægypt*: pleaſing himſelf, well to diſpute about the juſtice of his quarrel which he purpoſed ſhortly to make good by the ſword, whether it were juſt or no. He ſaid, that it was agreed betweex *Seleucus* his Anceſtor, and *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, ſhould be given in poſſeſſion to *Seleucus*: and that this bargain was afterward ratified, by general conſent of the Confederates, after the battel at *Ipſus*. But *Ptolomies* men would acknowledge no ſuch bargain. They ſaid that *Ptolomy* the ſon of *Lagi*, had won *Cœloſyria*, and the Provinces adjoyning for himſelf: as alſo that he had ſufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recover his Province of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*. Thus whileſt neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were in the end of their diſputation, as far from concluding, as at the beginning. *Ptolomy* demanded reſtitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his own: Alſo *Ptolomy* would needs have *Achæus* comprehended in the league between them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to hear of this, exclaiming againſt it as a ſhameful thing, that one King ſhould offer to deal ſo with another, as to take his rebel into protection, and ſeek to joyn him in Confederacy with his own Soveraign Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field again: contrary to his expectation, he was informed, That *Ptolomy*, with a very puiſſant Army, was coming up againſt him out of *Ægypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountred on the way by theſe Captains of *Ptolomy*, that had reſiſted him the year before. They held againſt him the paſſages of *Libanus*, whence nevertheleſs he drave them: and proceeding onward in his journey, won ſo many places, that he greatly encreaſed his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew near together: many Captains of *Ptolomy* forſook his pay, and fled over to *Antiochus*. This notwithſtanding, the *Ægyptian* had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battle was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Ægyptians*, or the *Aſiatiques* were the better Souldiers, (for that the ſtrength of both Armies conſiſted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*;) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolomy*, with *Arſinoe* his Siſter and Wife, rode up and down encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other ſide: each of them rehearſing the brave deeds of his Anceſtors; as not having of their own, whereby to value themſelves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants, as alſo his being of *Aſia*, had they been fewer, would have beaten thoſe of *Africk*. Wherefore by the advantage of thoſe beaſts, He drave the Enemies before him, in that part of the battel wherein he fought himſelf. But *Ptolomy* had the better men by whoſe valour he brake the Groſs of his enemies battel, and won the victory: whileſt

whileſt *Antiochus* was heedleſly following upon thoſe, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field above ſeventy thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe; whereof though he loſt ſcarce ten thouſand foot, and not four hundred horſe; yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all thoſe places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch:* He began to ſtand in fear, leſt *Ptolomy* and *Achæus*, ſetting upon him both at once, ſhould put him in danger of his whole Eſtate. This cauſed him to ſend Embaſſadors to the *Egyptian*, to treat of peace; which was readily granted; it being much againſt the nature of *Ptolomy* to vex himſelf thus with the tedious buſineſs of War. So *Ptolomy* having ſtaid three moneths in *Syria*, returned home into *Egypt*, clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his ſubjects and all thoſe that were acquainted with his voluptuous and ſlothful condition.

Achæus was not compriſed in the league between theſe two Kings: or if he had been included therein; yet would not the *Egyptian* have taken the pains, of making a ſecond expedition for his ſake. The beſt was, that he thought himſelf ſtrong enough, if fortune were not too much againſt him, to deal with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reaſon: for beſides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto *Antiochus* on this ſide of *Taurus*, he had alſo good ſucceſs againſt *Attalus* King of *Pergamus:* that was an able man of War, and commanded a ſtrong Army. Neither was he, as *Molo* the Rebel had been, one of mean regard otherwiſe, and carried beyond himſelf by apprehending the advantage of ſome opportunity: but Couſin-german to the King, as hath been ſhewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the ſame *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was alſo called *Laodice*, as was her Siſter the Queen, *Antiochus* his wife. Theſe things had added Majeſty unto him, and had made his followers greatly to reſpect him, even as one to whom a Kingdom was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King *Ptolomy* of *Egypt* held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquiſhed in the battel at *Raphia:* and had thereby loſt all his gettings in *Syria*. But all theſe hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: for the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarel between ſons-in-law, had no reaſon to take part againſt the more honourable. As for the *Egyptian*, he was not only ſlothful, but hindred by a rebellion of his own ſubjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Egypt*, of whom *Ptolomy*, contrary to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to ſerve in the late expedition; began to entertain a good opinion of their own valour, thinking it not inferiour to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refuſed to ſuffer as much as formerly they had done: ſince they leſs eſteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings mercenary *Greeks:* which had hitherto kept them in ſtraight ſubjection. Thus brake out a War between the King and his ſubjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolomy* thereby waſted much of his ſtrength, and much of his time, that might have been ſpent, as he thought, much better in revelling: or, as others thought, in ſuccouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, He had no ſooner made his peace with the *Egyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of War againſt *Achæus*. To this purpoſe he entred into League with *Attalus*; that ſo he might diſtract the forces of his Rebel, and find him work on all ſides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were ſuch, that within a while he had pent up *Achæus* into the City of *Sardes*; where he held him about two years beſieged. The City was very ſtrong, and well victualled: ſo as there appeared not, when the ſecond year came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the firſt years ſiege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found means how to enter the Town. The Caſtle it ſelf was upon a very high rock, and in a manner impregnable; as alſo the Town-wall adjoyning to the Caſtle, in that part which was called *the Sawe*, was in like manner ſituate upon ſteep Rocks, and almoſt inacceſſible; that hung over a deep bottom, whereinto the dead carkaſes of Horſes, and other beaſts, yea, and ſometimes of men, uſed to be thrown. Now it was obſerved by *Lagoras*, that the Ravens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reaſon of their food which was there never wanting, uſed to flye up unto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch upon the wals, where they reſted without any diſturbance. Obſerving this often, he reaſoned with himſelf, and concluded that thoſe parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the King: who approved his judgement, and gave unto him the leading of ſuch men, as he deſired for the accompliſhing of the enterpriſe. The ſucceſs was agreeable to that which

Lagoras had afore conceived: and though with much labour, yet without reſiſtance, he ſcaled thoſe rocks, and whileſt a general aſſault was made, entred the Town in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the ſame place had the *Perſians*, under *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*; when *Cræſus* thought himſelf ſecure on that ſide. But the Citizens took not warning by the example of a loſs of many ages paſt: and therefore out of memory. *Achæus* held ſtill the Caſtle: which not only ſeemed by nature impregnable, but was very well ſtored with all neceſſaries, and manned with a ſufficient number, of ſuch as were to him well aſſured. *Antiochus* therefore was conſtrained to waſte much time about it: having none other hope to prevail, than by famiſhing the incloſed. Beſides the uſual tediouſneſs of expectation, his buſineſs called him thence away into the higher *Aſia*, where the *Bactrians*, and *Parthians* with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected Kingdoms taken out of his Dominions, upon which they ſtill incroached. But he thought it not ſafe, to let *Achæus* break looſe again. On the other ſide there were ſome Agents of *Ptolomy* the *Egyptian*, and good friends unto *Achæus*; that made it their whole ſtudy, how to deliver this beſieged Prince. If they could reſcue his perſon, they cared for no more: but preſumed that when he ſhould appear in the Countrys under *Taurus*, he would ſoon have an Army at command, and be ſtrong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to work as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretian*, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Country, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult paſſages among thoſe Rocks, whereon the Caſtle of *Sardes* ſtood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he ſhould receive at the hands of *Ptolomy*, as well as of *Achæus*; to do his beſt for performance of their deſire. He undertook the buſineſs: and gave ſuch likely reaſons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote unto *Achæus*, by one *Arianus*, a truſty meſſenger, whom *Bolis* found means to conveigh into the Caſtle. The faith of theſe Negotiators *Achæus* held moſt aſſured. They alſo wrote unto him in privie Characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none ſave he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the meſſenger, he was a truſty fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found by examination, heartily affected unto their ſide. But the Contents of the Epiſtle, which were that he ſhould be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had won unto the buſineſs, did ſomewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknown: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; under whom he had the command of thoſe *Cretans*, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Caſtle of *Sardes*. Nevertheleſs other way to eſcape he ſaw none, than by putting himſelf to ſome adventure. When the meſſenger had therefore paſſed often to and fro, it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himſelf ſhould come ſpeak with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the reſt, ſave only by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countrymen,* ſome few excepted, have been, and ſtill are,) falſe knaves. Theſe two held a conſultation together, that was, as (a) *Polybius* obſerves it, rightly *Cretical*: neither concerning the ſafety of him whoſe deliverance they undertook, nor touching the diſcharge of their own faith; but only how to get moſt with leaſt adoe and danger to themſelves. Briefly they concluded, That firſt of all, they would equally ſhare between them ten Talents, which they had already received in hand: and then, That they would reveal the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliver *Achæus* unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with preſent money, and with promiſe of conſideration anſwerable to the greatneſs of ſuch a ſervice, when it ſhould be diſpatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promiſe of *Cambylus*, was no leſs glad, than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleaſed with the comfortable promiſes of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readineſs on both ſides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get up into the Caſtle, and conveigh *Achæus* thence: He firſt went with *Cambylus* to ſpeak with the King, who gave him very private audience; and confirmed unto him by word of mouth the aſſurance of his liberal promiſes. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honeſt man, and of one that was faithful unto *Ptolomy*, whom he had long ſerved, he accompanied *Arianus* up into the Caſtle. At his coming thither, he was lovingly entertained; yet queſtioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the buſineſs in hand. But he diſcourſed ſo well, and with ſuch gravity; that there appeared no reaſon of diſtrusting either his faith or judgement. He was an old Souldier, had long been a Captain under *Ptolomy*, and did not thruſt himſelf into this buſineſs; but was invited

* Among theſe few I do not except one, calling himſelf *Eudemus Joan Andrew a Cretan*, who in one of his late ſhameleſs Libels, wherein he traduceth our King, Religion, and Country, with all the good and worthy men of whom he could learn the names, hath by inferring my name twice belied me, in calling me a *Puritan*, and one that hath been dangerous unto my Soveraign. It is an honour to be ill ſpoken of by ſo diligent a ſupporter of Treaſons, and Architect of Lies, in regard whereof I may not deny him the commendation of Criticiſm no leſs volaminous than he in multiplicity of name is beyond any the *Cretians* in elder times that were always Lyars, evil beaſts, and ſlow bellies. (a) *Pol. hiſt. l. 8.*

by

by honourable and faithful me. He had also taken a safe course, in wining (as it seemed) that other Country-man of his, who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had already sundry times given safe passage and repassage unto *Arianus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an adventure stirred up some diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wisely, and said, that he would yet stay in the Castle a little longer: but that he meant to send away with *Bolis* three or four of his friends; from whom, when he received better advertisement, concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would he issue forth himself. Hereby he took order, not to commit himself wholly unto the faith of a man unknown. But as *Polybius* well notes, he did not consider that he played the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to say, that he had to do with one, whose knavery could not be avoided by circumspection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had laid their plots thus, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft: and *Bolis* following behind, should have an eye upon *Achæus* to prevent him, not only from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his own neck, or otherwise killing himself: to the end that being taken alive, he might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present. And in such order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide: the rest following as the way served, and *Bolis* in the Rear. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his Wife *Laodice*; and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed four of his special friends to bear him company. They were all disguised: and one of them alone took upon him to have knowledge of the *Greek* tongue; speaking & answering as need should require for all, as if the rest had been *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily devising upon his business, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) *though he were of* Crete, *and prone to surmise any thing to the mischief of another*; yet could he not see in the dark, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himself were there. The way was very uneasie, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were fain to stay in divers places, and help one another up or down. But upon every occasion they were all of them very officious towards *Achæus*; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gave *Bolis* to understand that he was the man: and so by their unseasonable duty, they undid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whistled, and presently clapsed *Achæus* about the middle, holding him fast that he could not stir. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*; who sate up watching in his Pavilion, expecting the event. The sight of *Achæus*, brought in bound unto him, did so astonish the King that he was unable to speak a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes, assembling his friends together, he condemned *Achæus* to a cruel death: which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the general regard of calamities, incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him these tears: as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in imploying two mischievous knaves against one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed well; according to that *Spanish* Proverb, *A un traydor dos allevosos*. The death of *Achæus* brought such astonishment upon those which held the Castle, that after a while they gave up the place and themselves unto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser *Asia*.

Some years passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his expedition against the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subject unto those that ruled in *Media*. In the great shuffling for Provinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Government over them was committed by *Antipater*, to one *Philip*, a man of small regard: shortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonus*: and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*; under whose posterity they continued until the Reign of *Seleucus Calinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The lustful insolency of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to be slain by the *Gauls*, did stir up *Arsaces*, a nobleman of the Countrey, to seek revenge of injuries done, and animate them to rebel. So he slew the Kings Lieutenant; made himself King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyrcania*; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his

Lagoras had afore conceived: and though with much labour, yet without reſiſtance, he ſcaled thoſe rocks, and whileſt a general aſſault was made, entred the Town in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the ſame place had the *Perſians*, under *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*; when *Cræſus* thought himſelf ſecure on that ſide. But the Citizens took not warning by the example of a loſs of many ages paſt: and therefore out of memory. *Achæus* held ſtill the Caſtle: which not only ſeemed by nature impregnable, but was very well ſtored with all neceſſaries, and manned with a ſufficient number, of ſuch as were to him well aſſured. *Antiochus* therefore was conſtrained to waſte much time about it: having none other hope to prevail, than by famiſhing the incloſed. Beſides the uſual tediouſneſs of expectation, his buſineſs called him thence away into the higher *Aſia*, where the *Bactrians*, and *Parthians* with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected Kingdoms taken out of his Dominions, upon which they ſtill incroached. But he thought it not ſafe, to let *Achæus* break looſe again. On the other ſide there were ſome Agents of *Ptolomy* the *Egyptian*, and good friends unto *Achæus*; that made it their whole ſtudy, how to deliver this beſieged Prince. If they could reſcue his perſon, they cared for no more: but preſumed that when he ſhould appear in the Countrys under *Taurus*, he would ſoon have an Army at command, and be ſtrong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to work as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretian*, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Country, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult paſſages among thoſe Rocks, whereon the Caſtle of *Sardes* ſtood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he ſhould receive at the hands of *Ptolomy*, as well as of *Achæus*; to do his beſt for performance of their deſire. He undertook the buſineſs: and gave ſuch likely reaſons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote unto *Achæus*, by one *Arianus*, a truſty meſſenger, whom *Bolis* found means to conveigh into the Caſtle. The faith of theſe Negotiators *Achæus* held moſt aſſured. They alſo wrote unto him in privie Characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none ſave he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the meſſenger, he was a truſty fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found by examination, heartily affected unto their ſide. But the Conrents of the Epiſtle, which were that he ſhould be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had won unto the buſineſs, did ſomewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknown: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; under whom he had the command of thoſe *Cretans*, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Caſtle of *Sardes*. Nevertheleſs other way to eſcape he ſaw none, than by putting himſelf to ſome adventure. When the meſſenger had therefore paſſed often to and fro, it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himſelf ſhould come ſpeak with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the reſt, ſave only by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countrymen,* ſome few excepted, have been, and ſtill are,) falſe knaves. Theſe two held a conſultation together, that was, as (a) *Polybius* obſerves it, rightly *Cretical*: neither concerning the ſafety of him whoſe deliverance they undertook, nor touching the diſcharge of their own faith; but only how to get moſt with leaſt adoe and danger to themſelves. Briefly they concluded, That firſt of all, they would equally ſhare between them ten Talents, which they had already received in hand: and then, That they would reveal the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliver *Achæus* unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with preſent money, and with promiſe of conſideration anſwerable to the greatneſs of ſuch a ſervice, when it ſhould be diſpatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promiſe of *Cambylus*, was no leſs glad, than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleaſed with the comfortable promiſes of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readineſs on both ſides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get up into the Caſtle, and conveigh *Achæus* thence: He firſt went with *Cambylus* to ſpeak with the King, who gave him very private audience; and confirmed unto him by word of mouth the aſſurance of his liberal promiſes. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honeſt man, and of one that was faithful unto *Ptolomy*, whom he had long ſerved, he accompanied *Arianus* up into the Caſtle. At his coming thither, he was lovingly entertained; yet queſtioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the buſineſs in hand. But he diſcourſed ſo well, and with ſuch gravity; that there appeared no reaſon of diſtruſting either his faith or judgement. He was an old Souldier, had long been a Captain under *Ptolomy*, and did not thruſt himſelf into this buſineſs; but was invited

* Among theſe few I do not except one calling himſelf *Eudamus*, *Joon Andrew a Cretan*, who in one of his late ſhameleſs Libels, wherein he traduceth our King, Religion, and Countrey with all the good and worthy men of whom he could learn the names, hath by inſerting my name twice beſped me, calling me a Puritan and one that had been dangerous to my Soveraign. It is an honour to be ill ſpoken of by ſo diligent a ſupporter of Treaſons, and Archies of Lies, regard whereof I may deny him the commendation of Critiſm nor leſs volominous elder time

than he in multiplicity of name is beyond any the *Cretians* in that were always Lyars, evil beaſts, and ſlow bellies. (a) *Pol. hiſt. l. 8.*

by

by honourable and faithful me. He had alſo taken a ſafe courſe, in wining (as it ſeemed) that other Country-man of his, who kept a Fort that ſtood in their way; and thereby had already ſundry times given ſafe paſſage and repaſſage unto *Arianus*. But againſt all theſe comfortable hopes, the importance of ſo great an adventure ſtirred up ſome diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wiſely, and ſaid, that he would yet ſtay in the Caſtle a little longer: but that he meant to ſend away with *Bolis* three or four of his friends; from whom, when he received better advertiſement, concerning the likelihood of the enterpriſe, then would he iſſue forth himſelf. Hereby he took order, not to commit himself wholly unto the faith of a man unknown. But as *Polybius* well notes, he did not conſider that he played the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to ſay, that he had to do with one, whoſe knavery could not be avoided by circumſpection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had laid their plots thus, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then ſhould he eaſily be taken by the ambuſh prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then ſhould *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft: and *Bolis* following behind, ſhould have an eye upon *Achæus* to prevent him, not only from eſcaping in the tumult, but from breaking his own neck, or otherwiſe killing himſelf: to the end that being taken alive, he might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Preſent. And in ſuch order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide: the reſt following as the way ſerved, and *Bolis* in the Rear. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpoſe, till the very inſtant of his departure. Then ſignified he the matter to his Wife *Laodice*; and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed four of his ſpecial friends to bear him company. They were all diſguiſed: and one of them alone took upon him to have knowledge of the Greek tongue; ſpeaking & anſwering as need ſhould require for all, as if the reſt had been *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily deviſing upon his buſineſs, and much perplexed: For (ſaith *Polybius*) *though he were of* Crete, *and prone to ſurmiſe any thing to the miſchief of another*; yet could he not ſee in the dark, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himſelf were there. The way was very uneaſie, and in ſome places dangerous; eſpecially to thoſe that knew it not. Wherefore they were fain to ſtay in divers places, and help one another up or down. But upon every occaſion they were all of them very officious towards *Achæus*; lending him their hands, and taking ſuch care of him, as eaſily gave *Bolis* to underſtand that he was the man: and ſo by their unſeaſonable duty, they undid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whiſtled, and preſently clapſed *Achæus* about the middle, holding him faſt that he could not ſtir. So they were all taken by the Ambuſh, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*; who ſate up watching in his Pavilion, expecting the event. The ſight of *Achæus*, brought in bound unto him, did ſo aſtoniſh the King that he was unable to ſpeak a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration: as alſo the next morning betimes, aſſembling his friends together, he condemned *Achæus* to a cruel death: which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the general regard of calamities, incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him theſe tears: as alſo the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be ſo, that ſuch a courſe as this of his, in imploying two miſchievous knaves againſt one Traitor, doth not rarely ſucceed well; according to that *Spaniſh* Proverb, *A un traydor dos allevoſos*. The death of *Achæus* brought ſuch aſtoniſhment upon thoſe which held the Caſtle, that after a while they gave up the place and themſelves unto the King; whereby he got entire poſſeſſion of all to him belonging in the leſſer *Aſia*.

Some years paſſed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his expedition againſt the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obſcure beginnings, and commonly ſubject unto thoſe that ruled in *Media*. In the great ſhuffling for Provinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Government over them was committed by *Antipater*, to one *Philip*, a man of ſmall regard: ſhortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonus*: and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*; under whoſe poſterity they continued until the Reign of *Seleucus Calinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The luſtful inſolency of one of theſe Lieutenants, together with the miſfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquiſhed and thought to be ſlain by the *Gauls*, did ſtir up *Arſaces*, a nobleman of the Countrey, to ſeek revenge of injuries done, and animate them to rebel. So he ſlew the Kings Lieutenant; made himſelf King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyrcania*; fought proſperouſly with thoſe that diſturbed him in his

his beginnings; and took *Seleucus Callinicus* priſoner in battel, whom he royally entertained and diſmiſſed. Hereby he won reputation as a lawful King: and by good government of his Countrey, procured unto himſelf ſuch love of his Subjects, that his name was continued unto his ſucceſſors; like as that of the *Ptolomies* in *Egypt*, and that of the *Cæſars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the ſame time the *Bactrians* rebelled: though theſe at length, and all belonging unto the *Seleucidæ* beyond *Euphrates*, increaſed the *Parthians* dominion. Now *Antiochus* went againſt them with ſo ſtrong an army, that they durſt not meet him in plain field; but kept themſelves in woods or places of ſtrength, and defended the Straights and paſſages of mountains. The reſiſtances they made availed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him ſo great a multitude, and ſo well ſorted, as he needed not to turn out of the way, from thoſe that lay fortified againſt him, in Woods and Straights between their mountains; it being eaſie to ſpare out of ſo great a number, as many as fetching a compaſs about, might either get above the enemies heads; or come behind, and charge them on the back. Thus did he often imploy againſt them his light armature: wherewith he cauſed them to diſlodge, and give way unto his Phalanx; upon which they durſt not adventure themſelves in open ground. *Arſaces*, the ſecond of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though he was confident in the fidelity of his own ſubjects; yet feared to encounter ſo mighty an Invader. His hope was, that the bad wayes and Deſarts would have cauſed *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to give over the journey, without proceeding much further. This not ſo falling out: He cauſed the Wels and Springs in the Wilderneſs, through which his Enemy muſt paſs, to be dammed up and ſpoiled. By which means, and the reſiſtance before ſpoken of, when he could not prevail, He withdrew himſelf out of the way; ſuffering the Enemy to take his pleaſure for a time, in waſting the Countrey: wherein without ſome Victory obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Arſaces* was nothing ſtrongly provided for the War. Wherefore he marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania* where he wan *Tambrace*, the chief City of that Province. This indignity and many other loſſes, cauſed *Arſaces* at length, when he had gathered an Army that ſeemed ſtrong enough, to adventure a battel. The iſſue thereof was ſuch as gave to neither of the Kings hope of accompliſhing his deſires, without exceeding difficulty. Wherefore *Arſaces* craved peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amiſs, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a ſubject.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was againſt *Entydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled againſt him or his Anceſtors: but having gotten the Kingdom from thoſe that had rebelled, kept it himſelf. With *Euthydemus* he fought a battel by the River *Artus*, where he had the Victory. But the Victory was not ſo greatly to his honour, as was the teſtimony which he gave of his own private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more courageouſly, than did any one man in all his Army. His horſe was ſlain under him; and he himſelf received a wound in his mouth, whereby he loſt ſome of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, He withdrew himſelf back unto the furthermoſt parts of his Kingdom, and afterwards protracted the War, ſeeking how to end it by compoſition. So Embaſſadors paſſed between the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Countrey of his was unjuſtly uſurped from him: *Euthydemus* anſwering, That he had won it from the children of the Uſurpers: and further, That the *Bactrians*, a wild Nation, could hardly be retained in order, ſave by a King of their own; for that they bordered upon the *Scythians*, with whom if they ſhould join, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them. Theſe allegations, together with his own wearineſs, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, upon reaſonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his father, as Embaſſador in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little available unto a good concluſion: for *Antiochus* liked him ſo well, that he promiſed to give him in marriage, one of his own daughters; and therewithal permitted *Euthydemus* to retain the Kingdom, cauſing him nevertheleſs to deliver up all his Elephants; as alſo to bind himſelf by oath, to ſuch Covenants as he thought requiſite.

So *Antiochus* leaving the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a journey over *Caucauſus*, and came to the borders of *India*, where he renewed with *Sophagaſenus*, King of the *Indians*, the ſociety that had been between their Anceſtors. The *Indians* had remained ſubject unto the *Macedonians* for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his War againſt

againſt *Antigonus*, raiſed part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when *Antigonus* (after his victory) turned Weſtward, and was overbuſied in a great Civill War: then did one *Sandrocottus*, an *Indian*, ſtir up his Country men to rebellion; making himſelf their Captain, and taking upon him, as protector of their liberty. This Office and Title he ſoon changed, though not without ſome contention, into the Name and Majeſty of a King. Finally he got unto himſelf (having an Army of ſix hundred thouſand men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had been *Alexanders*. In this eſtate he had well confirmed himſelf, ere *Seleucus Nicanor* could find leiſure to call him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himſelf at the coming of *Seleucus*; but met him in the field, as ready to defend his own, ſo ſtrongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented to make both peace and affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* Kingdoms, was continued by ſome offices of love between their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whoſe number of Elephants were increaſed thereupon, by the *Indian* King, to an hundred and fifty: as alſo he was promiſed, to have ſome treaſure ſent after him; which he left one to receive. Thus parted theſe two great Kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards in many generations, any buſineſs worthy of remembrance with the Weſtern countries. The poſterity of *Sandrocottus* is thought to have retained that Kingdom unto the dayes of *Auguſtus Cæſar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, ſent Embaſſadors with preſents, and an Epiſtle written in *Greek*, wherein among other things, he ſaid, That he had command over ſix hundred Kings. There is alſo found, ſcattered in ſundry Authors, the mention of ſome which held that Kingdom, in divers Ages, even unto the time of *Conſtantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the ſame race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treaty with *Sophagaſenus* carryed himſelf as the worthier perſon, receiving preſents and after marching home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with ſuch reputation, that all the Potentates, not only in the higher *Aſia*, but on the hither ſide of *Taurus*, humbled themſelves unto him, and called him *The Great*: ſaw an end of his own greatneſs within few years enſuing, by preſuming to ſtand upon points with the *Romans*: whoſe Greatneſs was the ſame in deed, that his was only in ſeeming.

§. III.

The lewd reign of Ptolomy Philopater *in Ægypt: with the Tragical end of his favourites, when he was dead.* Antiochus *prepares to war on the young child* Ptolomy Epiphanes, *the ſon of* Philopater. *His irreſolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage towards the* Helleſpont. *He ſeeks to hold amity with the Romans, who make friendly ſhew to him; intending nevertheleſs to have war with him. His doings againſt the* Helleſpont; *which the Romans made the firſt ground of their quarrel to him.*

THis expedition being finiſhed, *Antiochus* had leiſure to repoſe himſelf a while; and ſtudy which way to convert the terrour of his puiſſance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three years *Ptolomy Philopater* died: leaving his ſon *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his ſucceſſour in the Kingdom: unlikely by him to be well defended againſt a neighbour ſo mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolomy* ſurnamed *Philopater*, that is to ſay, *a lover of his Father*, is thought to have had that ſurname given him in meer deriſion; as having made away both his Father and Mother. His young years being newly paſt, his childhood when he began to reign, may ſeem to diſcharge him of ſo horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beaſtlineſs of all his following life, makes him not unlike to have done any miſchief, whereof he could be accuſed. Having won the battles at *Raphiah*, He gave himſelf over to ſenſuality, and was wholly governed by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. At her inſtigation He murdered his own wife and ſiſter; which had adventured her ſelf with him, in that only dangerous action by him undertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenant-ſhips of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Army, and Offices whatſoever, were wholly referred unto the diſpoſition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and *Oenanthe* a filthy bawd that was mother unto them both. So theſe three governed the Realm at their pleaſure, to the great grief of all the Countrey, till *Philopater* died; who having reigned ſeventeen years, left none other ſon than *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old, begotten on *Arſinoe* that was his ſiſter and wife. After the Kings death *Agathocles* began to take upon him, as protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Governour of the Land. He aſſembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not

all

all born in *Macedonia*, but the race of those that abode in *Egypt* with *Ptolomy the first*, and would not be accounted *Ægyptians*; as neither would the Kings themselves) and bringing forth unto them his sister *Agathoclea*, with the young King in her arms; began a solemn Oration. He told them, That the deceased Father of this their King, had committed the child into the arms of his sister; but unto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the Kingdom did now rely. He besought them therefore that they would be faithful, and, as great need was, defend their King against the Treason of one *Tlepolemus* an ambitious man; who traiterously went about to set the Diadem upon his own head, being a meer stranger to the Royal blood. Herewithall he produced before them a witness, that should justifie his accusation against *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were so, that he delivered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterfeiting tears: yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a thameless dissembler he was to take so much upon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake up the Assembly: he that had called it, being scarce aware how. *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old Kings favour had made mighty, but neither wise nor well qualified, thought to go to work, as had formerly been his manner; by using his authority, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He haled out of the Temple the mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*; and cast her into prison. This filled *Alexandria* with rumours, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilest they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their minds, wherein they had conceived extream hate, against these three pernicious Misgovernours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the present injurie done to *Tlepolemus*, they were somewhat also moved with fear of harm; which in way of requital, *Tlepolemus* was likely to do unto the City. For he was thought a man most unapt for Government, as afterwards he proved, yet no bad Souldier, and well beloved of the Army. It was also then in his power, to stop the provision of victuals which was to come into *Alexandria*. As these motives wrought with the people, so by the remedy which *Agathocles* used, were the *Macedons* more hastily, and more violently stirred unto uproar. He secretly apprehended one of their number whom he suspected of conspiracy against him; and delivered him unto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poor Souldier was carried into an inner room of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparel to be tormented. But whilest the whips were brought forth, and all things even in a readiness for that purpose, there was brought unto the minister of *Agathocles*, a sad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the room; leaving *Moeragenes* the Souldier alone by himself, and the doors open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conveighed himself out of the Palace, and got unto the *Macedonians* of whom he found some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Priviledges, as are the *Turks Janizaries*. Being assured therefore that one of their fellows had thus been used, they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: crying out, That they would see the King, and not leave him in possession of a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the City, with loud clamours, made no less ado than the Souldiers, though to less effect. So the old Bawd *Oenantha* fled into a Temple: her Son and Daughter stayed in the Court, untill the King was taken from them, and they, by his permission which he easily gave, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, delivered up to the fury of the people. *Agathocles* himself was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the Office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His sister was drag'd naked up and down the streets; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging; the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of justice: biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in *Ægypt*, served well to stir up King *Antiochus*; who had very good leasure, though he wanted all pretence, to make war upon young *Ptolomy*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the same desire to get what part he could of the childes estate. But it hapned well, that *Ptolomy Philopater* in the *Punick* War, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices unto the *Romans*. Unto them therefore the *Ægyptians* addressed themselves, and craved help against these two Kings: who though they secretly maligned one the other; yet had entred into covenant to divide between them all that belonged unto this *Orphan*; whose Father had been confederate with them

them both. So * *M. Lepidus* was ſent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Egypt*; eſpecially againſt *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonian*; he was very ſoon found buſied with War at his own Doors. Alſo *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, being a Penſioner to the *Egyptian*, was ſent into *Greece* to raiſe an Army of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Egypt*, I do not find: and therefore think it not improbable, that he was ſent thither only one of the three Embaſſadors, in the beginning of the War with *Philip*, as hath been ſhewed before. As for *Scopas*; he ſhortly after went up into *Syria* with his Army; where, winning many places, among the reſt of his Acts, he ſubdued the *Jews*, who ſeem to have yeilded themſelves a little before unto *Antiochus*, at ſuch time as they ſaw him prepare for his War, and deſpaired of receiving help from *Egypt*. But it was not long ere all theſe Victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next year following, which was (according to *Euſebius*) the ſame year that *Philip* was beaten at *Cynoſcephalæ*; *Antiochus* vanquiſhed *Scopas* in battel, and recovered all that had been loſt. Among the reſt, the *Jews*, with great willingneſs, returned under his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

31.

The Land of *Egypt*, this great King did forbear to invade; and gave it out, that he meant to beſtow a Daughter of his own in Marriage unto *Ptolomey*: either hoping, as may ſeem, that the Country would willingly ſubmit it ſelf unto him, if this young Child ſhould happen to miſcarry; or elſe that greater purchaſe might be made in the Weſtern parts of *Aſia*, whileſt *Philip* was held overlaboured by the *Romans*. It appears that he was very much diſtracted; hunting (as we ſay) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels between *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the *Grecks*, promiſed to afford him great advantage, if he ſhould bring his Army to the *Helleſpont*. On the other ſide, the ſtate of *Egypt* being ſuch as hath been declared, ſeemed eaſily to be ſwallowed up at once. One while therefore he took what he could get in *Syria*: where all were willing (and the *Jews*, among the reſt, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Egyptian*) to yield him obedience. Another while, letting *Egypt* alone, he was about to make invaſion upon *Attalus* his Kingdom; yet ſuffered himſelf eaſily to be perſwaded by the *Roman* Embaſſadors, and deſiſted from that enterpriſe. Having thus far gratified the *Romans*; he ſends Embaſſadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect Amity between him and them. It is not lightly to be over-paſſed, That theſe his Embaſſadors were lovingly entertained at *Rome*; and diſmiſſed, with a Decree and anſwer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this anſwer of the *Romans* was not ſincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their own intent. They had not yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great Wars at once. Wherefore, not ſtanding much upon the nice examination of what belonged unto their honour, they were content to give good words for the preſent. In the mean time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*, and ſhortly prepares to win ſome Towns elſewhere, belonging unto *Ptolomy*; yet withall he ſends an Army Weſtward, intending to make what profit he can of the diſtractions in *Greece*. Likewiſe it is conſiderable, as an argument of his much irreſolution, how notwithſtanding his attempts upon both of their Kingdoms, he offered one of his Daughters to *Ptolomey*, and another to *Eumenes* the Son of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*: ſeeking each of their friendſhips at one and the ſame time, when he ſought to make of each of them a ſpoil. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplicable deſire of Repugnancies, which is a diſeaſe of great and over-ſwelling-fortunes. Howſoever it was, he ſent an Army to *Sardes* by Land, under two of his Sons: willing them there to ſtay for him; whileſt he himſelf, with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other Veſſels, intended to paſs along by the Coaſts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in ſuch places as held for the *Egyptian*. It was a notable act of the *Rhodians*, that, whileſt the War of *Philip* lay yet upon their hands, they adventured upon this Great *Antiochus*. They ſent unto him a proud Embaſſage; whereby they gave him to underſtand, That if he paſſed forward beyond a certain Promontory in *Cilicia*, they would meet with him, and fight with him; not for any quarrel of theirs unto him; but becauſe he ſhould not joyn with *Philip* their enemy, and help him againſt the *Romans*. It was inſolently done of them, neither ſeemed it otherwiſe, to preſcribe ſuch limits unto the King: yet he tempered himſelf, and without any ſhew of indignation, gave a gentle anſwer; partly himſelf to their Embaſſadors; partly unto their whole City, by Embaſſadors which he thither ſent. He ſhewed his deſire to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Anceſtors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, leſt his coming ſhould tend unto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching

the *Romans* whom they thought that he would moleſt: they were (he ſaid) his very good Friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proof, than the entertainment and anſwer by them newly given to his Embaſſadors.

The *Rhodians* appear to have been a cunning People, and ſuch as could fore-ſee what weather was like to happen. This anſwer of the King, and the relation of what had paſſed between his Embaſſadors and the Senate, moved them not a whit, when they were informed ſhortly after, that the *Macedonian* War was ended at the Battel of *Cynoſcephalæ*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turn would be next; and prepared to be forward on the ſtronger ſide. Wherefore they would not be contented to ſit ſtill, unleſs the Towns on the South Coaſt of *Aſia*, belonging to *Ptolomy* their Friend and Confederate, were ſuffered to be at quiet. Herein alſo they did well; for that they had ever been greatly beholding to all the Race of the *Ptolomies*. They therefore in this time of neceſſity, gave what aid they could unto all the Subjects of the *Egyptian* in thoſe parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the Son of *Attalus*, prognoſticate as concerning the War that followed, between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to beſtow one of his Daughters upon him in marriage: He excuſed himſelf, and would not have her. *Attalus* and *Philetærus*, his Brethren, wondred at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would ſurely make war upon *Antiochus*; and therein finally prevail. Wherefore he ſaid, that by abſtaining from this affinity, it ſhould be in his power to joyn with the *Romans*, and ſtrengthen himſelf greatly with their friendſhip. Contrariwiſe, if he leaned to *Antiochus*, as he muſt be partaker in his overthrow; ſo was he ſure to be oppreſſed by him, as by an over-mighty Neighbour, if he happened to win the Victory.

Antiochus himſelf wintred about *Epheſus*; where he took ſuch order as he thought convenient for reducing of *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* to obedience; that had uſurped their Liberty, and obſtinately ſtrove to maintain it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he ſailed unto the *Helleſpont*; where, having won ſome Towns that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he paſſed over into *Europe* ſide; and in ſhort ſpace maſtered the *Cherſoneſus*. Thence went he to *Lyſimachia*: which the *Thracians* had gotten and deſtroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his Garriſon thence, to employ it in the *Roman* War. The *Ætolians* objected as a crime unto *Philip*, in the conference between *T. Quintius*, that he had oppreſſed *Lyſimachia*, by thruſting thereinto a Garriſon. Hereupon *Philip* made anſwer, That his Garriſon did not oppreſs the Town, but ſave it from the *Barbarians*: who took and ſack'd it, as ſoon as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this anſwer was good and ſubſtantial, though it were not acceptable as ſuch; might appear by the miſerable caſe, in which *Antiochus* found *Lyſimachia* at his coming thither. For the Town was utterly raſed by the *Barbarians*, and the people carried away into ſlavery. Wherefore the King took order to have it re-edified: as alſo to redeem thoſe that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens as were diſperſed in the Country thereabout. Likewiſe he was careful to allure thither, by hopeful promiſes, new Inhabitants, and to repleniſh the City with wonted frequency. Now to the end that men ſhould not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any fear of the neighbour *Thracians*: he took a Journey in hand againſt thoſe barbarous people, with the one half of his Army; leaving the other half to repair the City. Theſe pains he took, partly in regard of the convenient ſituation, and former glory of *Lyſimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his own honour, to recover and eſtabliſh the Dominion in thoſe parts which his forefather *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lyſimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdom of greater extent than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he ſhall dearly pay: and as after that Victory againſt *Lyſimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed ſhortly; ſo ſhall a deadly wound of the Kingdom founded by *Seleucus* enſue very ſpeedily after the reconqueſt of the ſame Country, which was the laſt of *Seleucus* his Purchaſes.

§. IV.

The Romans *hold friendly correſpondence with* Antiochus, *during their War with* Philip; *after which they quarrel with him. The doings of* Hannibal *at* Carthage: *whence he is chaſed by his Enemies, and by the* Romans: *His flight unto the King* Antiochus. *The* Ætolians *murmur againſt the* Romans *in* Greece. *The War of the* Romans *and* Achæans, *with* Nabis *the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *The departure of the* Romans *out of* Greece. T. Quintius *his Triumph. Peace denied to* Antiochus *by the* Romans.

10. FOr the *Romans*, though they were unable to ſmother their deſire of war with

with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keep the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended war, so long as they wanted matter of quarrel; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprise of the Kings about *Lysimachia*. It was not long, since King *Attalus*, a friend and a helper of the *Romans* in their war with *Philip*, could obtain of them none other help against *Antiochus*, than Embassadors to speak for him, because the one of these Kings was held no less a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards pass between them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus* at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his Invation from the Kingdom of *Pergamus*: also very shortly after he sent Embassadors to them, to make a perfect League of amity between them. This was whilest as yet they were busied with *Philip*, and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward shew. But when the *Macedonian* war was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients unto the *Romans*: then was all this good correspondence changed into terms of worse, but more plain meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counsellors sent from *Rome*, requited (as hath been *shewed before) with a commination of war, this Kings gratulation of their victory; as also his long professed amity, and desire to continue in the same.

*Chap. 4 lit. xii.

These ten Counsellors were able to inform *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seems that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable unto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progress through divers quarters of *Greece* for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them should visit King *Antiochus*; and the rest, where occasion served, use diligence to make a party strong against him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* unmindful of the business; wherein lest *T. Quintius*, with his ten Assistants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was sent from *Rome*, of purpose to deal with the King about those controversies, that were between him and *Ptolomy*. What other private instructions *Cornelius* had, we may conjecture by the managing of this his Embassage. For coming to *Selymbria*: and there understanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, having been sent by *Titus*, were at *Lysimachia*, He hastened thither; whither also came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counsellors) from *Bargillæ*, to be present at the Conference. *Hegesianax* and *Lysias* were also there; the same, who had lately brought from *Titus* those peremptory Conditions, which the Embassadors present shall expound unto their Master. After a few daies *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment between him and these *Romans*, was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the business in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliver back unto *Ptolomy* those Towns of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that very earnestly, That he must also give up the Towns of late belonging unto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the *Romans*, as to let *Antiochus* enjoy the profit of that war, wherein they had laboured so much, and he done nothing? Further he warned the King, that he should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally he demanded of him, upon what reason he was come over with so great an Army into *Europe*; for that other cause of his journey there was none probable, than a purpose to make war upon the *Romans*? To this the King made answer, That he wondred why the *Romans* should so trouble themselves, with thinking upon the matters of *Asia*: wherewith he prayed them to let him alone: even as he, without such curiosity, suffered them to do in *Italy* what they thought good. As for his coming over into *Europe*: they saw well enough what business had drawn him thither; namely the war against the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lysimachia*, and the recovery of Towns to him belonging, in *Thrace*, and *Chersonesus*. Now concerning his title unto that country, He derived it from *Seleucus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victory against *Lysimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controversie between him and the other Kings, had been still of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Egyptians*; but had been seized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at such time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countries, were hindred by multiplicity of business, from looking unto all that was their own. Finally he willed them, neither to stand in fear of him, as if he intended ought against them

from *Lysimachia*; since it was his purpose to bestow this City upon one of his Sons, that should reign therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in *Asia*; either against the free Cities, or against the King of *Egypt*; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding unto himself, and to joyn ere long with *Ptolomy*, not only in friendship, but in a bond of near affinity. *Cornelius* having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refute it, would needs hear further, what the Embassadors of *Smyrna* and of *Lampsacus*, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Embassadors of *Lampsacus* being called in, began a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Judges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace, forasmuch as he had not chosen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators between him and them.

Thus the Treaty held some few dayes, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, having not laid their complaints in such sort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the war by them intended: nor yet having purpose to depart well satisfied, and thereby to corroborate the present peace, were doubtful how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boistrous *Galle-Greeks*, pretend only the goodness of their swords: nor yet over-modestly, to retain among the *Greeks* an opinion of their justice, forbear the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was weary of these tedious guests; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came news, without any certain author, That *Ptolomy* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into *Egypt*: *Antiochus* to take possession of the Kingdom, and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and set the Country in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* Embassador both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolomy*: which gave him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his *Egyptian* voyage. Both he, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leave to depart all together: and the King forthwith made ready, to be in *Egypt* with the first. To his Son *Seleucus* he committed his Army, and left him to oversee the building of *Lysimachia*: but all his Sea-forces he took along with him, and sailed unto *Ephesus*. Thence he sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*: whom he requested to deal with him in this matter of peace, after such sort as might stand with honesty and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage, he was perfectly informed that *Ptolomy* was alive. This made him bear another way from *Egypt*: and afterwards a tempest, with a grievous shipwrack, made him without any further attempt on the way, glad to have safely recovered his Port of *Selucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintered: secure as might appear, of the *Roman* war.

But the *Romans* had not so done with him. During the Treaty at *Lysimachia*, (at least-wise not long before or after it) one of their Embassadors that had been sent unto the *Macedonian*, gave him counsel, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to rest contented with the peace which was granted unto him by the *Romans*, but to desire society with them, whereby they should be bound to have the same friends and enemies. And this he advised him to do quickly, before the War brake out with *Antiochus*: lest otherwise he might seem, to have awaited some fit occasion of taking Arms again. They who dealt thus plainly, did not mean to be satisfied with weak excuses. In like manner some of the *Greeks*, were solicited; and particularly the *Ætolians*, That constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the people of *Rome*. It was needless to say plainly whereto this entreaty tended: the froward answer made by the *Ætolians*, declares them to have well understood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the victory, as they had been during the War. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promised unto them: upbraiding withal the *Romans*, as men to them beholding: not only for their victory over *Philip*, but even for helping them to set foot in *Greece*, which else they never could have done. Hereto the *Roman* gave gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to do, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and utter their griefs: and then should all be well.

Such care took the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their War intended against *Antiochus*. The fame hereof arriving at *Carthage*, gave matter unto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to pick a thank of the *Roman* Senate, and to chase out of their City this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his vertue against them in the Civil administration: and given them

them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the ſway in *Carthage:* holding their places during life; and having ſubject unto them, the lives, goods, and fame of all the reſt. Neither did they uſe this their power with moderation: but conſpired in ſuch wiſe together, that who ſo offended any of them, ſhould have them all to be his enemies: which being once known, He was ſure to be ſoon accuſed and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the City, *Hannibal* was choſen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though he was ſuperior unto them during that year: yet had it not been their manner to bear much regard unto ſuch an annual Magiſtrate, as at the years end muſt be accountable to them, if ought were laid unto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore ſending for one of the Queſtors, or Officers of the Treaſury, to come and ſpeak with him: the proud Queſtor ſet lightly thereby, and would not come: For he was of the adverſe Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to be choſen into the Order of Judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the ſpirit of future Greatneſs. But he had not to do with ſuch a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* ſent for him by a Purſivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publick aſſembly of the people. There he not only ſhewed what the undutiful ſtubbornneſs of this Queſtor had been; but how unſufferable the inſolency of all the Judges at the preſent was: whoſe unbridled power made them to regard neither Laws nor Magiſtrates. To this Oration when he perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and favourable; He forthwith propounded a Law, which paſſed with the general good liking; That the Judges ſhould be choſen from year to year, and no one man be continued in that Office two years together. If this Law had been paſſed, before he paſſed over *Iberus:* it would not perhaps have been in the power of *Hanno*, to have brought him unto neceſſity of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were fain to levie by Taxation laid upon the whole Commonalty, as wanting money in their publike Treaſury, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needful charges. *Hannibal* conſidering this, began to examine the publicke Revenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treaſurie, by waies and means whatſoever: and in what ſort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Common-wealth did not exhauſt the Treaſury: but that wicked Magiſtrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greateſt part of the moneys to their own uſe, were thereby fain to load the people with needleſs burdens. Hereof he made ſuch plain demonſtration, That theſe Robbers of the common Treaſure were compelled to reſtore, with ſhame, what they had gotten by knavery: and ſo the *Carthaginians* were freed from the neceſſity of making ſuch poor ſhifts, as formerly they had uſed, when they knew not the value of their own Eſtate. But as the vertue of *Hannibal* was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: ſo they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, ſince the making of the peace until now, little regarded him, began to rage extreamly: as being by him ſtript of their ill-gotten goods and ill-employed authority, both at once, even when they thought themſelves to have been in full poſſeſſion of the vanquiſhed *Carthage*. Wherefore they ſent letters to their friends at *Rome:* wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew ſtrong again, and *Hannibal* would ſhortly be in arms. Queſtionleſs, if oppreſſing the City by injuſtice, and robbing the Treaſury, were the only way to hold *Carthage* in peace with *Rome:* theſe Enemies to the *Barchines* might well cry out, That having done their beſt already to keep all in quiet, they ſaw none other likelihood than of War. But having no other matter to alledge, than their own inventions: they ſaid, That *Hannibal* was like unto a wild beaſt, which would never be tamed; That ſecret meſſages paſt between him, and King *Antiochus:* and that he was wont to complain of idleneſs, as if it were harmful to *Carthage*; with what elſe to like effect they could imagine. Theſe accuſations they directed not unto the Senate: but addreſſing their letters craftily, every one to the beſt of his own friends at *Rome*, and ſuch as were Senators; they wrought ſo well, that neither pulicke notice of their Conſpiracy was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authority of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpoſe. Only *P. Scipio* is ſaid to have admoniſhed the *Fathers*, that they ſhould not thus diſhonourably ſubſcribe, and become ſeconds to the accuſers of *Hannibal:* as if they would oppreſs, by ſuborning or countenancing falſe witneſſes againſt him; the man, againſt whom in war they had not of long time prevailed, nor uſed their victory in ſuch baſe manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not

not all so great minded as *Scipio*: they wished for some such advantage against *Hannibal*; and were glad to have found it. Three Embassadors they sent over to *Carthage*, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*: whose very names imports sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These having past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming: and being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gave out, That they were sent to end some controversies, between the *Carthaginians* and *Masanissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espial upon the *Romans*, that he knew their meaning well enough: against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to say, That he escaped them by flight: but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Having openly shewed himself, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly. He went forth of the Town when it began to wax dark, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though such as he might well trust. He had appointed Horses to be in a readiness at a certain place: whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his own by the Sea-side. There had he a ship furnished withall things needful; as having long expected the necessity of some such journey. So he bade *Africk* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Country, more than his own. Passing over to the Isle of *Cercina*; He found there in the Haven some Merchants ships of *Carthage*. They saluted him respectively: and the chief among them began to enquire, whither he was bound. He said He went Embassadour to *Tyre*: and that he intended there in the Island to make a Sacrifice; whereto he invited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Ships. It was hot weather: and therefore he would needs hold his Feast upon the shore; where, because there wanted covert, He made them bring thither all their Sails and Yards to be used instead of Tents. They did so; and feasted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there asleep: and putting to Sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, He was sure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make haste to send any news of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embassadour: neither could they, without some loss of time, such of them as made most speed homeward, get away from *Cercina*; being busied a while in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the miss of so great a person was diversly construed. Some guessed aright, that he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came news where he had been seen; and then the *Roman* Embassadors, having none other errand thither, accused him (with an evil grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they only discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of the Senate: missing the while their purpose, and causing men to understand, that he fled not thus without great reason,

Hannibal coming to *Tyre*, the Mother-City of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reason of affinity between their Cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went he to *Antioch*; and, finding the King departed, visited his Son in *Daphne*: who friendly welcomed him, and sent him unto his Father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly rejoyced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: so had the *Romans* no great cause to be therefore sorry: otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discovery of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Country. For it would not prove alike easie unto this great Commander to make stout Souldiers of base *Asiatiques*; as it had been by his training and dicipline, to make very serviceable and skilful men of War of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, and other Nations, that were hardy, though unexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithall considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baseness of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would be far more powerful in making unprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*, now a desolate and banished man, than had been the villany of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in those actions, wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would only help to ennoble the *Roman* Victory: or if it further served to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him less careful to avoid the war; then should it further serve, to justifie the *Romans* in their quarrel. And it seems indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a fair pretence of making war. For *Antiochus*, as is said before, having newly sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable,

bable, that he had any meaning to take Arms, unleſs by meer violence he were thereto inforced. Only the *Ætolians* were greatly ſuſpected, as a turbulent people, deſirous of innovation, and therefore practiſing with this Great King; whom they wiſhed to ſee among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appeaſe them; they had of late been anſwered with gentle words by one of the ten Counſellers, That the Senate would grant them whatſoever with reaſon they ſhould ask. But this promiſe was too large, and unadviſed. For when their Embaſſadors came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing: but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who favoured them leaſt. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themſelves, otherwiſe than by ſpeaking ſuch words, as might haſten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very ſhame, who had no deſire to be thence gone.

The daily talk at *Rome*, was, of War with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leave the Country. For the *Ætolians* were wont to upbraid the reſt of the *Greeks* with the vain liberty which the *Romans* had proclaimed, ſaying, That theſe their Deliverers had lain heavier Fetters upon them, than formerly they did wear; but yet brighter and fairer than thoſe of the *Macedonian*: likewiſe, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the Legs of the *Greeks* their chain, & tie it about their Necks. There was indeed no cauſe of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* had made no delay, in accompliſhment of that which was laid upon him: all the Towns of *Greece* were at liberty, and the whole Country at peace, both with the *Romans*, and within it ſelf. As for *Antiochus*, He made it his daily ſuit, That the Peace between him and *Rome*, ſuch as it was, might be confirmed and ſtrengthened by a League of more aſſurance. Nevertheleſs, *T. Quintius* would needs fear that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to ſeize upon *Greece*, as ſoon as he and his Army were thence departed. And in this regard, he retained ſtill in his own hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrius*, and the *Acrocorinthus*: by benefit of which Towns he might the better withſtand the dangerous Invaſion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suitable unto the doings of *Quintius*, were the reports of the ten Embaſſadors, that had been ſent over to aſſiſt him: when they returned back into the City. *Antiochus*, they ſaid, would queſtionleſs fall upon *Greece*: wherein he ſhould find not only the *Ætolians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to do ſomewhat againſt theſe their ſuſpected Enemies: eſpecially againſt *Nabis*, who could worſt make reſiſtance: whileſt *Antiochus* was far away in *Syria*, and not intentive to his buſineſs. Theſe reports went not only current through the City among the Vulgar; but found ſuch credit with the chief of the Senate, that in the following year, againſt which time it was expected that *Antiochus* ſhould be ready to take his great enterpriſe in hand: *P. Cornelius Scipio* the *African*, deſired, and obtained, a ſecond Conſulſhip, with intention to be General in the War, againſt the King and his *Hannibal*. For the preſent, the buſineſs with *Nabis* was referred unto *Titus*, to deal with him as he thought good. This would be a fair colour of his longer tarriance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof alſo he knew that many of the *Greeks* would not be ſorry: though for his own part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendſhip with him, two or three years before this, as is already ſhewed, whileſt he had War with *Philip*: and had further been contented for the *Romans* ſake to be at peace with the *Achæans*: neither ſince that time had he done any thing, whereby he ſhould draw upon himſelf this War. He was indeed a deteſtable Tyrant, and hated of the *Achæans*: as one, that beſides his own wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great miſchief. *Titus* therefore had a plauſible Theme whereon to diſcourſe before the Embaſſadors of all the Confederate Cities, which he cauſed to meet for that purpoſe at *Corinth*. He told them that in the War with *Philip*, not only the *Greeks*, but the *Romans* themſelves had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearſed) that ſhould ſtir them up, and cauſe them to be earneſt. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other Intereſt, than only the making perfect of their Honour, in ſetting all *Greece* at Liberty: which Noble Action was in ſome ſort maimed, or incompleat, whileſt the Noble City of *Argos* was left in ſubjection to a Tyrant that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the *Greeks*, duly to conſider, whether they thought the deliverance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be undertaken: or whether otherwiſe to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this work in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greeks* themſelves.

themſelves. The *Athenian* Embaſſador made anſwer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleaſing as he could deviſe. He gave thanks to the *Romans* for what was paſt; extolled their Vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their propoſition: wherein unrequeſted they freely made offer to continue that Bounty, which at the vehement requeſt of their poor Aſſociates they had already of late extended unto the *Greeks*. To this he added, That great pity it was to hear ſuch notable Vertue and high Deſerts ill ſpoken of by ſome: which took upon them, out of their own imagination, to foretell what harm theſe their Benefactors meant to do hereafter: when as Thankfulneſs would rather have required an Acknowledgement of the Benefits and Pleaſures already received. Every one found the meaning of this laſt clauſe, which was directly againſt the *Ætolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Ætolian* roſe up, and told the *Athenians* their own: putting them in mind of their antient glory, in thoſe times when their City had been the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recovery of the Liberty general: from which Honour they were now ſo far faln, that they became Paraſites unto thoſe whom they thought moſt mighty; and by their baſe aſſentation, would lead all the reſt into ſervitude. Then ſpake he againſt the *Achæans*, Clients that had been a long time unto the *Macedonian*; and Souldiers of *Philip*, until they ran away from his adverſity. Theſe, he ſaid, had gotten *Corinth*, and muſt now have War be made for their ſakes, to the end that they might alſo be Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Ætolians*, that had firſt made War with *Philip*, and alwayes been Friends unto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of ſome places, antiently to them belonging. Neither did he thus contain himſelf, but objected unto the *Romans*, fraudulent dealing: foraſmuch as they kept their Garriſons in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Acrocorinth*; having been always wont to profeſs, That *Greece* could never be at Liberty, whileſt thoſe places were not free. Alſo now at laſt, what elſe did they ſeek by this diſcourſe of War with *Nabis*, than buſineſſes wherewith to find themſelves occupied, that ſo they might have ſome ſeeming cauſe of abiding longer in the Country? But they ſhould do well, if they meant as they ſpake, to carry their Legions home out of *Greece*, which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*, the *Ætolians* themſelves did promiſe, and would undertake, That they would either cauſe him to yield to reaſon, and relinquiſh *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garriſon; or elſe compell him by force of Arms, to ſubmit himſelf to the good pleaſure of all *Greece*, that was now at unity. Theſe words had been reaſonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common Liberty wrought ſo much with theſe *Ætolians*; as did their own ravenous deſire of oppreſſing others, and getting unto themſelves, that worſe would uſe it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had loſt. Neither could they well diſſemble this; making it no ſmall part of their Grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had been covenanted, That the *Romans* ſhould enjoy the ſpoil of all, but leave the Towns and Lands in poſſeſſion of the *Ætolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thouſand miſchiefs by them done in former times, made the whole Aſſembly, eſpecially the *Achæans*, cry out upon them: entreating the *Romans* to take ſuch order before they went, that not only *Nabis* might be compelled to do right; but the *Ætolian* thieves be enforced to keep home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleaſure of *Titus*: who ſaw, that by diſcountenancing the *Ætolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the reſt. But whether it pleaſed him ſo well that *Antiochus* his Embaſſadors did preſently after lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to ſome good concluſion, it may be greatly doubted. He caſt them off with a ſlight anſwer: telling them, That the ten Embaſſadors or Counſellors which had been ſent unto him from *Rome*, to be his Aſſiſtants in theſe matters of weight, were now returned home; and that without them it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedæmonian* War, it was very ſoon ended. For *Titus* uſed the help of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation againſt *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he ſhould have had to do with *Philip*. Beſides the *Roman* Forces, King *Eumenes* with a Navy, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were invited to the Service: as alſo *Philip* of *Macedon* ſent aid by Land; doing therein poorly, whether it were to get favour of the *Romans*; or whether to make one among the number, in ſeeking Revenge upon *Nabis*, that had done him injury. But the moſt forward in this Expedition were the *Achæans*, who ſet out ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe. As for the *Ætolians*, rather to hold good faſhion, and ſound their diſpoſitions, than in hope to ſpeed, their help was required; whereof they excuſed themſelves as well as they thought beſt. Thus are the

the *Achæans* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; having removed the *Ætolians* from that degree of favour: like as they themſelves hereafter (though not in all haſte) ſhall be ſupplanted of the ſame *Lacedæmonians*, againſt whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argives*, more bold than wiſe, began a conſpiracy againſt the *Lacedæmonians* that held their Town; meaning to open their gates unto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew near, they were all detected and ſlain: excepting a very few, that eſcaped out of the Town. The fame of this Commotion, cauſed the Army to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no ſtir within the Wals: the execution done upon the firſt movers, having terrified all the reſt of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to aſſail *Nabis* in the head of his ſtrength at *Lacedæmon*, than to conſume time about other places; eſpecially at *Argos*: for the freedom whereof ſince the War was made, pity it were, that the calamities of the War ſhould thereon fall moſt heavily.

Nabis had in readineſs an Army of fifteen thouſand, wherewith to defend himſelf againſt theſe Invaders. Five thouſand of them were Mercenaries: the reſt, of his own Countrey; but ſuch as were of all others the worſt, as manumiſed ſlaves, malefactors and baſe Peaſants, unto whom his Tyrannie was beneficial. Of the goood and worthy Citizens he ſtood in doubt; and ſince he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by fear. He called them all to an aſſembly, and compaſſing them round in with his Army, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themſelves; they might, he ſaid, hope the better to withſtand the common Enemy. But foraſmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occaſions, to raiſe tumults, and work dangerous treaſons: it ſeemed unto him the ſafeſt, and (withal) the mildeſt courſe, to arreſt before hand, and put in ward, all thoſe whom he found moſt reaſon to ſuſpect. So ſhould he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preſerve not only the City and his own perſon from danger, but them alſo from the puniſhment, which elſe they might have incurred. Hereupon he cites and apprehends about fourſcore of them; whom he leads away to priſon, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was he ſure that they neither ſhould offend, nor yet break looſe. As for the death of them, if it ſhould happen to be noiſed abroad: what could it elſe do than terrifie the people; who muſt thereby underſtand, that it was a mortal crime to be ſuſpected? And to the ſame purpoſe his cruelty extended it ſelf unto ſome poor wretches: whom he accuſed of a meaning to flie to the Enemy. Theſe were openly whipt through all the ſtreets, and ſlain. Having thus affrighted the Citizens: He turned the more freely, all his thoughts toward the Enemy, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a ſally: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Town had the better at firſt; but were at length repelled with loſs. *Titus* abode not many dayes before *Sparta*: but over-ran the Country; hoping belike to provoke the Tyrant forth to battail. The *Roman* Fleet at the ſame time with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, laid ſiege unto *Gyttheum*, the only or principal Town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to have taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treaſon. There were two Governours within the Town equal in authority: whereof the one, either for fear, or deſire of reward, had a purpoſe to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being ſomewhat more faithful, ſlue the Traitor; after whoſe death, he himſelf alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Army came thither to *Gyttheum*: this Captain of the Town had not the heart to abide the uttermoſt, and await what either Time or his Maſter might do for him, but was contented to give up the place, yet upon Condition, to depart in ſafety to *Sparta* with his Garriſon. *Pythagoras*, the Son-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother unto his Wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Government, with a thouſand Souldiers Mercenaries, and two thouſand *Argives*: it being (as may ſeem) the Tyrants purpoſe, to relieve *Gyttheum*: which he thought would have held longer out. But when they heard that it was loſt, then began they to think upon finiſhing the War, by ſome reaſonable Compoſition. *Pythagoras* therefore was ſent his Embaſſador to *Titus*: requeſting only that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and ſpeak with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant ſpake very reaſonable for himſelf: proving, that he ſuffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments: whereof the ſum was, That whatſoever they now did, or could object unto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon the inferred, That neither for his keeping the Town of *Argos*, nor for any other cauſe by them

alledged, they ought to make war upon him, ſince *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatſoever, had not hindered them, in time of their own need of him, from entring into that League with him: which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith ſatisfied. He charged him with tyranny: and gave inſtance, as eaſily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points foraſmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guilty, before they made Peace and Confederacy with him; it was expedient, that ſome other cauſe of this Invaſion ſhould be alledged. Whereto he ſaid further, That this Tyrant had occupied *Meſſene*, a Town Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to join with *Philip*; when he was their enemy, not only in League, but alſo in affinity: and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ſhips, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracy, ſince in the Articles by *Titus* propounded unto *Nabis*, there was no reſtitution mentioned, other than of ſhips, by him taken from the *Greeks* his neighbours, with home he had long held war: it may ſeem to have been objected, only by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of thoſe complaints, that were otherwiſe very frivolous. As for *Meſſene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made between the *Romans* and this Tyrant: and therefore not to have been mentioned. All this it ſeems that *Ariſtænus*, the Prætor of the *Achæans*, very well perceived: who therefore doubting leſt the *Romans* (that were wont to talk ſo much of their own juſtice, honour, and faithfull dealing) ſhould now relent, and forbear to moleſt him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had never done them wrong: framed his diſcourſe to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to conſider well of his own eſtate: and to ſettle his fortunes, whileſt he might do it without hazzard: alledging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to ſurrender their Eſtates, and lived in great ſecurity, honour, and happineſs, as private men. Thus they diſcourſed until night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquiſh *Argos*; and requeſted them, to deliver unto him in writing their other commands, that he might take counſel with his friends. The iſſue of all was, that, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates muſt be, for maintenance of an Army to lie in Leaguer all that Winter (as there was no hope of making ſhort work) before the City of *Sparta*: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, upon ſuch Conditions as *Titus* ſhould think meet. Beſides the reſtitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending; *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and ſome of them very grievous. He would not ſuffer the *Lacedæmonian* to have ought to do in the Iſle of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war, either in that Iſland or elſewhere; not to build any Town or Caſtle upon his own Lands: not to keep any other ſhipping, than two ſmall Barks; beſides many other troubleſome injunctions; with impoſition of an hundred talents in ſilver to be paid out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for eight years next enſuing. For obſervance of theſe Covenants he demanded five hoſtages, ſuch as he himſelf ſhould name; and one of them to be the Tyrants own Son. If it had been the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the war from *Nabis*, becauſe it was not grounded upon juſtice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himſelf did offer, though it were for fear, to deliver up. But if it were thought reaſonable, to diſpenſe a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the ſtate of their beſt friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this Tyranny: then ſhould this enterpriſe, when once it was taken in hand, have been proſecuted unto the very utmoſt. As for this middle courſe which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable unto them, to enrich themſelves by the ſpoil of one that had not offended them; nor pleaſing to the *Achæans*, who judged it ever after a great blemiſh to the noble acts of *Titus*: ſo did it miniſter unto the *Ætolians*, and to ſuch as curiouſly pried into the faults of thoſe which took upon them to be Patrons of *Greece*, no barren ſubject of malicious diſcourſe. For ſince *Philip*, a King, and deſcended of many famous Kings, might not be ſuffered by theſe Maſterly *Romans*, to hold any one of thoſe Countreys or Towns in *Greece*, that had belonged unto his Anceſtors: it was thought very ſtrange, that *Lacedæmon*, once the moſt famous City among all the *Greeks*, was by the ſame *Romans* left in poſſeſſion of a Tyrant, that had uſurped it but yeſterday; and he therein rooted by their authority, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other ſide thought himſelf unmercifully dealt withall, by the ſelf-ſame *Romans*, whoſe amity he had prefered in time of a doubtfull war, before the love and affinity

affinity of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the City of *Argos* into his hands. But falsly had he dealt with the *Macedonian*: and fasly was he dealt with by those, to whom he did betake himself. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him, save only that for the banished *Lacedæmonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Camp; having among them *Agesipolis* the natural King of *Sparta*, that being a young child was driven out by *Lycurgus* the first of the Tyrants) there was made no provision, to have them restored unto their City and Estates; but only leave required for as many of their wives, as would be so contented, to live abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to give consent unto these demands; and sustained an assault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would soon be weary. But his fearful nature shortly overcame the resolution, which the sense of these injuries had put into him. So yielding unto all that had been propounded, He delivered the hostages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the *Romans* far more wicked than himself; and was ready upon the first advantage, to do them all the mischief that he could.

The *Argives* had heard news that *Lacedæmon* was even at point of being taken. This erected them, and gave them heart to think upon their own good. So they adventured to set upon the Garrison; which was much weakened, by the remove of the three thousand carried thence by *Pythagoras* to help the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed unto their liberty no more, than that all of them jointly should set their hands to the getting of it, which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came *T. Quintius* to *Argos*, where he was joyfully welcomed. He was deservedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had laid hold without staying for him; and that he might the better entitle himself thereto, he caused the liberty of the *Argives* to be proclaimed at the *Nemæan* games; as ratifying it by his authority. The City was annexed again to the Councel of *Achaia*; whereby the *Achæans* were not more strengthened, than the *Argives* themselves were secured from danger of relapse, into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, *Titus* found little business or none wherewith to set on work his Army in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to send another Embassage to *Rome*, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly disposed unto quiet, *Scipio* the *African*, that was chosen Consul at *Rome*, could not have his desire, of being sent Commander into *Greece*. The unsincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the *Ætolians*, were held as considerations worthy of regard: yet not sufficient causes of making war. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of confuting the *Ætolians*, and of throughly perswading all the *Greeks* (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to assure unto themselves the patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Country was their sole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it self, till occasion should be ripe, and call them over again. Wherefore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any near distance appearing, he called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that passed since his coming into those parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsel; touching the moderate use of their liberty, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably and without faction. Lastly he gave up *Acrocorinthus* to the *Achæans*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garrison, and promising to do the like (which very soon he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that so it might be known, what lyars the *Ætolians* were, who had accused the *Romans*, of a purpose to retain those places. With joyful acclamations did the *Greeks* testifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had said and done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to ransome and enlarge all *Romans*, that had been sold into their Countrey by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* Crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happy end: and by leaving the Countrey before his departure was urged, left therein behind him the memory of his vertue and benefits, untainted by jealousie and suspition of any evil meaning. At his coming to the City, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodliest of all that *Rome* had until that day beheld. Three daies together the shew of the pomp continued: as being set out with the spoils of a Countrey, more abundant in things worthy of such a spectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made War. All sorts of

Arms, with Statues and curious pieces of Braſs or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the firſt daies Pageant. The ſecond day, was brought in all the treaſure of Gold and Silver: Some in the rude Maſs unwrought; ſome in divers ſorts of Coin; and ſome in Veſſels of ſundry kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanſhip. Among theſe were ten ſhields, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himſelf entered the City in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteen Crowns of Gold, beſtowed upon him by divers Cities. There were alſo led the beaſts for Sacrifice, the Priſoners, and the hoſtages: among which, *Demetrius* the Son of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the Son of *Nabis*, were principal. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking to the ſhew) the *Roman* Captives, by his procurement redeemed from ſlavery in *Greece*.

Not long after this triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embaſſages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Aſia*. They had all very favourable anſwers, excepting thoſe of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not hear, but referred over to *T. Quintius*, and the ten that had been his Counſellors; becauſe their buſineſs was ſaid to be ſomewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embaſſadors wondered. They ſaid unto *Titus* and his Aſſociates, that they could not diſcern wherein conſiſted any perplexity of their meſſage. For all treaties of peace and friendſhip, were either between the Victor and the vanquiſhed; between thoſe, that having warred together, were upon equal terms of advantage; or between thoſe that had lived alwaies in good agreement, without any quarrel. Unto the Victor, they ſaid, that the vanquiſhed muſt yield; and patiently endure the impoſition of ſome Covenants, that elſe might ſeem unreaſonable. Where War had been made, and no advantage gotten: there was it uſual to demand and make reſtitutions of things and places claimed, gotten or loſt; accordingly as both parts could agree. But between thoſe which had never fallen out, there ought no Conditions of eſtabliſhing friendſhip to be propoſed: ſince it was reaſonable, that each part ſhould hold their own; and neither carry it ſelf as ſuperiour to the other, in preſcribing ought that might be troubleſome. Now of this laſt kind, was the league and friendſhip that had been ſo long in concluſion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being ſo: they held it ſtrange, that the *Romans* ſhould thus inſiſt on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to preſcribe unto the King, what Cities of *Aſia* he ſhould let at liberty; from what Cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting or not putting his Garriſons into them, as the Senate ſhould think fit. Hereto *Quintius* anſwered, that ſince they went ſo diſtinctly to work, He would alſo do the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two Conditions, and gave them their choice whether to except: Either that it ſhould be lawful for the *Romans* to take part in *Aſia* with any that would ſeek their friendſhip; Or if King *Antiochus* miſliked this, and would have them forbear to meddle in *Aſia*, that then he ſhould abandon whatſoever he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plain dealing, but no reaſonable nor pertinent anſwer, to that which the Kings Embaſſadors had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abſtain from *Aſia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately won in *Europe*: then did not the affairs of *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, or any other *Aſiatiques*, whom they were pleaſed to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make War with a King that ſought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great ſhame be ſo baſe, as to deliver up unto them the City of *Lyſimachia*, whereon he had of late been at ſo much coſt; in building it up even from the foundation, and repeopling it with Inhabitants, that had all been diſperſed, or captive to the *Barbarians*. And ſo much the Embaſſadors with great indignation alledged: ſaying, That *Antiochus* deſired friendſhip of the *Romans*; but ſo, as it might ſtand with his honour. Now in point of honour the *Romans* took upon them as if their cauſe were far the ſuperior. For it was, they ſaid, their purpoſe to ſet at liberty thoſe Towns which the King would oppreſs and hold in ſubjection: eſpecially ſince thoſe Towns were of *Greekiſh* blood and language; and fell, in that regard under the patronage which *Rome* had afforded unto all *Greece* beſides. By this colour they might ſoon have left *Antiochus* King of not many ſubjects on the hither ſide of *Euphrates*. Neither did they forbear to ſay, That unleſs he would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not only to protect thoſe which relied upon them in *Aſia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be underſtood) with ſuch as were his ſubjects. Wherefore they urged his Embaſſadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of theſe two Conditions their King would accept. For lack of a

pleaſing

pleasing answer, which the Embassadours could not hereto make, little wanted of giving presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to be intreated, and were contented once again to send over *P. Villius*, and others that had been already with the King at *Lysimachia*; by whom they might receive a final answer, whether these demands made by *Quintius* and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitless Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two years; or thereabouts, to prepare for War; finding in the *Romans* all that while, no disposition to let him live in peace.

§. V.

Of the long Wars which the Romans *had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of* M. Portius Cato. *Injuries done by* Masanissa *to the Carthaginians, that sue to the Romans for justice in vain.*

THE *Insubrians*, *Bojians*, and other of the *Cisalpine Gaules*, together with the *Ligurians*; made often and (in a manner) continual war upon the *Romans* in *Italy*, even from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, untill such time as they themselves were utterly subdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almost at the very height of the Empire. These Nations, having served under *Mago* for wages, and afterwards having gotten *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, to be Leader unto them all, as hath already been shewed; by this their fellowship in Arms, grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldome afterwards either the *Gaules* or *Ligurians* did stir alone: but that their Companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the *Romans* first prevailed, and got large possession in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lumbardie*: it hath been long since rehearsed between the first and second *Punick* Wars. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Country, by means of *Hannibal* his passage there through. Neither is it likely that the re-conquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the *Romans*, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this war, had not been distracted by the *Ligurians*: that alwaies made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backs. The *Ligurians* were a stout Nation, light and swift of body; well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight again. Their Countrey was mountainous, rough, woody, and full of straight and dangerous passages. Few good Towns they had: but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither be taken or besieged. They were also very poor; and had little or nothing that might give contentment unto a victorious Army that should spoil their Land. In these respects, they served excellently well to train up the *Roman* Souldiers to hardness and military patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of War) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrel to *Rome*, grew partly from their love unto the *Gaules*, their neighbours and companions: partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territory of their borderers, that were subject unto *Rome*. But their obstinate continuance in the War which they had begun, seems to have been grounded upon the Condition of all Salvages: To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Judgement: and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formal conclusions of peace, as ought to hinder them from using their advantage; or taking revenge of injuries when they return to mind. This quality is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Wars between them and any of their neighbours, do use commonly this answer, *It hath still been the custome for us and them, to fight one against the other.*

Divers overthrows, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gave unto the *Romans*: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they sought peace, when they found themselves in distress, and brake it again as often, when they thought it profitable so to do. The best was, that as their Countrey was a good place of exercise unto the *Romans*, so out of their own Countrey they did little harm: not sending any great Armies far from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make War, save on their own ground.

The Country of *Spain*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italy* that became subject unto the *Romans*: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and throughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers unto an Oxe-hide: and the *Romans* found in it the property of that Oxe-hide which *Calanus* the *Indian* shewed unto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For treading

treading upon any ſide of it, the further parts would riſe from the ground. And thus was it with *Spain*. Seldom did it happen that thoſe parts from which the *Roman* Armies lay fartheſt, were not up in rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a very hard Nation, and eaſily ſtirred up to arms; but had not much knowledge in the art of war, nor any good Captains. They wanted alſo (which was their princial hinderance) good intelligence among themſelves: and being divided into many ſmall Signiories, that had little other communion than of language, they ſeldom or never provided in general for the common good of their Country; but made it their chief care, each of them to look unto their own Territory. Such private reſpects made them often to fall aſunder, when many had united themſelves together, for chaſing out of the *Romans*. And theſe were the cauſes of their often overthrows: as deſire of liberty, rather then complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cauſe of their often taking arms.

The *Carthaginians* had been accuſtomed, to make evaculation of this Cholerick *Spaniſh* humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in their wars abroad, thoſe that were moſt likely to be unquiet at home. They had alſo taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and uſed them in another: finding means to pay them all, out of the profits which they raiſed upon the whole Countrey; as being far better huſbands, and of more dexterity than were the *Romans*, in that kind. But contrariwiſe, the *Romans*, uſing the ſervice of their own Legions, and of their ſure friends the *Latines*, had little buſineſs for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were fain to have much buſineſs with them. *Spain* was too far diſtant, and withall too great for them to ſend over Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the courſe that they took in *Italy*. Wherefore it remained, that they ſhould alwaies maintain ſuch Armies in the Countrey, as might ſerve to hold in obedience perforce; and ſuch heedful Captains as might be ſtill ready to oppoſe the *Barbarians* in their firſt Commotion. This they did, and thereby held the Countrey; though ſeldome in peace.

Very ſoon after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raiſed War in *Spain* againſt the *Romans*, even upon the ſame general ground that was the foundation of all the *Spaniſh* Wars following. It was thought unreaſonable, that the *Spaniards* ſhould one while help the *Carthaginians* againſt the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*; baſely forgetting to help themſelves againſt thoſe that were ſtrangers, yet uſurped the Dominion over them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behind him in that Country, being well acquainted with the manner of War in thoſe parts, ſuppreſſed this rebellion by many Victories: and, together with ſubjection, brought peace upon the Countrey; which laſted five years. This Victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the War: yet left it ſtill remaining the cauſe of the War; which after five years brake out again. The *Spaniards* fought a battel with the *Roman* Proconſul, whom they ſlew; and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy ſucceſs of their Wars in *Greece*, made the *Romans* think it enough to ſend thither two Prætors, and with each of them ſome two Legions. Theſe did ſomewhat: yet not ſo much, but that *M. Portius Cato*, who was Conſul the year following, and ſent into that Province; found at his coming little leſs to do, than the reconquering of all *Spain*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one mind: ſome were faithful to *Rome*; and ſome were idle beholders of the pains that others took. Yet when *Cato* had won a great Victory upon the chiefeſt of them; they roſe againſt him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him unto much new trouble. Whileſt he was about to make a journey againſt thoſe that were as yet unſubdued: ſome of the lately vanquiſhed, were even ready to rebell. He therefore diſarmed them; which they took ſo heavily, that many of them ſlew themſelves for very grief. Hearing of this, and well underſtanding that ſuch deſperation might work dangerous effects: He called unto him the principal among them: and commending unto them peace and quietneſs, which they never had diſturbed but unto their own great loſs, He prayed them to deviſe what courſe might be taken for holding them aſſured unto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would give counſel in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of Subject; He gave expreſs charge, That upon a day appointed they ſhould throw down the walls of all their Towns. Afterwards he carryed the war about from place to place; and with ſingular induſtry finiſhed it in ſhort time. Neither thought he it any diſgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an Army of the *Celtiberians*, againſt other of their Countrymen:

Countrymen: excuſing the indignity, ſuch as it ſeemed, with a jeſt, That if he were vanquiſhed and ſlain, then ſhould he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, He could pay them with the enemies money. Finally, He brought the War to ſo good end, that in long time after, though *Spain* were often troubleſome, yet was it in no danger of being loſt. He increaſed alſo the publick Revenues in that Province, by cauſing ſome Mines of Iron and Silver to be wrought, that had before lain unregarded. Herein he did benefit the Common-wealth by a vertue much agreeable to his own peculiar diſpoſition.

For this *M. Cato* was not only very notable in the Art of war, which might well be then termed the occupation of the *Romans*; but ſo well furniſhed with all other uſefull qualities, that very little was wanting in him which might ſeem requiſite to the accompliſhment of a perfect man. He was very ſkilful in the *Roman* Laws, a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in any buſineſs either private or publick. Many books he wrote; whereof the principal were, of the *Roman* Antiquities, and of Huſbandry. In matter of Huſbandry he was notable, and thereby moſt increaſed his ſubſtance; being of mean birth, and the firſt of his houſe. Strong of body he was, and exceeding temperate: ſo as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which moſt commended him unto the better ſort of the *Romans*, was his great ſincerity of life, abſtinence from bribes, and faſhioning himſelf to the antient laudable Cuſtomes of the City: Herein he had merited ſingular commendations, if the vehemency of his nature had not cauſed him to maligne the vertue of that noble *Scipio* the *African*, and ſome other worthy men; that were no leſs honeſt than himſelf, through far leſs rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwiſe, He was a very good Citizen, and one of ſuch temper, that he could faſhion himſelf to all occaſions; as if he were never out of his Element. He loved buſineſs ſo well, or rather hated vice ſo earneſtly; that even unto the end of his life, He was exerciſed in defending himſelf or accuſing others. For at the age of fourſcore and ſix years, he pleaded in his own defence: and four years after, he accuſed *Sergius Galba* unto the people. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his family; which ended in his great grand-child *M. Cato* the *Vtican*: one that being of like vertue and fervency, had all his good purpoſes daſht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of ſuch nobility and greatneſs as this his Anceſtor had continually vexed.

The *Spaniſh* Wars, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrey, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many: and the Country ſeldom free from inſurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Prætors therefore, of which two every year were ſent over Commanders into *Spain* (that was divided into Governments) did rarely fail of ſuch work, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One ſlew thirteen thouſand *Spaniards* in a battle: another took fifty Towns: and a third enforced many States of the Country to ſue for peace. Thus every one of them, or moſt of them, did ſome laudable ſervice; and yet ſo, that commonly there were of men, towns, and people, new that rebelled, inſtead of the old that were ſlain, taken, or reclaimed. At the cauſes hereof, I have already pointed; and therefore think it enough to ſay, That the buſineſs in *Spain* required not the imployment of a *Roman* Conſul, from ſuch time as *Cato* thence departed, untill the *Numantian* War broke out, which was very long after.

In all other Countries to the Weſt of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but ſo had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* Houſe promiſed all felicity which *Rome* could grant, unto themſelves and their obedient City: *Maſaniſſa* fell to diſputing with the ſword, about the title to the beſt part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitful Region about the leſſer *Syrtis*: wherein, among other Cities, was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent unto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Countrey the *Numidian* challenged, and by winning ſome part of it, ſeemed to better his claim unto the whole. He had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any War, without leave obtained from their Maſters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redreſs, than by ſending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And ſurely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Judges had been impartial. For beſides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds, had left them the poſſeſſion of this Country: *Maſaniſſa* himſelf, now very lately purſuing a Rebel that fled out of his Kingdom, deſired leave of the *Carthaginians*, for himſelf to paſs through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwiſe been queſtionable) that the Country was theirs. This notwithſtanding, *Maſaniſſa* had wherewith to juſtifie his

his proceedings, eſpecially unto the *Roman* Senate. He gave the *Fathers* to underſtand by his Embaſſadours, what faithleſs people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately been ſent unto them from *Hannibal*, one that ſhould perſwade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined upon ſome ſuſpition of his errand; yet neither arreſting him nor his ſhip, had thereby afforded him means to eſcape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, that certainly it was their purpoſe to rebell; and therefore good policy to keep them down.

As for the Countrey of *Emporia*: it had alwaies, he ſaid, been theirs that were able to hold it by ſtrong hand: and ſo belonged ſometime unto the *Numidian* Kings: though now of late it was in poſſeſſion of the *Carthaginians*. But if the truth were known, the Citizens of *Carthage* had not any very warrantable title unto any more ground, than that whereon their City ſtood: or ſcarcely to ſo much. For they were no better than ſtrangers in *Africk*, that had gotten leave there to build upon ſo much ground, as they could encompaſs with an Oxe hide cut into ſmall thongs. Whatſoever they held without ſuch a compaſs, was purchaſed by fraud, and wrongfull encroachments. This conſidered, *Maſaniſſa* requeſted of the Senate, that they would not adjudge unto ſuch uſurpers, the Countrey ſometimes appertaining to the Anceſtors of him their aſſured friend. The *Romans* having heard theſe allegations on both ſides, found the matter ſo doubtful, that they could not on the ſudden tell what to determine. Wherefore, becauſe they would do nothing raſhly: they ſent over three Embaſſadours, of whom *P. Scipio* the *African* was one and the chief, to decide the controverſie: yet ſecretly giving them inſtructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embaſſadors followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely, that *Maſaniſſa* with a ſtrong Army ſhould quickly prevail againſt thoſe that could no more than talk of their right, and exclaim againſt the wrong. By ſuch Arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not only from ſtirring in favour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any diſpoſition: but were prepared by little and little, unto their final deſtruction: that came upon them, when the *Romans* had leiſure to expreſs the utmoſt of their hatred.

§. VI.

The Ætolians labour to provoke Antiochus, Philip, *and* Nabis, *to War upon the* Romans, *by whom they hold themſelves wronged and diſgraced.* Nabis *beſiegeth* Gytheum, *and waſting ſome part of* Achæa. *The exact skill of* Philopœmen *in advantage of ground: whereby he utterly vanquiſheth* Nabis. Antiochus *being denied peace of the* Romans, *joyns with the* Ætolians. *The* Ætolians *ſurprize* Demetrias; *and by killing* Nabis, *their Confederate, ſeize upon* Sparta. *But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at* Philopœmen *his perſwaſions annex themſelves to the* Achæans.

ALL *Greece* being at peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Ætolians* to think, that they who had promiſed unto themſelves the whole ſpoil of *Philip*, and the higheſt reputation among the *Greeks*; were not only diſappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forſaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the moſt unregarded. Yet was there made a great acceſs to their Eſtate; by adding much unto them, of that which had been taken from the *Macedonian*. This might well have ſufficed them, if their deſires had not been immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their deſire. But they were not ſo pleaſed with that which they had, ſince they thought it no more than part of their due: as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themſelves to be wholly diſeſteemed, wherein they thought that they had unſufferable wrong. Wherefore they deviſed, in a Parliament which they ſhortly held, by what means they beſt might right themſelves; and give the *Romans* a ſorrowful knowledge of the difference between their enmity and friendſhip. To this purpoſe they ſoon agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not only perſwade *Antiochus* to make war upon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refuſed peace; but that they would deal with the King of *Macedon* their ancient enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, to join all together in a new Confederacy: whoſe joynt forces could not in all likelihood, but far ſurmount thoſe of the *Romans*, *Acheans*, *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterpriſe, which the *Ætolians* took in hand; and well beſeeming them, for they were great darers. They ſent Embaſſadours

baſſadors to all theſe Kings, with perſwaſions, as they thought moſt forcible. But *Philip* was irreſolute; and *Antiochus* willing to try firſt all other courſes. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had loſt much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in fear of any War; yet ſhewed himſelf of all other the moſt forward: and not ſtaying ſo much as to ſeek any good pretence, began immediately to lay ſiege unto *Gytthеum*, that had been lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whoſe care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the Affairs of *Peloponneſus*, were not ſlow to admoniſh *Nabis* of his duty: neither would they have ſtaid long from repreſſing his violence by open war; had not ſome of them thought it wiſdom to ask Counſel of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themſelves in a buſineſs of ſuch importance. Whilſt thus they ſpent the time in ſending Embaſſadors, and were adviſed by *Quintius*, to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the *Roman* Forces, that would ſhortly be amongſt them: *Nabis* was bold to give them juſter cauſe of complaint, by waſting their own Territory.

Philopœmen was then the Prætor of the *Achæans*, who had long been abſent in *Crete*; making War there for his minds ſake and recreation. Unto him the *Achæans* referred themſelves, giving him leave to order the War at his pleaſure; either ſtaying till the *Romans* came, or doing otherwiſe, as he ſhould think beſt. He made all haſte to relieve *Gytthеum* by Sea; fearing leſt the Town, and the *Achæan* Garriſon within it, ſhould be loſt, if he uſed any delay. But *Philopœmen* was ſo bad a Sea-man, that he knew not a ſtrong Ship from a rotten. He made a *Quadrireme* Gally his Admiral, that had fourſcore years agoe been counted a gallant Veſſel in the Navie of *Antigonus Gonatus*. Neither was the reſt of his Fleet ſo good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedæmonian*. Only it fell out well, that he committed himſelf to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her Wings, than with her Talons. For his Admiral Gally was ſtemmed at the firſt; and being rotten with age, ſprang ſo many leaks, and took in water ſo faſt, that ſhe was fain to yield without further reſiſtance. When the reſt of the Fleet ſaw what was become of their Admiral, all were preſently diſcouraged, and ſaved themſelves with what ſpeed they could. But *Philopœmen* was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in Sea-ſervice, which was none of his Occupation, He ſaid, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Army from the ſiege of *Gytthеum*, to ſtop the *Achæans*, if they ſhould invade his Country. But upon theſe which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopœmen* came unexpected; fired their Camp, and put all, ſave a very few of them, to the Sword. Then marched he with all his Army towards *Lacedæmon*: within ten miles whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him, that had already taken *Gytthеum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would have been ready for them ſo ſoon. Or if he ſhould come from *Gytthеum* with any part of his Forces: yet was it thought that he muſt over-take them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almoſt ſecurely, in a long troop, reaching ſome five miles; having their Horſe, and the greateſt parr of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to bear off any ſudden impreſſion. But *Nabis*, who formerly underſtood, or at leaſt ſuſpected, what courſe they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Army; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the cuſtome of *Philopœmen*, when he walked, or travelled abroad with his friends, to mark the ſituation of the Country about him; and to diſcourſe what might befal an Army marching the ſame way. He would ſuppoſe, that having with him there ſuch a number of Souldiers, ordered and ſorted in ſuch manner, and marching towards ſuch a place; he were upon that ground encountred by a greater Army, or better prepared to fight. Then would he put the queſtion, Whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a ſtand? What piece of Ground it were meet for him to ſeize upon? And in what manner he might beſt do it? In what ſort he ſhould order his men? Where beſtow his Carriages, and under what Guard? In what ſort encamp himſelf? And which way march the day following. By ſuch continual meditation he was grown ſo perfect, that he did never meet with any difficulty, whence he could not explicate himſelf and his followers: At this time he made a ſtand: and having drawn up his Rere, He encamped near unto the place where he was; within half a mile of the Enemy. His baggage with all thereto belonging, he beſtowed on a Rock; encompaſſing them round with his Souldiers. The Ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almoſt quite ſpent; ſo as *Nabis* could not at the preſent greatly moleſt him. Both Armies were to water at one Brook; whereto the *Achæans* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was firſt to miniſter the like occaſion of skirmiſh. *Philopœmen* underſtood this; and laid an

ambuſh in place convenient; whereinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were ſlaughtered in great numbers. Preſently after this, he cauſed one of his own Auxiliaries to go to the Tyrant as a fugitive, and tell him, That the *Achæans* had a purpoſe to get between him and *Lacedæmon*; whereby they would both debar his return into the City, and withal encourage the People to take Arms for the Recovery of their Freedom. The Tyrant hearing this, marched haſtily away; and left his Camp, which hardly otherwiſe would have been forced. Some Companies he made to ſtay behind, and ſhew themſelves upon the Rampart, thereby to conceal his departure. But *Philopœmen* was not ſo to be beguiled. He eaſily won the Camp, and gave chaſe to *Nabis*: whoſe followers being overtaken, had no courage to turn about and make head. The enemies being thus diſperſed, and fled into woods where they lay in covert all that day: *Philopœmen* conceived aright, that their fear and neceſſity would teach them to creep homewards, and ſave themſelves when it grew dark. Wherefore in the evening, when he had gathered together all thoſe of his light armature, which had followed the chaſe whilſt it was day, he led forth the reſt that had well refreſhed themſelves, and occupied the two moſt ordinary paſſages unto *Lacedæmon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was dark night, perceiving in *Philopœmens* Camp great ſtore of lights; thought that all had been at reſt: and therefore adventured to make an eſcape home. But they were ſo way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirty days together after this, did *Philopœmen* waſte the Country round about, whilſt *Nabis* durſt not iſſue forth of his Town; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The *Roman* Embaſſadors were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them, labouring to make their party ſtrong againſt *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be ſolicited by the *Ætolians*. Very fair countenance they alſo made unto *Philip*; and with comfortable promiſes drew him to make ſhew, what ſoever he thought, of good correſpondence. They promiſed to reſtore unto him his Son: and were contented to let him hope, that he ſhould receive other favours at their hands; and regain poſſeſſion of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for War againſt *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whileſt their Embaſſadors that were with him in *Aſia*, denied otherwiſe to grant him Peace, than if he would yield unto one of the Conditions, by them ſo often propounded. The long abſence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accompliſhed the marriage between *Ptolomy* and his Daughter; together with the death of young *Antiochus* the Kings Son, which happened during the Treaty, and hindered, or ſeemed to hinder the King from giving audience in perſon to the Embaſſadors; cauſed them to return home to *Rome*; as uncertain of their anſwer as at their ſetting forth. One thing that might have been, and partly was, beneficial unto them, they brought to paſs during their abode at *Epheſus*; either by cunning, or (as *Livy* rather think) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they diſcourſed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto *Antiochus* upon a cauſeleſs ſuſpition wherein he held the *Romans*; that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harm. Many have affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of theſe Embaſſadors; and that he, among other diſcourſes with *Hannibal*, demanded once, *Which of all the famous Captains that had lived*, Hannibal *judged the moſt worthy?* So *Hannibal* gave to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the firſt place: to *Pyrrhus* the ſecond: and the third he challenged unto himſelf. But *Scipio*, who thought his own title better than that it ought to be ſo forgotten, asked yet further, What wouldſt thou have ſaid then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadſt vanquiſhed me? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I have given the firſt place to *Alexander*, but have claimed it as due unto my ſelf. Now whether this were ſo or otherwiſe, the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, made him ſuſpected of *Antiochus*; who therefore did forbear a while to uſe his counſel. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King, and plainly deſiring him to tell the cauſe thereof, heard what it was; he eaſily recovered his former grace and credit. For he told how his Father had cauſed him to ſwear at the Altars, when he was a little Boy, that he never ſhould be friend unto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vain ſurmizes: but to know thus much, that ſo long as he thought upon War with *Rome*, ſo long would *Hannibal* do him all good ſervice: whereas contrariwiſe, if he intended to make peace, then ſhould it behoove him to uſe the counſel of ſome other man.

The *Ætolians*, and their Friends, were leſs buſie all this while, in making their party ſtrong againſt the *Romans*, than were the *Romans* in muſtering up their friends in *Greece*. They had ſo often dealt with *Antiochus*, vaunting

vaunting much of their own forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the Victory against *Philip*, that finally they prevailed with him; especially when the *Roman* Embassadors had left him without hope of peace, unless he would buy it at too dear a rate. They dealt in like sort with the *Macedonian*. But in vain. He understood the *Romans* and himself too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own Forces to the uttermost: as knowing that all the burthen must lie upon *Antiochus* and themselves, without help from any, save only from some few that were discontented in *Greece*. Whilst they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the King *Antiochus*, that animated them to resolution, the *Athenian* Embassadors, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemency a little; by exhorting them not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the *Romans*, that lay near at hand. For want of a ready Answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the business worthy of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himself against the *Romans*, it would be no small piece of service, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panætolium*, or great Assembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might serve to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprise which they took in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a Champaign-field, on which to the ruine of the Country, the *Romans* and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Mastery: the *Ætolians*, as Masters in that kind of Fence, setting them on, and becoming
Liv. 35. *the Sticklers. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and urge them to such violent courses, he willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might do, to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should either plead their Right in the Senate, or (if their Right unto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to have what they desired: than thus to set the World in an uproar, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the King, whose help they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the *Romans*. Neither was it news unto them to hear those comfortable words; that by sending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtain what they desired; either as their Right, or else by way of Favour. For with such Terms had they been feasted once already: and were by the Senate rejected unto *Titus*: who having it in his own power, gave them no satisfaction; yet would now again refer them to the Senate. This were only loss of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore, without more ado they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus the Great* should be intreated to come over into *Greece*, as well to set the Country at liberty, as also to decide the Controversies depending between the *Romans* and the *Ætolians*. Such a Decree they would not have made, had they not understood the Kings mind before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassadors, and against the *Romans*. *Titus* desired of their Prætor to let him see a Copy of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to do: but that this Decree, and their further answer they would shortly let him know, if he came to their Camp in *Italy* upon the River of *Tibris*. Gentler words would have done better, as the *Ætolians* are like to understand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to go roundly to work. The care of the War they referred unto the more private Council of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authority of a General Assembly. The *Apoclets* (so were the privy Council of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to work, as any of the youngest heads could have done. They laid a Plot how to get into their hands at one time the Towns of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrias* they took upon the sudden; entring some of them as friends, to conduct home a principal man of the City: who for speaking words against *T. Quintius*, had been driven to flee thence; but was by intercession of those that loved him, again re-called. His *Ætolian* Companions that were not many, seized upon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troop which they had left not far behind them: and so fell to murdering the chief of the *Roman* Faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Town prepared to defend it self against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this Hostility, they gave a gentle answer, saying, That they came not thither as Enemies, but only to deliver the Town from the *Romans*; who more insolently

domineered over it, than ever the *Macedonians* had done. By which Rhetorick they prevailed no more than they could do by plain force. For the Towns-men replyed, That they neither founnd any abridgement of their liberty, nor needed any Garrison to keep them from the *Romans*, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injury. So this business was dasht. The attempt upon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good Friend was Lord of the Town, styling himself King, but more truly by all men called Tyrant. He had well-near lost all, by means of the overthrow which *Philopœmen* had lately given him: since he durst not stir abroad; and dayly expected the mischief, that on all sides threatned him. Wherefore he sent Messengers, one after another, to the *Ætolians*; requesting them, That as he had not been slow to stir in their behalf, but adventured himself upon the utmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to send him what help they might, since his bad fortude had caused him presently to need it. It hath been often said, That the ravenous *Ætolians* were only true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship, otherwise, than as it might conduce to their own ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his mercenary forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner consumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; and by so doing to assure *Lacedæmon* unto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a work. To him they gave a thousand Foot, and thirty Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirty were by *Democritus* the Prætor brought into the Counsel of the *Apocleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to think that they were sent to make War with the *Achæans*, or to do ought else, save only what *Alexamenus* should command them; which were it never so desperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they understand, that unless they performed it, they should have no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words, telling him that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to find other manner of work, than of late with *Philip:* since the Elephants of this Great King, without other help, would suffice to tread them down. As for the *Ætolians*, he said that if need should so require, they would presently send away to *Lacedæmon* all the Forces that they could raise: But that they were very desirous at the present, to make as goodly a muster as they could, before the great King; which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had been long pent up in the City; and train them without the Walls: as if shortly he should employ them in work of Conquest, rather than Defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field: riding up and down with this *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or four Horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamenus* made it his fashion, to step aside alone to his *Ætolians*, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned again to *Nabis*. But when he saw time for the great work which he had in hand; he then went aside to his thirty Horsemen, and bade them remember the task enjoyned them at their setting forth; telling them, That they were all in case of banished men, unless they would anon come up to him, and help him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant began to draw near them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and struck him down. The thirty *Ætolians* never stood to deliberate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ran unto the dead body: where in stead of seeking revenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætolians*, hasted into the City, and seized on the Palace: where he fell to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himself with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his Followers as were dispersed in the Town, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to see those that had slain him, begin to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Town was shortly in Arms: and for lack of another Captain, they took a little Boy of the Royal Stock, that had been brought up with *Nabis* his Children, whom they mounted upon a good Horse, and made him their Chief. So they fell upon the *Ætolians* that were idly straggling about; and put them all to the Sword. *Alexamenus* with not many of his Company, were slain in keep-

keeping the Citadel : and those few that escaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magistrates; who sold them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtful estate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopœmen* came thither : who calling out the chief of the City, and speaking such words unto them as *Alexemanus* should have done, after he had slain the Tyrant : easily perswaded them for their own good and safety, to incorporate themselves with the *Achæans*. Thus by the enterprise, no less dishonourable than difficult, of the *Ætolians* : and the small, but effectual, travel of *Philopœmen*, the *Achæans* made a notable purchase : and *Lacedæmon*, that had hitherto been governed either by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the Member of a Commonwealth, whereof the Name had scarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled over all *Greece*.

§. VII.

Antiochus, *perswaded by* Thoas *the* Ætolian, *comes over into* Greece *ill attended. Sundry passages between Him, the* Ætolians, Chalcidians, *and others. He wins* Chalcis, *and thereby the whole Isle of* Eubœa. *The vanity of the Kings Embassadors and the* Ætolians, *with the civil Answer of* Titus *to their discourse, before the* Achæans. *That it concerned the Greeks to have desired Peace between the* Romans *and* Antiochus, *as the best assurance of their own Liberty. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King. Of* Aminander; *and an idle vanity by which King* Phillip *was lost.* Hannibal *gives good counsel in vain. Some Towns won in* Thessaly. *The King retires to* Chalcis, *where he marrieth a young Wife, and revels away the rest of Winter. Upon the coming of the Roman Consul, all forsake* Antiochus. *He with two thousand* Ætolians *keeps the Straights of* Thermopylæ. *He is beaten, and flees into* Asia : *leaving all* Greece *unto the Victors.*

Antiochus was troubled much in *Asia*, with *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him : and to win them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he desirous with all speed convenient, to shew himself in *Greece* : where he had been told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, that in all the Country there was a very small number, which bore hearty affection unto the *Romans* : That *Nabis* was already up in arms : That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chain, desiring nothing more, than to break loose : and that the *Ætolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to confer upon him the greatness, which they had unworthily bestowed upon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this, the least part was true. Yet that which was true, made such a noise, as added credit unto all the rest. Whilst therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africk*, there to molest the *Romans*, and so give him the better leisure of using his own opportunities in *Greece* : *Thoas* the *Ætolian* came over to him, and bade him lay all other care aside; for that his Countreymen had already taken *Demetrias*, a Town of main importance, that should give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatness of his vertue and fortune. This did serve to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*, *Thoas* was bold to tell the King, first, that it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into *Greece*, might serve to lay open unto him all places, without need of using violence : and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more unfit man to be employed in the Kings service, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said that the King should as greatly feel the loss of a Fleet or Army, perishing under such a notable Commander, if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried under one of meaner quality : whereas nevertheless if *Hannibal* prevailed, *Hannibal* alone should have all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion that such a renowned Warriour should be alwayes near unto the Kings Person, to give advice : which being followed, as often as it was found commodious, the good success would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the soveraign Command, even of the King himself. *Antiochus* gladly hearkened unto this admonition; being jealous of the Vertue, that shined brighter than the Majesty of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid aside the determination, which tended more to the advancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought upon.

Presently after this, He made ready for *Greece*. Before his setting forth, in a frivolous pomp of ceremony, he went up from the Sea-side to *Ilium*; there to do sacrifice to *Minerva* of *Troy*. Thence passing over the *Ægean* Sea, He came to *Demetrias*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnetian*; the same whom the *Ætolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext

pretext they won *Demetrias*; was now the chief man, and ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countreymen, in great frequency, came to do their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this, and took it as a sign of good luck, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, That the *Magnetians* found not the like cause of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Army somewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they saw three hundred ships; of which no more than forty were serviceable for the Wars, with an Army of ten thousand Foot, five hundred Horses and six Elephants. The *Ætolians* no sooner heard of his coming, than they called a Parliament, and made a Decree whereby they invited him into their Country. He knew before that they would so do; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met with him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the *Ætolians* gave him as joyful entertainment as they could devise. Being brought into their Council, he made an Oration: wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Army. This was, he said, in true estimation, a sign of his good will: in that he staid not to make all things ready, but hasted unto their aid, even whilst the season was unfit for Navigation. Yet it should not be longer, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-Coast with his Fleets. Neither would he spare for any Charge, Travel, or Danger, to follow the business which he had undertaken: even to drive the *Romans* and their Authority out of *Greece*, leaving the Countrey free indeed, and the *Ætolians* therein the Chief. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great; so was it his meaning, that all Provisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because he would not be any way burdensome unto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs intreat them, having thus hastily come over unto their aid, unprovided of many necessaries, that they would help him with Corn and other Victuals, whereof he stood in need. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, (for a vain motion was made by some, that the differences between the *Romans* and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*) that they would yield unto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their Forces. Here we may observe how vain a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himself, as did *Antiochus*, in a business of dangerous importance upon the promised assurance of a State that is meerly popular. For if the vehemency of *Thoas*, and some other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Council; the *Ætolians*, for gain of two or three Towns, yea, for hope of such gain that might have deceived them, were like to have abandoned this King their Friend, unto the discretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there been, if this had so fallen out? He could have bemoaned himself to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong: but he must have been contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side, whom *Thoas* would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present, though in the future it proved much worse, both for him, and for the *Ætolians*. He was chosen General of all their Forces: and thirty Commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a Council of War for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilest it was in dispute where they should begin the War. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken: whither if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure need to use much force. The King had brought with him into *Ætolia* but a thousand Foot, leaving the rest behind him at *Demetrias*. With these he hasted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being overtaken by no great number of the *Ætolians*, which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magistrates, and some of the Chief Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the *Ætolians* began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had only in words and false semblance, set *Greece* at liberty. But such liberty as might be true and useful, they said, would never be obtained; until by removing the necessity of obeying their pleasure that were most mighty, every several estate had where to find redress, of any pressure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well able to counterpoise, yea to overweigh the *Romans*: who nevertheless desired them only, so to joyn with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* or He should offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power, to seek redress at the others hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedom was not imaginary, but absolute; for which they were to thank the *Romans*; without whose good liking they would enter into no new confederacy.

confederacy. That which they ſpake of themſelves, they could likewiſe affirm of all the *Greeks:* foraſmuch as none of them paid any tribute, was kept under by any Garriſon, or lived otherwiſe than by their own *Laws*, and without being tied unto conditions which diſpleaſed them. Wherefore they wondred why the King ſhould thus trouble himſelf to deliver Cities that were already free. But ſince he and the *Ætolians* requeſted their friendſhip; they beſought both him and the *Ætolians*, to do a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in ſuch good caſe as they were. With this anſwer the King departed: for he was not as then, ſtrong enough to force them. But very ſoon after, he brought thither a greater power, which terrified them, and made them yield: before all the ſuccours could arrive, which *Titus* had ſent for their defence.

The chief City of *Eubœa* being thus gotten, all the reſt of the Iſland ſhortly yielded to *Antiochus*. Four or five hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came over late to have defended *Chalcis*, repoſed themſelves at *Delium*, a little Town of *Bœotia*, lying over againſt the Iſland; where was a Temple and Grove, conſecrated unto *Apollo*, that had the priviledge of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were ſome of them walking, and beholding the things there to be ſeen, whilſt others were buſied as they ſound cauſe, without fear of any dangor; as being in ſuch a place, and no War hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himſelf in many vain Treaties of peace, took advantage of their careleſneſs, and uſed them with all extremity of War. Very few of them eſcaped; fifty were taken, and the reſt ſlain. Hereat *Quintius* was grieved: yet ſo, as it pleaſed him well to conſider that his *Romans* had now more juſt cauſe than before, to make War upon the King.

Antiochus liked well theſe beginnings, and ſent Embaſſadors into all quarters of *Greece*; in hope, that his reputation ſhould perſwade very many to take his part. The wiſer ſort returned ſuch anſwer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some reſerved themſelves until he ſhould come among them: knowing that either if he came not, he muſt hold them excuſed for not daring to ſtir: or if he came, the *Romans* muſt pardon their juſt fear, in yielding to the ſtronger. None of thoſe that lay far off, joyned with him in true meaning, ſave the *Eleans*, that alwayes favoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Achæans*. Little reaſon there was, that he ſhould think to draw the *Achæans* to his party. Nevertheleſs he aſſayed them, upon a vain hope, that the envy which *Titus* was ſaid to bear unto *Philopœmens* vertue, had bred a ſecret diſlike between that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both he and the *Ætolians* ſent Embaſſadors to the Council at *Ægium*, that pared not brave words, if the *Achæans* would have been ſo taken. The Kings Embaſſador told of great Armies and Fleets that were coming; reckoning up the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimeans*, and *Cadusians*: names that were not every day heard of, and therefore as he thought the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydonians*, *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphilians* were; ſuch indeed as could not be reſiſted. Now concerning money, and all warlike furniture: it was, he ſaid, well known, that the Kingdoms of *Aſia* had alwayes therein great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who conſidering the late War made againſt *Philip*, did think that this with *Antiochus* would prove the like: the caſe was ſo far different. Yet this moſt potential King, that for the liberty of *Greece* was come from the utmoſt parts of the Eaſt; requeſted no more of the *Achæans*, than that they would hold themſelves as neutral, and quietly look on, whilſt he took order with the *Romans*. To the ſame effect ſpake the *Ætolian* Embaſſador, and further added, That in the Battel at *Cynoſcephalæ*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a General, nor the *Romans* of good Souldierss: but that both he and his Army had been there deſtroyed, had they not been protected by vertue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was preſent at the Council, and heard all this: to which he made as fit anſwer, as could have been deſired. He told the *Achæans*, That neither the Kings Embaſſador, nor the *Ætolian*, did ſo greatly labour to perſwade thoſe unto whom they addreſſed their Orations; as to vaunt themſelves the one unto the other. So as a man might well diſcern what good correſpondence in vanity it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Ætolians* together. For even ſuch brags as here they made before the *Achæans*, who knew them to be Lyars, had the *Ætolians* alſo made unto King *Antiochus:* Proclaiming the victory over *Philip* to be meerly their Act: and the whole Country of *Greece* to be dependent on them. Interchangeably had they been feaſted by the King, with ſuch tales as his Embaſſador told even now; of *Dahans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimeans*, and a many others: that were all but a company of *Syrians*, ſuch as were wont to be ſold about for bond-ſlaves, and good for little elſe. Theſe divers

names

names of rascal People, were he said, like to the diversity of Venison, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis*, (no such Vaunter as were these Embassadors) had sometime feasted him. For all that variety, whereat he wondred, was none other, as his Host then merrily told him; than so many pieces of one tame Swine, drest after several fashions, with variety of sawces. Setting therefore aside this vanity of idle pomp: it were good to make judgement of the Great King by his present doing. He had notwithstanding all this great noise, no more than ten thousand men about him: for which little Army he was fain in a manner to beg Victuals of the *Ætolians*: and take up money at usury to defray his charges. And thus he ran up and down the Countrey; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence back to *Chalcis*; and being there shut out, to *Demetrias* again. These were the fruits of lies: wherewith, since both *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilest wiser men took heed by their example. To a favourable Auditory much perswasion is needless. The *Achæans* did not love so well the *Ætolians*, as to desire that they should become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abjects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after news, what *Antiochus* did, how he sped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed War against him, and against the *Ætolians*.

How the hatred between these two Nations grew inveterate; sufficiently appears in the story fore-going. Now have they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them unwitely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the *Ætolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Country at rest: there was nothing more greatly to have been desired, than that they might never find occasion to return with an Army thither again. And in this respect ought the *Greeks* to have sought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* might recover their Liberty, (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, until now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, divided and kept asunder by their Countrey, as two Seas by an *Isthmus*, or neck of Land, might be kept from over-flowing the Bar that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base *Asiatiques*, who originally were *Greekish*; than the general applause, wherewith all the Nation entertained this their loving offer. Yet were *Lysimachia*, and the Towns in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cause of fear, that should move them to take arms even in their own defence. But if all *Greece* would have made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising joyntly to assist the *Romans* with their whole Forces both by Land and Sea, whensoever King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stir against them: then had not only this quarrel been at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage over the Country, had been far from growing, as soon after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achæans* were at this time, in a manner the only Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gave doubtful answers of hope unto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Thessalians*, were firm against *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselves his Enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Bœotians* willingly received him, as soon as he entred upon their borders, not so much for fear of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had been somewhat hardly used. *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, besides his old friendship with the *Ætolians*, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the Daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an idle-headed man, and vaunted himself to be descended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two sons, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these Brethren, accompanied his sister to the poor Court of *Athamania*: where having made his folly known, by talking of his Pedegree; He was judged by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, a man fit for their turns. They made him believe, that in regard of his high Parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander* his forefather; it was their purpose, to do their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoof: since no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling them hereunto; it behoved him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that so they might the sooner have done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himself or of his Sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginary King (whether it proceeded from his own phrenzie in hope to get love of the *Macedonians* that should be his Subjects: or whether

whether from ſome vanity in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harm to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to do good. There were two thouſand men committed to his leading: with which he marched unto *Cynoſcephalæ*, there to gather up the bones of the ſlaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had ſuffered all this while to lie unburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themſelves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended meerly unto his deſpight. Wherefore he preſently ſent unto the *Romans*; and gave them to underſtand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them wherein ſoever they ſhould be pleaſed to uſe him.

The *Ætolians*, *Magnetians*, *Eubœans*, *Bœotians*, and *Athamanians*, having now all joyned with him: *Antiochus* took counſel of them about the proſecution of the War in hand. The chief queſtion was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Theſſaly*, that would not hearken to his perſwaſions: or whether to let all alone until the Spring: becauſe it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and ſome another; confirming each his own ſentence, with the weighteſt reaſons which he could alledge: as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long been caſt aſide, as a veſſel of no uſe, but was now required to deliver his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he ſhould now utter, was even the ſame which he would have ſpoken, had his counſel at any time before been aſked ſince their coming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetians*, *Bœotians*, and other their good friends, which now ſo willingly took their parts: what were they elſe than ſo many poor eſtates, that wanting force of their own, did adjoyn themſelves for fear unto him, that was ſtrongeſt for the preſent: and would afterwards, when they ſaw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary ſide, alledging the ſame fear for their excuſe? Wherefore he thought it moſt behooveful to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* unto their party: who (beſides that being once engaged, he ſhould not afterwards have power to recoyle and forſake them at his pleaſure) was a mighty Prince; and one that had means to ſuſtain the *Roman* War with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be eaſily perſwaded to join with them, the benefit likely to redound unto himſelf, by their ſociety, was a very ſtrong Argument: though indeed what need was there, of proving by inference the likelihood of this hope: For, ſaid He, *Theſe* Ætolians *here preſent; and namely, this* Thoas *being lately Embaſſadour from them into* Aſia, *among other motives which he then uſed to excite the King unto this Expedition, inſiſted mainly on the ſame point. He told us that* Philip *was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordly inſolence of the* Romans: *likened that King to ſome wild beaſt, that was chained or lockt up within ſome grate, and would fain break looſe. If this be ſo: let us break his chain, and pull down the grate, that he may regain his liberty, and ſatisfie his angry ſtomack, upon thoſe that are common enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwiſe, and that his fear be greater than his indignation: then ſhall it behoove us to look unto him; that he may not ſeek to pleaſe his good maſters the* Romans, *by offending us. Your ſon* Seleucus *is now at* Lyſimachia, *with part of your Army: if* Philip *will not hearken to your Embaſſage; let* Seleucus *be in readineſs to fall upon* Macedon, *and find him work to defend his own on the other ſide, without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning* Philip, *and the preſent war in* Greece. *But more generally for the managing of this great enterpriſe, wherein you are now embarked againſt the* Romans, *I told you my opinion at the beginning: whereto had you then given ear, the* Romans *by this time ſhould have heard other news, than that* Chalcis *in* Eubœa *was become ours.* Italy *and* Gaul *ſhould have been on fire with war; and little to their comfort, they ſhould have underſtood, that* Hannibal *was again come into* Italy. *Neither do I ſee what ſhould hinder us even now from taking the ſame courſe. Send for all your Fleet and Army hither (but in any caſe let ſhips of burden come along with them, loaden with ſtore of victuals: For, as the caſe now ſtands, we have here too few hands and too many mouths) Wherefore let the one half be imployed againſt* Italy; *whileſt you in perſon with the other half, tarrying on this ſide the* Ionian *Sea, may both take order for the affairs of* Greece, *and therewithal make countenance; as if you were even ready to follow us into* Italy: *yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it ſhall be requiſite This is my advice; who though perhaps I am not very skilful in all ſorts of war; yet how to war with the* Romans, *I have been inſtructed by long experience, both to their coſt and mine own. Of this Counſel which I give, I promiſe you my faithfull and diligent ſervice for the execution: but what Counſel ſoever you pleaſe to follow, I wiſh it may be proſperous.* Many were pleaſed with the great ſpirit of the man, and ſaid, he had ſpoken bravely: but of all this was nothing done; ſave only that one was ſent into *Aſia*; to make all things ready there. In the mean while

they went in hand with *Thessaly*; about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one Town by force, many other places, doubting their own strength, were glad to make submission. But *Larissa* that was chief of the Country, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the wals with his whole Army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Fabius*, a *Roman* Proprator, did send help thither. Likewise *Philip* of *Macedon* professed himself enemy unto *Antiochus*, whereby the fame of the succour coming to *Larissa*, grew such, as wrought more than the succour could have done, had it arrived. For *Antiochus* perceiving many fires on the Mountain tops afar off; thought that a great Army of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had been coming upon him. Therefore excusing himself by the time of the year; He brake up his siege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in love with a young Maiden, daughter unto a Citizen of the Town; whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was between them, both in years and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the winter following as delightfully as he could, without thinking upon the war in hand. His great men and Captains followed his example; & the souldiers as readily imitated their Captains: in such wise, that when he took the field, he might evidently perceive in what loose manner of discipline his army had passed the winter. But *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the *Roman* Consul, shall meet him very shortly, and help him to reclaim them from this looseness of nuptial Revels, by setting them to harder exercise. *M. Acilius* was chosen Consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. The war against *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise, He was no way so honourable, as *Nasica*, his Colleague: unto whom fell a charge, of far less credit and importance. *Nasica*, besides the great Nobility of his Family, had been long since, in time of the *Punick War*, Crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome:* when the Senate for very fear and superstition, durst not have so pronounced him, had they not so thought him, as being commanded by Oracle, that none other man than the very best, should entertain on old stone, which the Devil then taught them to call *The Mother of the Gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue or good opinion, gave such advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his own Province: or arrogate more unto himself; than his lot should afford him. This unpartial distribution of employments, helped well to maintain peace and concord.

P. Scipio was therefore appointed to make war against the *Bojians*; wherein he purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder service, requiring the more ability in matter of War. But *M. Acilius* went over into *Greece*, with ten thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen Elephants. *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, notwithstanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*; and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; had lately sent Embassadors to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into *Ætolia*, there to assist the Consul in this War. *Ptolomy* sent also gold and silver, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was two young and dwelt too far off. So his money was returned unto him with thanks; and his loving offer as lovingly refused. Unto *Philips* Embassadors, answer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would think themselves beholding to him, for the assistance that he should give to *Acilius* the Consul. *Masanissa* likewise, and the *Carthaginians*, did strive, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promised a great quantity of grain; which they would send partly to *Rome*, partly to the Army in *Greece*. And herein *Masanissa* far out-went the poor City of *Carthage*; as also in that he offered to lend the Consul five hundred horse, and twenty Elephants. On the other side, the *Carthaginians* undertook to set out a Fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment, all the Tribute-mony which was behind, and ought to be discharged by many yearly pensions. But the *Romans* did neither think it good, to let them arm a Fleet: nor would let them redeem themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corn, it was accepted, with condition that they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The hasty and ridiculous issue of this War, that began with such noise and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great between the *Roman* and the *Asiatique* Souldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few Towns of *Acarnania*, after the same manner as he had prevailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by fair words, and treason of the rulers: partly by terrour, that was like to prove their excuse when they should again forsake him. But King *Philip* and *Bæbius* having recovered many places; & the *Roman* Consul being arrived, against whom none made resistance; he was glad

to

to withdraw himself. *Aminander* fled out of his *Athamania*: which the *Macedonian* took and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good service to the *Romans*. *Philip* the brother of *Aminanders* wife, was taken by the Consul; made a mocking-stock, and sent away prisoner to *Rome*. The *Thessalians* used much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yielding to the King. All their Cities one after another, gave up themselves: the Garrisons of *Antiochus*, compounding only for their own lives, and departing unarmed: yet so, that a thousand of them stayed behind, and took pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*; who having withdrawn himself to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cryed out upon his friends: and said, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deal of toyl during one half of a winter, and spent the other half in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, he found all the promises of the *Ætolians* meerly verbal: and himself reduced into terms of great extremity. He therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wise man, yea, a very Prophet, that had foreseen all this long before. Nevertheless, he sent word to the *Ætolians*, that they should now make ready all their forces: as considering their own need to be no less than his. But the *Ætolians* had cause to think, that they themselves were shamefull disappointed by *Antiochus*; who having promised to do great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of *Asia*, than so many as would fill up the same ten thousand which he first brought over. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joyned with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better satisfaction, than that *Thoas* and his fellows had done their best in vain, to have made all the Nation take Arms. Since therefore neither his own men came over to him out of *Asia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appear in this time of danger: He seized upon the Straights of *Thermopylæ*; as meaning to defend them against the *Romans*, until more help should come. Of the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, there hath been spoken enough * before, upon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* against the huge Army of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may easily be conceived, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and so came onwards into *Thessaly*, were unable to pass that Ledge of Mountains, dividing the one half of *Greece*; unless they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference between *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of these, with an handfull of men, defended this passage two or three daies together, against a world of men coming to invade the Country. The latter, having taken upon him to do great miracles, and effect what he listed himself in person, could commit himself unto the safety of his place, when he was charged by no more than he had in his own Army. There whilest he lay, He sent earnest messengers one after another to the *Ætolians*, entreating them not to forsake him thus: but at least wise now to help, and keep the tops of the mountains, lest the *Romans*, finding any by-path, should come down upon him. By this opportunity, he got of them two thousand, that undertook to make good the few passages: by which only, and not without extreme difficulty, it was possible for the Enemy to ascend. The *Roman* Consul in like sort prepared to force the Straights; without staying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindred by sickness from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them been Consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men, to try whether by any means they could get up to the *Ætolians*. He himself encouraged his Army; not only by telling them with what base conditioned enemies they had to deal: but what rich Kingdoms *Antiochus* held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battel. All that night *Cato* had a sore journey (for what happened unto *L. Valerius* it is uncertain, save only that he failed in his intent) and so much the worse, for that he had no skilful guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tyred, with climbing up steepy Rocks, and crooked waies: He commanded them to repose themselves; whilst he, being a very able man of body, took in hand the discovery, accompanied with no more than one of like metal to himself. After a great deal of trouble, he found at length a path: which he took to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading unto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward break of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace, there was a fair way thorow the Straights below, that required no such trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the *Thermopylæ* been so often the Seat of War, as might cause any travellers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountains. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the best; yet did it lead

* l. 3. c. 6. & l. 3.

him to a bog at the end, which would suffer him to pass no further. So he stayd there until day-light: by which he discovered both the Camp of the *Greeks* underneath him; and some of the *Ætolians* very near unto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore sent forth a party of men, whom he thought fit for the service; and willed them to bring him some prisoner. This was effected: and he thereby understood, that these *Ætolians* were no more than six hundred; as also that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently set upon the *Ætolians*, overthrew them, slew a great part of them, and chased the rest, that by flying to their Camp, guided him unto it. The fight was already begun between the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had easily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Camp, found it, in a manner, a desperate piece of work to assault the Camp it self, which occupied the whole breadth of the Straights, was notably fortified; and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were best at that kind of service; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed over them on the Hill-side, and powred down a showr of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought, at first, that the *Ætolians* had been coming to help the Kings men: but when the *Roman* Arms and Ensigns were discovered, such was the terrour, that none made offer of resistance; but all of them forsook the Camp, and fled. The slaughter was not great: for that the badness of the way did hinder the *Roman* Army from making pursuit. Yet this daies loss drave *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence with the first opportunity, got him back into *Asia*.

All the Cities that had imbraced the friendship of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertain the *Romans*, and entreat for pardon: setting open their gates; and presenting themselves unto the Consul, in manner of suppliants. Briefly, in few daies all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Ætolians* only standing out, because they knew not what else to do. Neither did the Consul give them any respite. At his return from *Chalcis*, he met with King *Philip*, that having recovered health, came to joyn with him against *Antiochus*: over whom, since the victory was already gotten, He did gratulate unto the *Romans* their good success; and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* War. So it was agreed, That the Consul should besiege *Heraclea*; and *Philip Lamia*; at the same time. Each of them plied his work hard; especially *Philip*, who fain would have taken *Lamia* before the Consul should come to help him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that used to work by Myne, were over-much hindered by the stony ground. Yet was *Lamia* even ready to be taken, when the Consul, having won *Heraclea*, came thither, and told *Philip*, that the spoil of these Towns was a reward unto those that had fought at *Thermopylæ*. Herewith *Philip* must be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius*, that could so ill endure to see *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the *Romans* victory, got not *Lamia* himself: until such time as another Consul was ready to ease him of his charge.

The loss of *Heraclea* did so affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace. Yet had they sent unto King *Antiochus* presently after his flight: intreating him not to forsake them utterly, but either to return with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into *Greece*; or if any thing with held him from coming in person, at leastwise to help them with mony and other aid. They prayed him to consider, that this did not only concern him in honour; but appertained unto his own safty: since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætolians* being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any enemies at their backs, might set upon him in *Asia*. He considered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore he delivered unto *Nicander*, one of their Embassadors, a summ of mony, that might serve to defray the charges of the War: promising that ere long he would send them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. *Thoas*, another of their Embassadors, He retained with him; who willingly stayed, that he might urge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclea* was taken from them; then did the *Ætolians* lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the help of *Antiochus*; and made suit unto the Consul to obtain peace, upon any reasonable condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to give them audience, but said, He had other business in hand; only he granted them ten daies of Truce, and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*, willing them to make him acquainted with as much as they would have delivered unto himself. At their coming to *Hypata*, they began, as men favouring their own cause, to alledge how well they had deserved of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of such good offices past, was quite obliterated by the

the malice which they had ſhewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to do ſo even betimes, than to ſtay till they were reduced unto terms of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themſelves unto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect ſent Embaſſadors to the Conſul. This phraſe of *committing unto the faith*, ſignified, in their uſe of it, little elſe than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* uſed thoſe words in another ſenſe; and counted them all one, as * *yielding to diſcretion*. Wherefore when the Conſul heard them ſpeak in this manner: He aſked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They anſwered that it was: and ſhewed him the decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpoſe. Then, ſaid he, I command you firſt of all, That none of you preſume to go into *Aſia*, upon any buſineſs, private or publick: then, That ye deliver up unto me *Dicæarchus* the *Ætolian*, *Meneſtratus* the *Epirot*, *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, and ſuch of his Countrimen as have followed him in revolting from us. Whileſt he was yet ſpeaking; *Phameas* the Embaſſadour interrupted him; and prayed him not to miſtake the cuſtome of the *Greeks*, who had yielded themſelves *unto his faith*; *not unto ſlavery*. *What?* (ſaid the Conſul) *Do ye ſtand to plead Cuſtome with me, being now at my diſcretion? Bring hither a chain.* With that, chains were brought; and an Iron collar, by his appointment, fitted unto every one of their necks. This did ſo affright them, that they ſtood dumb, and knew not what to ſay. But *Valerius* and ſome others entreated the Conſul, not to deal thus hardly with them, ſince they came as Embaſſadors; though ſince, their condition was altered. *Phameas* alſo ſpake for himſelf; and ſaid, That neither he, nor yet the *Apocleti* or ordinary Councel for the Nation, were able to fulfill theſe Injunctions; without approbatiou of the general Aſſembly. For which cauſe he entreated yet further ten daies reſpite; and had granted unto him Truce for ſo long.

This ſurceaſance of War, during ten, and other ten daies together, began preſently after the taking of *Heraclea*; when *Philip* had been commanded away from *Lamia*, that elſe he might have won. Now becauſe of the indignity herein offered unto that King, and to the end that he might not return home with his Army, like one that could not be truſted in employment: eſpecially the *Romans* being like hereafter to have further need of him in the continuance of this War; He was deſired to ſet upon the *Athamanians*, and ſome other petty Nations their borderers, whilſt the Conſul was buſie with the *Ætolians*: taking for his reward, all that he could get. And he got in that ſpace all *Athamania*, *Perrhæbia*, *Aperantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Ætolians* hearing what had betallen their Embaſſadors, were ſo enraged, That although they were very ill provided for War, yet they could not endure to hear more talk of Peace. And it happened, that *Nicander* about the ſame time was come back from *Antiochus*, with mony and hopeful promiſes: the *Romans* abiding ſtill about *Heraclea*, and *Philip* having lately riſen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His mony *Nicander* conveighed into *Lamia*, by very unuſual dexterity. But he himſelf being to paſs further to the Aſſembly of the *Ætolians*, there to make report of his Embaſſage; was very much perplexed about this his journey, which lay between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Camps. Yet he made the adventure: and keeping as far as he could from the *Roman* ſide, fell upon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom he was taken, and led unto their King. He expected no good: but either to be delivered unto the *Romans*, or uſed ill enough by *Philip*. But it ſeems, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignity of his being ſent away from *Lamia*. For he commanded his ſervants to entreat *Nicander* friendly: and he himſelf being then at ſupper, did viſit him as ſoon as he roſe up: giving him to underſtand, That the *Ætolians* did now reap the fruits of their own madneſs; foraſmuch as they could never hold themſelves contented, but would needs be calling ſtrangers into *Greece*. They had pleaſed themſelves well, in their acquaintance firſt with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*: but himſelf, being their neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, he ſaid, high time for them to have regard unto his friendſhip, whereof hitherto they never made any tryal: for ſurely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much more available unto each of them, than their mutual catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themſelves much diſpleaſure. Thus much the King willed *Nicander* to ſignifie unto his Countrimen; and privately to hold in mind the courteſie which he then did him, in ſending him ſafe home. So giving him a Convoy to guard him to *Hypata*, he lovingly diſmiſſed him. For this benefit, *Nicander* was alwaies after dutifully affected to the Crown of *Macedon*: ſo as in the

war

war of *Perseus* he made himself suspected unto the *Romans*, and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Consul understood, that the *Ætolians* refused to make their submission, in such wise as he required it: he forthwith meant to prosecute the war against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at *Naupactus*: whither he therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durst. The siege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had preconceived it: for it was a strong City, and well manned. But *Acilius* stood upon point of honour; wherein he thought that he should have been a loser by rising from before it without Victory. So he stayd there well-near all the following time of his Consulship; whilest the *Macedonian* King and the *Achæans*, made far better use of the *Roman* Victory. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had revolted unto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong City of *Demetrius*, and with an hasty course of Victory, subdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Achæans* called to account the *Eleans* and *Messenians*: which had long been addicted to the *Ætolian* side; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gave good words; whereby they saved themselves from trouble a while. The *Messenians* being more stout, before they were invaded, had none other help when the *Achæan* Prætor wasted their Country, than to offer themselves unto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*: to whom they sent word, That at his Commandment their gates should be opened; but that unto the *Achæans* it was not their meaning to yield. A message from *Titus* to the *Achæan* Prætor, did suffice to call home the Army, and finish the War: as also the peremptory Command of the same *Titus*, caused the *Messenians* to annex themselves unto the *Achæans*, and become part of their Common-weal. Such was now the Majesty of a *Roman* Embassador. *Titus* did favour the *Achæans*; yet could not like it well, that either they or any other should take too much upon them. He thought it enough, that they had their liberty, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great Lords, and able to dispute with the *Romans* upon even terms, it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the Isle of *Zacynthus*; which had once been *Philips*, and was afterward given by him to *Aminander*, who sent a Govenour thither. But when *Aminander* in this present war, was driven out of his own Kingdom by *Philip*; then did the Governour of *Zacynthus* offer to sell the Island to the *Achæans*; whom he found ready Chapman. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their own Carvers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies; as a reward of the victory which they had obtained. It was bootless to dispute. Wherefore the *Achæans* refered themselves unto his discretion. So he told them, that their Commonwealth was like a Tortoise, whereof *Peloponesus* was the shell: and that, holding themselves within that compass, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they should lie open to blows, which might greatly hurt them. Having settled things thus in *Peloponesus*, he went over to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio* the Consul had lain two months, that might have been far better spent. There, whether out of compassion which he had upon the *Ætolians*, or out of dislike of King *Philips* thriving so fast: he perswaded the Consul to grant unto the besieged, and to the whole Nation, so long truce, that they might send Embassadors to *Rome*; and submitted themselves, crave pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: else would not the *Ætolians* have made such earnest suit as they did unto *Titus*, for procuring of this favour. But if *Glabrio* had been sure to carry it in any short space, it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it; since the winning of that Town, wherein was then the whole flower of the Nation, would have made the promised submission much more humble and sincere. When they came unto *Rome*, no entreaty could help them to better Condition, than one of these two; That either they should wholly submit themselves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thousand talents, and make neither peace nor war with any; further than as the *Romans* should give approbation. They had not so much mony: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they should give themselves away *unto discretion*; which, what it signified, they now understood. Wherefore they desired to have it set down, in what points, and how far forth they should yield unto the good pleasure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certain answer: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vain attendance.

Whilest the *Ætolians* were pursuing thier hopes of peace, the Consul had little to do in *Greece*, and therefore took upon him gravely to set things in order among the tractable

Achæans.

Achæans. He would have had them to reſtore the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* home into their Country; and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowſhip of their Commonwealth. This the *Achæans* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Romans* ſhould be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the reſtitution of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*: intending to make it an Act of their own meer grace. As for the *Eleans*, they were loth to be beholding to the *Romans*, and thereby to diſparage the *Achæans*: into whoſe Corporation they were deſirous to be admitted, and ſaw that they ſhould have their deſire, without ſuch compulſive mediation.

The *Roman* Admiral *C. Livius*, much about the ſame time, fought a battel at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admiral to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and five and twenty ſail of *Rhodians* came after the battel, when they were following the Chaſe. The Kings Fleet was the better of ſail, but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquiſhed in fight, was yet out of danger; as ſoon as he betook himſelf to a ſpeedy retrait.

And ſuch end had the firſt years war between King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greeks* as had followed the vain hopes of the *Ætolians* were glad to excuſe themſelves by fear; thinking themſelves happy when by Embaſſadours they had obtained pardon. On the contrary ſide, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-enemy of late unto the *Romans*, did now ſend to gratulate this their victory: and, in recompence of his good affection, had reſtored unto him *Demetrius* his younger Son; whom ſome few years they had kept as an hoſtage. Alſo King *Ptolomy* of *Egypt*, gratulating the *Roman* Victory, ſent word how greatly all *Aſia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard he deſired the Senate not to foreſlow time; but to ſend an Army, as ſoon as might be, into *Aſia*: promiſing, that his aſſiſtance, wherein ſoever it pleaſed them to uſe it, ſhould not be wanting. This *Ptolomy* was the Son-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of fortune. He underſtand long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the contention, that the *Romans* were like to have the upper hand. The ſame did *Antiochus* now begin to ſuſpect, who had thought himſelf a while as fate at *Epheſus*, as if he had been in another world: bnt was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not ſo far out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, as out of *Italy* into *Greece*, and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* would ſoon be there, and make him try the chance of a battel for his Kingdom.

§. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, *having with him* Publius *the African his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is ſent into* Greece. *He grants long truce to the Ætolians, that ſo he might at leiſure paſs into* Aſia. *Much troubleſome buſineſs by Sea, and divers fights. An invaſion upon* Eumenes *his kingdom; with the ſiege of* Pergamus, *raiſed by an handfull of the Achæans.* L. Scipio *the Conſul comes into* Aſia: *where* Antiochus *moſt earneſtly deſireth peace, and is denyed it. The battel of* Magneſia: *wherein* Antiochus *being vanquiſhed, yieldeth to the Romans good pleaſure. The conditions of the peace. In what ſort the Romans uſed their victory.* L. Cornelius Scipio, *after a moſt ſumptuous triumph over* Antiochus, *is ſurnamed The Aſiatique, as his brother was ſtiled The African.*

Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of *P. Scipio* the *African*, was choſen Conſul at *Rome* with *C. Lælius*. *Lælius* was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being deſirous (as generally all Conſuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to refer to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be ſo pleaſed, the diſpoſition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazzard of a Lottery. *Lucius* having talked with his brother *Publius*, approved well of the motion. Such a queſtion had not of long time been put unto the Fathers: who therefore were the more deſirous to make an unblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwiſe ſomewhat indifferent, *P. Scipio* the *African* ſaid openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the war againſt *Antiochus*, He himſelf would follow his brother in that war, as his Lieutenant. Theſe words were heard with ſuch approbation, that the Controverſie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relyed upon *Hannibal*, and ſhould happen to be directed wholly by that great Captain, what better man could they oppoſe than *Scipio*: that had been victorious againſt that ſame great Worthy? But indeed a worſer man might have ſerved well enough the turn. For *Hannibal* had no abſolute command, nor ſcarce any truſt of great importance: excepting now and then in conſultation; where his wiſdome was much approved, but his liberty and high ſpirit as much diſliked. It is worthy

thy of remembrance, as a ſign of the freedom that he uſed in his cenſures, even whileſt he lived in ſuch a Court. *Antiochus* muſtered his Army in preſence of this famous Captain: thinking, as may ſeem, to have made him wiſh, that he had been ſerved by ſuch brave men in *Italy*. For they were gallantly decked, Both Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with ſuch coſtly furniture of gold, ſilver, and purple, as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sunſhine day. Whereupon the King, well pleaſing himſelf with that goodly ſpectacle, aſked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. *Enough* (ſaid *Hannibal*) *were the Romans the moſt covetous men in all the world*: meaning that all this coſt upon the backs of cowardly *Aſiatiques*, was no better than a ſpoil to animate good Souldiers. How little this anſwer pleaſed the King, it is eaſie to gueſs. The little uſe that he made of this *Carthaginian*, teſtifies that his diſlike of the man, cauſed him to loſe the uſe of his ſervice, when he ſtood in greateſt neceſſity thereof.

The *Scipio's* made all haſte away from *Rome* as ſoon as they could. They carried with them, beſides other Souldiers newly preſt to the war, about five thouſand Voluntaries, that had ſerved under *P. Africanus*. There was alſo a Fleet of thirty *Quinquereme* Gallies, and twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed unto *L. Æmilius Regillus*, that was choſen Admiral the ſame year for that voyage. At their coming into *Greece*, they found the old Conſul *Glabrio* beſieging *Amphyſſa* a City of the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* after that they were denyed peace, had expected him once again at *Nanpactus*. Wherefore they not only fortified that Town, but kept all the paſſages thereto leading; which heedleſly, as in a time of confuſion, they had left unregarded the laſt year. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon *Lamia*: which being not long ſince much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the ſudden; was carried at the ſecond aſſault. Thence went he to *Amphyſſa*: which he had almoſt gotten, when *L. Scipio*, his ſucceſſor, came with thirteen thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, and took charge of the Army. The Town of *Amphyſſa* was preſently forſaken by the Inhabitants: but they had a Caſtle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embaſſadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalf of the *Ætolians*: entreating him to ſtand their friend, and help them in obtaining ſome tolerable condition of peace. He gave them gentle words, and willed them to perſwade the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould faithfully, and with true meaning deſire it. This was gladly taken. But many meſſages paſſing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Conſul made ſtill the ſame anſwer, with which they had been chaſed from *Rome*. The Concluſion was, That they ſhould ſue for a longer time of reſpite from war: whereby at more leiſure they might attend ſome better diſpoſition of the Senate; or any helpful commodity which time ſhould afford. So they obtained halfe a years truce: after which, the winter was like to afford them another half years leiſure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad, than was *P. Scipio*: who thought all time loſt, which with-held the War from paſſing over into *Aſia*.

The buſineſs of *Ætolia* being thus laid aſide, and the old Conſul *Glabrio* ſent home into *Italy*, the *Scipio's* marched into *Theſſaly*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace* unto the *Helleſpont*. Yet they conſidered, that hereby they muſt commit themſelves unto the loyalty of King *Philip*: who might either do them ſome miſchief by the way, if he were diſpoſed to watch a notable advantage: or at the leaſt, would he be unfaithful; though he were not ſo couragious, yet might he take ſuch order with the *Thracians*, that even for want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they ſhould be diſgracefully forced to return. He had promiſed them the utmoſt of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant ſincerely, they thought to make ſome tryal; by cauſing a Gentleman to ride Poſt unto him, and obſerve his doings as he ſhould take him on the ſudden. The King was merry at a feaſt, and drinking when the Meſſenger came: whom he lovingly bade welcome; and ſhewed him the next day, not only what proviſion of victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made bridges over the Rivers, and mended the bad wayes by which they were to paſs. With theſe good news *Gracchus* returned back in haſte unto the *Scipio's*: who entring into *Macedon*, found all things in a readineſs, that might help to advance their journey. The King entertained them royally, and brought them on their way, even to the *Helleſpont*: where they ſtayed a good while, until their Navy was in readineſs to tranſport them into *Aſia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this year; though, for the moſt part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admiral of *Antiochus*, was a baniſhed *Rhodian*: true to the King, and deſirous of revenge upon his Country-

Country men, that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* having not as yet put to Sea, thought to do ſomewhat upon thoſe that were ſo early in their diligence, before their fellows ſhould arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work, and ſent word, as in great ſecrecy, to the *Rhodian* Admiral, That if the ſentence of his baniſhment might be repealed, He would, in requital thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many paſſages to and fro, this was believed: and the *Rhodian* Admiral grew ſo careleſs, expecting ſtill when he ſhould receive a watch-word from *Polixenidas* that he himſelf was taken by *Polixenidas* in his own Haven. The Kings Fleet ſetting forth from *Epheſus* by night; and for fear of being diſcovered, reſting one day in harbour by the way, came the ſecond night to *Samos*: where, by morning it was ready to enter the Haven. *Pauſiſtratus* the *Rhodian* Admiral ſeeing this, thought it his beſt way of reſiſtance to beſtow his men on the two headlands or points of the Haven; ſo to guard the mouth of it: for that he ſaw no likelihood of defending himſelf by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed ſome Companies in another part of the Iſland: which falling upon the back of *Pauſiſtratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboord. This could not be without great confuſion: ſo as the enemies took him out of all order, and ſunk or boorded all his Navy, five excepted, that by a ſudden device made ſhift to eſcape. Each of them hung out a burning Creſcent upon two poles, at the Beak-head; and then rowed forwards directly upon the enemy: who having not bethought himſelf what ſhift to make againſt ſuch unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto theſe deſperate Gallies; for fear leſt they ſhould burn, together with themſelves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had ſome loſs by tempeſt: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take ſuch advantage as he had hoped; becauſe, putting to Sea for that purpoſe, he was driven back again by the like foul weather. But the *Rhodians*, to ſhew that they were not diſcouraged, ſet forth twenty other Gallies: the *Romans* alſo with King *Eumenes*, repaired their fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery preſented battel to *Polyxenidas* before the Haven of *Epheſus*. When he durſt not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perſwaded by ſome appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by ſtorms at Sea; and another while by ſtrong reſiſtance made againſt them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to forſake them; and return home to the defence of his own Kingdom. For *Antiochus* waſted all the grounds about *Elæa* and *Pergamus*: and leaving his Son *Seleucus* to beſiege the royal City of *Pergamus*, did with the reſt of his Army ſpoil the whole Country thereabout. *Attalus* the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; having with him no better men to defend the City, than were they that lay againſt it. Wherefore he had reaſon to ſtand in fear; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thouſand foot, and an hundred horſe of the *Achæans*: old ſouldiers all, and trained up under *Philopœmen*, whoſe Scholar, in the art of war, *Diophanes* their commander was. This *Diophanes* beholding from the walls of *Pergamus*, which was an high Town, the demeanour of the enemy; began to diſdain that ſuch men as they ſhould hold them beſieged. For *Seleucus* his Army which was encamped at the hill-foot, ſeeing that none durſt ſally forth upon them, grew ſo careleſs: as otherwiſe than by ſpoiling all behind their backs, they ſeemed to forget that they were in an enemies Country. *Diophanes* therefore ſpake with *Attalus*: and told him that he would go forth to viſit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this adventure; for he ſaid, that the match was nothing equal. But the *Achæan* would needs have his will: & iſſuing forth, encamped not far from the enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the beſiegers; they wondred at firſt what his meaning was: but when they ſaw that he held himſelf quiet, they made a jeſt of his boldneſs; and laughed to ſee with what an handfull of men he looked ſo ſtoutly. So they returned unto their former negligence and diſorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, He commanded all his men to follow him, even as faſt as they well might: and he himſelf, with the hundred horſe, brake out on the ſudden upon the ſtation that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their horſes ready ſadled, but more few, or none had the hearts to make reſiſtance: ſo as he drave them all out of their Camp; & chaſed them as far as he might ſafely adventure with great ſlaughter of them, and no loſs to his own. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had covered the walls of the Town, men and women, to behold this ſpectacle) were very joyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of theſe *Achæans*. Yet

would they not therefore issue forth of their gates, to help the *Achæans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped half a mile further from the Town, than he had done before: and against him went forth *Diophanes* the second time; who quietly rested a while in his old Station. When they had stayed many hours, looking who should begin: *Seleucus* in fair order as he came, withdrew himself toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not whilest the enemy was in sight: but as soon as the ground between them hindred the prospect, he followed them in all haste, and soon overtaking them with his Horse, charged them in the Rere; so as he brake them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heels, to their very Trenches. This boldness of the *Achæans*, and the baseness of his own men, caused *Seleucus* to quit the siege, little to his honour. Such being the quality of these *Asiatiques*, *Philopœmen* had cause to tell the *Romans*, That he envied their victory. For when *Antiochus* lay feasting at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his souldiers betook themselves to Riot, as it had been in a time of great security: a good man of war might have cut all their throats, even as they were tipling in their victualling houses; which *Philopœmen* said that he would have done, had he been General of the *Achæans*, and not as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of business: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of travel, brought almost nothing to pass. He had been at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himself with a few of his Horse and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his son, as before hath been shewed, and went to *Elæa*: whither he heard that *Æmylius* the *Roman* Admiral was come to bring succour to *Eumenes*. There he made an Overture of peace: about which to consult, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Æmylius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consul: this Treaty brake off. Then followed the overthrow newly mentioned, which caused *Seleucus* to give over the siege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, four or five Towns of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King: and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of seven and thirty Sail, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victory the *Rhodians* had no great cause to rejoyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admiral of the *Syrians*, did them in a maner as great hurt as they could do to *Apollonius*; and having the victory taken out of his hands by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made such a retreat, that the *Rhodians* durst not far adventure upon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Prefaces unto the war, the last and greatest was a victory of the *Romans* by Sea, against *Polixenidas* the Kings Admiral. The battel was fought by *Myonnesus* a Promontory in *Asia*: where *Polixenidas* had with him fourscore and nine Gallies; and five of them greater than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of those brags, wherewith *Antiochus* vaunted the last year, That his *Armada* should cover all the shores of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fifty Gallies; the *Rhodians* two and twenty: the *Roman* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the *Rhodians* more light-timbred and thin planckt, having all advantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to help themselves by the same device, with which five of their Gallies had lately escaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their Prows they ran upon the enemy: who declining them for fear, laid open his side: and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Navy hoysted sail: and, having a fair wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet forty of their Gallies they left behind them: whereof thirteen were taken, all the rest burnt or sunk. The *Romans* and their fellows lost only two or three ships: but got hereby the absolute Mastery of the Sea.

The report of this misadventure, may seem to have taken from *Antiochus* all use of reason. For as if no hope had been remaining to defend those places that he held in *Europe*, he presently with-drew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia*: which might easily have been kept even till the end of Winter following, & having reduced the besiegers (if the siege had been continued obstinately) unto terms of great extremity, He also gave over the siege of *Colophon*: and laying aside all thought save only of defence, drew together all his Army; and sent for help to his Father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Consul, without impediment, not only came to the *Hellespont*, but had yieled unto him all places there, belonging to *Anticohus* on *Europe* side. The Fleet was also then in a readiness to transport him over into *Asia*: where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that he landed quietly at his own good ease; even as if the Country had

had been his already. The firſt news that he heard of the Enemy, was by an Embaſſador that came to ſue for peace. This Embaſſador declared in his Maſters name, That the ſame things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perſwade him, that he ſhould eaſily come to good agreement with them. For in all diſputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, and *Lyſimachia*, had been the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already given over *Lyſimachia*, and was further purpoſed not to ſtrive with the *Romans* about *Lampſacus* and *Smyrna*: what reaſon was there, why they ſhould need to trouble him with War? If it was their deſire that any other Towns upon the Coaſt of *Aſia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, ſhould be alſo ſet at liberty, or otherwiſe delivered into their hands: the King would not refuſe to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take ſome part of *Aſia*, ſo as the bounds dividing them from the King, might not be uncertain, and it ſhould be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough, the King would likewiſe bear half the Charges whereat they had been in this War. So praying the *Romans* to hold themſelves contented with theſe good offers, and not to be too inſolent upon confidence of their fortune, he expected their anſwer. Theſe offers which to the Embaſſador ſeemed ſo great, were judged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reaſonable, that the King ſhould bear all the Charges of the War, ſince it began through his own fault: and that He ſhould not only depart out of thoſe few Towns which he held in *Æolis* and *Ionia*; but quite out of *Aſia the leſs*, and keep himſelf on the other ſide of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embaſſador therefore ſaw that no better bargain could be made, He dealt with P. *Scipio* in private: and to him he promiſed a great quantity of Gold, together with the free reſtitution of his Son, who (it is uncertain by what miſchance) was taken priſoner, and moſt honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of Gold: nor otherwiſe to the Reſtitution of his Son, than upon condition, That it might be with making ſuch amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publick buſineſs: He only ſaid thus much, That ſince *Antiochus* had already forſaken *Lyſimachia*, and ſuffered the War to take hold on his own Kingdom; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yield to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, ſaid he, tell your King in my name, That I would adviſe him to refuſe no Condition whereby he may have Peace.

The King was not any whit moved with his advice. For ſeeing that the Conſul demanded of him no leſs than if he had been already ſubdued: little reaſon there was, that he ſhould fear to come to battel; wherein he could loſe, as he thought, no more, than by ſeeking to avoid it he muſt give away. He had with him threeſcore and ten thouſand Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe; beſides two and fifty Indian Elephants; and many Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, according to the manner of the Eaſtern Countrys. Yet was he nothing pleaſed to hear that the Conſul drew near him apace, as one haſtening to fight. But howſoever he was affected: He made ſo little ſhew of fear, that hearing P. *Scipio* to lie ſick at *Elæa*, He ſent thither unto him his Son without ranſome: as one both deſirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his ſickneſs, and withall not deſirous to retain the young Gentleman for a pledge of his own ſafety. Thus ought his bounty to be conſtant. Otherwiſe it might be ſuſpected that herein he dealt craftily. For ſince he could have none other ranſome of *Scipio*, than ſuch as an honourable man, that had no great ſtore of wealth, might pay: better it was to do ſuch a courteſie before the battel, as would afterwards have been little worth; than to ſtay until the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, ſhould exact it at his hands. P. *Scipio* was greatly comforted with the Recovery of his Son; ſo as the joy thereof was thought to have been much available unto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanity, He ſaid only thus much unto thoſe that brought him this acceptable Preſent, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by adviſing him not to fight until he ſhall hear that I am in the Camp.* What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. *Antiochus* reſolved to follow his Counſel: and therefore withdrew himſelf from about *Thyatira*, beyond the River of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus*, unto *Magneſia* by *Sypilus*: where encamping, he fortified himſelf as ſtrongly as he could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Conſul, and ſat down within four miles of him. About a thouſand of the Kings Horſe, moſt of them *Gallo-Greeks*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at firſt they ſlew ſome; and were anon, with ſome loſs, driven back over the River: Two dayes were quietly ſpent, whileſt neither the King nor the *Romans* would paſs the water. The third day the *Romans* made

the adventure: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, until they came within two miles and an half of *Antiochus* his Camp. There as they were taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foot: whom the ordinary *Corps de guarde* repelled. Four dayes together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fifth day the *Romans* came half way forward, and presented battel; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul took advice what was to be done. For either they must fight upon whatsoever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all Winter, far from any Country of their friends, and therefore subject unto many difficulties: unless they would stain their honour by returning far back, to Winter in a more convenient place; and so defer the War until the next Spring. The *Roman* Souldier was throughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the general Cry, That this great Army should be assailed, even in the Camp where it lay: as if rather there were so many Beasts to be slaughtered, than men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discovering the Fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set upon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in fear of the Enemy, resolved to put the matter to trial. So when the *Romans* took the field again, and ordered their Battels: He also did the like; and advanced so far, that they might understand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Army consisted of four Legions, two *Roman* and two *Latine*: in each of which were five thousand and four hundred men. The *Latines*, as usually, were in the points; the *Roman*, in the mean battel. All of them, according to their wonted form, were divided into *Maniples*. The *Hastati* had the leading: after them followed the *Principes*, at such distance as was usual; and last of all, the *Triarii*. Now beside these, there were about three thousand *Auxiliaries*; partly *Achæans*, and partly such as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equal Front beyond the *Latines* in the right wing. Utmost of all (save some five hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Trallians*) were almost three thousand Horse: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being *Roman*. The left wing was fenced by the bank of the River: yet four troops of Horse were placed there, though such help seemed in a manner needless. Two thousand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Camp. The Consul had with him sixteen *African* Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they only would have served to discourage his men; as being sure to be beaten: the *Indian* being far the greater and more couragious Beasts: whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much advantage in number.

The Kings Army being compounded of many Nations, diversly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the several kinds, in such wise as each might be of most use. The main strength of his Foot consisted in sixteen thousand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. These he placed in the midst, and divided into ten Battalions: every one having two and thirty in File, and fifty in Front. Between every Battalion were two Elephants, goodly Beasts, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their Backs, and besides him that governed the Elephant, four men in every Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fifteen hundred Horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*: then three thousand Barb'd Horse, and a Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Country, and accompanied by some others. All which Troops of Horse divided in their several kinds, do seem to have followed one another in depth, rather then to have been stretched out in Front. Adjoyning unto these, were sixteen Elephants together in one flock. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings own Regiment; called the *Argyraspides*, or *Silvershields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name, that had served under Great *Alexander*: then, twelve hundred Archers on Horse-back, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand & five hundred Archers of *Mysia*; with four thousand Slingers and Archers of the *Cirtæans*, and *Elymæans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greeks*, and Barb'd Horse: as also two thousand Horse that were sent from *Ariarathes*, with two thousand and seven hundred of divers Nations: and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called *The Kings Troop*; being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In Front of all these Horse were the

the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon ſate *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would ſerve to reach from thoſe high Camels. Beyond theſe were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cicilians*, *Pamphilians*, *Piſidians*, *Cyrtæans*, *Elymæans*, and many others, having alſo with them ſixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himſelf commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principal Captains commanded over the *Phalangiers*.

The firſt onſet was given by the *Dromedaries* and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horſe; the other, to break the Squadrons of the Foot; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, eaſily made fruſtrate the danger threatned by them both. For with ſhoutings, and noiſes, and ſome wounds, they were driven out of the field; and running back upon their own men, did the ſame harm which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* Horſe following this advantage, charged upon the left Wing: Whereas they found no reſiſtance; ſome being out of order; others being without courage. It is ſhameful to rehearſe, and ſo ſtrange, that it may hardly ſeem credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with ſuch variety of *Auxiliaris*, made little or no reſiſtance; but all of them fled, in a manner as ſoon as they were charged. Only the King, *Antiochus* himſelf, being in the left wing of his own Battel: and ſeeing the *Latines*, that ſtood oppoſite unto him, weakly flanked with Horſe, gave upon them couragiouſly, and forced them to retire. But *M. Æmilius*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Camp, iſſued forth with all his power to help his fellows: and what by perſwaſion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour alſo came from the right Wing, where the *Romans* were already victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* diſcovered the approach; He not only turned his Horſe about, but ran away upon the ſpur without further tarriance. The Camp was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is ſaid to have loſt in this Battel fifty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe; beſides thoſe that were taken. Of the *Romans* there were not ſlain above three hundred Foot, and four and twenty Horſe: of *Eumenes* his followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the ſame night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the cuſtody of *Sardes*, and the Caſtle there, to one whom he thought faithful. But the Towns-men and Souldiers were ſo diſmayed with the greatneſs of the Overthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Towns in thoſe parts, without expecting ſummons yield ed up themſelves by Embaſſadours: whom they ſent to the *Romans*, whileſt they were on the way. Neither were many days ſpent, ere *Antiochus* his Embaſſadour was in the Camp: having none other Errand, than to know what it would pleaſe the *Romans* to impoſe upon the King his Maſter. *P. Scipio* was now come to his Brother, who obtained leave to make the anſwer, becauſe it ſhould be gentle. They required red no more than they had lately done: which was, That he ſhould quite abandon his Dominions on this ſide *Taurus*. For their Charges in that War, they required fifteen thouſand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thouſand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of *Rome* ſhould have confirmed the peace; and the other twelve thouſand in twelve years next enſuing, by even portions. Likewiſe they demanded four hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and ſome ſtore of Corn that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now beſides twenty Hoſtages which they required, very earneſt they were to have *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, with ſome others, who had ſtirred up the King to this War, delivered into their hands. But any wiſe man might ſo eaſily have perceived that it would be their purpoſe to make this one of their principal demands; as no great Art was needful to beguile their malice. The Kings Embaſſador had full Commiſſion to refuſe nothing that ſhould be enjoyned. Wherefore there was no more to do, than to ſend immediately to *Rome* for the Ratification of the Peace.

There were new Conſuls choſen in the mean while at *Rome*, *M. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Manlius Volſo*. The *Ætolians* defired peace, but could not obtain it: becauſe they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Conſuls ſhould make War upon the *Ætolians*; the other, upon *Antiochus* in *Aſia*. Now, though ſhortly there came news that *Antiochus* was already vanquiſhed in Battel, and had ſubmitted himſelf unto all that could be required at his hands: yet ſince the State of *Aſia* was not like to be ſo throughly ſettled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the *Romans* care, *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Aſia* fell by lot, had not his Province changed.

Soon

Soon after this, came the Embaſſadors of King *Antiochus* to *Rome*, accompanied with the *Rhodians* and ſome others; yea, by King *Eumenes* in perſon; whoſe preſence added a goodly luſtre to the buſineſs in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no diſputation: it was generally approved. All the trouble was about the diſtribution of the purchaſe. King *Eumenes* reckoned up his own deſerts, and comparing himſelf with *Maſaniſſa*, hoped that the *Romans* would be more bountiful to him, than they had been to the *Numidian*, ſince they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Maſaniſſa* was only ſuch in title; and ſince, both he and his Father had alwayes been their friends, even in the worſt of the *Roman* fortune. Yet was there much ado to make him tell what he would have: He ſtill referring himſelf to their courteſie; and they deſiring him to ſpeak plain. At length he craved that they would beſtow upon him, as much of the Country by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpoſe to keep in their own hands. Neither thought he it needful, that they ſhould trouble themſelves with the care of giving Liberty to many of the *Greek* Towns that were on *Aſia* ſide. For ſince the moſt of thoſe Towns had been partakers with the King in his War; it was no reaſon that they ſhould be Gainers by his overthrow. The *Rhodians* did not like of this. They deſired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the *Gracian* Liberty; and to call to mind, that no ſmall part of *Greece* it ſelf had been ſubject unto *Philip*, and ſerved him in his War: which was not alledged againſt them as a cauſe why they ſhould not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the main point whereon they inſiſted, was this, That the Victory of the *Romans* againſt King *Antiochus*, was ſo great, as eaſily might ſatisfie the deſires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to hear of this; and very bountifully gave away ſo much, that every one had cauſe to be well-pleaſed.

Such end had the War againſt King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a Triumph: the Pomp whereof exceeded in Riches, not only that of *Titus Quintus Flamminius*, but of any ten that *Rome* had beheld until that day. Now foraſmuch as the ſurname of *The African* had been given unto *P. Scipio*, it was thought convenient by ſome to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *The Aſiatique*: which the fortune of his Victory had no leſs deſerved; though the Vertue requiſit to the purchaſe thereof, was no way correſpondent.

§. IX.

The Ætolians, and the Gallo-Greeks, vanquiſhed by the Roman Conſuls, Fulvius *and* Manlius. Manlius *hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have paſſed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by* Sibyl. *Of* Sibyls *Prophecies; the Books of* Hermes; *and that Inſcription,* Simoni Deo Sancto. *The ingratitude of* Rome *to the two* Scipio's: *and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobility.*

Marc. Fulvius, and *Cn. Manlius* had the ſame charge divided between them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now ſtiled *Aſiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans work, to look at once to *Greice* and to *Aſia*. And for this reaſon was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had granted ſo long a Truce to the *Ætolians*. But ſince, in this long *Interim of Truce*, that haughty little Nation had not ſought to humble it ſelf to the *Roman Majeſty*, it was now to be brought unto more lowly terms than any other of the *Greeks*. The beſt was, that ſo great a ſtorm fell not unexpected upon the *Ætolians*. They had foreſeen the danger, when their Embaſſadors were utterly denied peace at *Rome*: and they had provided the laſt Remedy; which was to entreat the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* to become Interceſſors for them. Nether were they ſo dejected with any terrible apprehenſions, that they could not well deviſe, even upon helping themſelves by repurchaſe of Countries loſt, where they ſpied advantage.

Poor King *Aminander* lived in exile among them, whilſt *Philip* of *Macedon* kept, for him, poſſeſſion of his Lands and Caſtles. But the *Athamanians* (beſides that many of them bore a natural affection to their own Prince) having been long accuſtomed to ſerve a Mountain Lord, that converſed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and inſolent manner of command, uſed by the Captains of *Philip* his Garriſons. They ſent therefore ſome few of them to their King, and offered their ſervice towards his reſtitution. At the firſt there were only four of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fifty, which undertook the work. Yet aſſurance that all the reſt would follow, made *Aminander* willing to try his fortune. He was at the borders with a thouſand *Ætolians*, upon the day appointed: at what time his two and fifty Adventurers, having divided themſelves into four parts, occupied, by the ready

dy aſſiſtance of the multitude, four of the chief Towns in the Country, to his uſe. The fame of this godd ſucceſs at the firſt; with divers Letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to do their beſt in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenants of *Philip* unable to think upon reſiſtance. One of them held the Town of *Theium* a few daies; giving thereby ſome leiſure unto his King to provide for the reſcue. But when he had done his beſt, he was forced thence, and could only tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was loſt. *Philip* had brought from home ſix thouſand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in ſuch a running march, he left all ſave two thouſand behind him, and ſo came to *Athenæum*, a little *Athamanian* Caſtle, that ſtill was his, as being on the frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he ſent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* a while, to take a place lying over *Argithea*, that was chief of the Country. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King had the boldneſs to deſcend upon *Argithea*; for that they might perceive the *Athamanians*, all along the hill ſides, ready to come down upon them, when they ſhould be buſie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a ſafe retrait: eſpecially when *Aminander* came in ſight with his thouſand *Ætolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back fromwards *Argithea*, and preſently withdrawn by their King towards his own borders. But they were not ſuffered to depart in quiet at their pleaſure. The *Athamanians* and *Ætolians* way-laid them, and purſued them ſo cloſely, that their retrait was in manner of a plain flight, with great loſs of men and arms, few of thoſe eſcaping, that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding ſomewhat in the Country, until *Philip* his return.

The *Ætolians* having found the buſineſs of *Athamania* ſo eaſie, made an attempt in their own behalf, upon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. Theſe had belonged unto their Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently revolted, and became *Ætolians* again. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had been ever belonging to the *Macedonian*, and ſo did ſtill purpoſe to continue. Theſe took Arms at firſt: but ſoon laid them away; ſeeing their neighbours ready to fight with them in the *Ætolian* quarrel, and ſeeing their own King ſo haſtily gone, as if he meant not to return.

Of theſe Victories the joy was the leſs; for that news came of *Antiochus* his laſt overthrow, and of *M. Fulvius* the new Conſul his haſting with an Army into *Greece*. *Aminander* ſent his excuſes to *Rome*, praying the Senate not to take it in deſpight, that he had recovered his own from *Philip* with ſuch help as he could get. Neither ſeems it that the *Romans* were much offended to hear of *Philip* his loſſes: for of this fault they neither were ſharp correctors, nor earneſt reprovers. *Fulvius* went in hand with the buſineſs about which he came, and layed ſiege to *Ambracia*, a goodly City, that had been the chief ſeat of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdom. With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Ætolians*: yet could not by them be relieved, unleſs they would adventure to fight upon equal ground. To help the *Ambracians*, it was not in the *Ætolians* power: for they were, at the ſame time, vexed by the *Illyrians* at Sea, and ready to be driven from their new Conqueſt, by *Perſeus* the Son of *Philip*, who invaded the Countries of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were unable to deal with ſo many at once; and therefore as earneſtly ſought peace with the *Romans*, as they ſtoutly made head againſt the reſt. In the mean while the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embaſſadors came, who beſought the Conſul to grant them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made ſtrong reſiſtance, and would not be terrified by any violence of the Aſſailants, or danger that might ſeem to threaten. The Conſul had no deſire to ſpend half his time about one City, and ſo be diven to leave unto his ſucceſſor the honour of finiſhing the War. Wherefore he gladly hearkened unto the *Ætolians*, and bade them ſeek peace with faithful intent, without thinking it over-dear, at a reaſonable price; coſidering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend *Antiochus* had made the ſame purchaſe. He alſo gave leave to *Aminander*, offering his ſervice as a Mediatour, to put himſelf into *Ambracia*, and try what good his perſwaſions might do with the Citizens. So after many demands and excuſes, the concluſion was ſuch as was grievous to the weaker, but not unſufferable. The ſame Embaſſadours of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians*, accompanied thoſe of the *Ætolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needful in this interceſſion, for that *Philip* had made a very grieveous complaint about the loſs of thoſe Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the peace, which thoſe good Mediatours of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earneſtly ſolicite. The *Ætolians*

were

were bound to uphold the Majesty of the people of *Rome*, and to observe divers Articles, which made them the less free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any people of *Greece*; they having been the first that called these their Masters into the Country. The Isle of *Cephalenia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achæans*, by stiffly pressing their own right) that so they might have possession along the Coast of *Greece*, whilest they seemed to forbear the Country. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others may lay claim, there was set down an order so perplexed, as would necessarily require to have the *Romans* Judges of their Controversies, when they should arise. And hereof good use will be shortly made: when want of employment elsewhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, upon the affairs of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

Cn. Manlius, the other Consul, had at the same time War in *Asia*, with the *Gallo-Greeks* and others. His Army was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whose victory, his acts were the consummation. He visited those Countries on the hither side of *Taurus*, that had scarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these there were some petty Lords or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that were together at wars, without regard of the great alteration that happened in *Asia*. From every of these he got somewhat; and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those Provinces, into which he should else have wanted an errand. He was even loaden with booty, when, having fetcht a compass about *Asia*, he came at length upon the *Gallo-Greeks*. These had long domineered over the Country: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terrour of their fore-posted acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them up in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately such trial, when they served under King *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themselves far the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safety, that they dwelt upon the River *Halys*, in an In-land Country, where those enemies were not very like to search them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their own Nation, that had been friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yield: then was no counsel thought so good, as to forsake their houses and Country, and with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themselves unto the high Mountains of *Olympus* and *Margana*. These Mountains were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should undertake the custody. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as also the natural strength being helpt by such fortification as promised greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Consul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled; and that finally, when he had stayed there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the *Gallo-Greeks* had been careless of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if stones would have served well enough for that purpose: the *Romans*, who came far otherwise appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of arms, than impediment in the disadvantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did easily prevail against casters of stones; especially being such as were these *Gallo-Greeks*, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their stones before-hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit size. Finally the *Barbarians*, wanting defensive Arms, could not hold out against the Arrows and weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driven from a piece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their Camp on the top of the Mountain; and being forced out of their Camp, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong down the steep Rocks. Few of the men escaped alive: all their Wives, Children, and goods, became a prey unto the *Romans*. In the very like manner were the rest of that Nation overcome soon after, at the other Mountain: only more of them saved themselves by flight, as having fairer way at their backs.

These wars being ended: *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were apointed by the Senate, each of them to retain as Proconsul, his Province for another year. *Fulvius*, in his second year, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gave peace to those whom he had vanquished; as likewise to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for fear of the *Roman* Arms. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid upon them such conditions, as he thought expedient. He also did finish the League of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto he swore, and received the Kings oath by Embassadours, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the

matters

matters of *Asia*, he took his way toward the *Hellespont*, loaden with spoil, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the *Gallo-Greeks* had in so many years extorted from the wealthy Provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Army of *Manlius* return home rich in money alone, or cattel, or things of needful use, which the *Roman* Souldier had been wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous Houshold-stuff, and slaves of price, excellent Cooks, and Musicians, for banquets; and in a word, with the seeds of that Luxury which finally over-grew and choaked the *Roman* vertue.

The Country of *Thrace* lay between *Hellespont* and the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his journey homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he passed through them, without any such booty as might provoke them; or perhaps rather, because *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* should not stir. But when
An. 189. *Manlius* came along with a huge train of baggage, the *Thracians* could not so well contain themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* took it otherwise than very pleasantly, to have this *Roman* Army robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry, seeing how little himself was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he understood, and afterwards gave the *Romans* to understand, that *Eumenes* could not have abidden in his own Kingdome, if the people of *Rome* had not made war in *Asia*: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered unto himself three thousand Talents, and fifty Ships of War, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*; promising moreover to restore unto him all the *Greek* Cities, that had been taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the War began: He thought it no even dealing of the *Romans*, after their victory, to give away not only the half of *Asia*, but *Chersonesus*, and *Lysimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas upon himself they bestowed not any one Town. It agreed not indeed with his Nobility to go to *Rome*, and beg Provinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two *Scipio*'s, whom he thought the most honourable men in *Rome*; and was grown into near acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by Letters, whereby he made himself acquainted with the Wars in *Spain* and *Africk*. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* took a surer way. For the *Scipio*'s had not the disposing of that which they won from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore saw these upstart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himself: yea, himself unregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himself against *Antiochus*, or rather that he had joyned with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might have been freed from his insolent Masters. But what great argument of such discontentedness, the *Macedonian* had, we shall very shortly be urged to discourse more at large. At the present it was believed, that the *Thracians* were by him set on to assail the *Romans* passing through their Country. They knew all advantages, and they fell, unexpected, upon the carriages that were bestowed in the midst of the Army; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so far advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behind: though both the getting and the saving, did cost many lives, as well of the *Barbarians*, as of the *Romans*. They fought until it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themselves; not without as much of the booty as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though less dangerous, before the Army could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdom they had a fair march into *Epirus*; and so to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the City, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*, whom some of the ten Delegates appointed to assist him, did very bitterly tax as an unworthy Commander. Touching the rest of their accusation, it sufficeth that he made good answer, and was approved by the chief of the Senate. One Clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to have hindered the peace with *Antiochus*; They said, *That with much ado he was kept from leading his Army over* Taurus, *and adventuring upon the Calamity threatned by* Sibyl's *Verses, unto those that should pass the Fatal Bounds.* What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyls* Prophecy threatned the Roman Captain or Army, that should

pass over *Taurus*, I do not conceive. *Pompey* was the first that marched with an Army beyond those limits: though the Victories of *Lucullus* had opened unto him the way, and had before-hand won, in a sort, the Countries on the other side of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gave to one of *Antiochus* his Race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But we find not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* suffered any loss, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeed the accomplishment of this Prophecy, fell out near about one time, with the restitution of *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, that was forbidden unto the *Romans* by the same *Sybil*. It may therefore seem to have had reference unto the same things that were denounced as like to happen upon the reduction of the *Egyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tully* noteth, *sowed at randome in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by event; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of *Ptolomy* to his Kingdom by *Gabinius* the *Roman*, should have any way betokened the coming of our Saviour: as some both ancient and modern Christian Writers have been well pleased to interpret *Sibyl* in that Prophecy. Of the *Sibylline* Predictions, I have sometimes thought reverently: though not knowing what they were (as I think few men know) yet following the common belief and good authority. But observation of the shameful Idolatry, that upon all occasions was advanced in *Rome* by the Books of *Sibyl*, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgement of *Eusebius*: when that learned and excellent work of Master *Casaubon* upon the Annals of Cardinal *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparent; That not only those Prophecies of *Sibyl*, wherein Christ so plainly was shewed, but even the Books of *Hermes*, which have born such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (whosoever devised them) by the indiscreet zeal of such as delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthened with forreign proofs. And in the same Rank I think, we ought to place that notable History, reported by *Eusebius* from no mean Authors, Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy God*. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publick, should have been quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets would not have suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it been true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then lived and flourished, would have abstained from speaking any word of an argument so famous. Wherefore I am perswaded, that this Inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad *Criticisme*, taken amiss in place of *Semoni Sango*: a title four hundred years older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the Goods of one *Vitruvius* a Rebel, had many Ages before been consecrated *Semoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god Sangus*, in whose Chappel they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old *Roman* letters, or by some spoil that time had wrought upon them; it might easily come to pass, that the words should be mis-read, *Simoni Sancto*, and that some Christian who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sangus*, thereupon should frame the conjecture, which now passeth for a true History. Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more Historical, than was conceived by the Author. But it cannot be safe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firm upon a sure foundation) lean over-hardly on a well-painted, yet rotten post.

Tull. de Divin. lib. 2.

Isaac Casaub. Exercita. 1. ad Annal. Baron. 10. & 11.

Euseb. Pa. l. hist. c. 13.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbered among a few of the richest, which ever the City beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasury, was made the last payment of those moneys which the Commonwealth had borrowed from private men in the second *Punick War*. So long was it, that *Rome* had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memory, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, even so long as he well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the City, until the heat of an inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called one after another, into judgement, by two Tribunes of the People; men, only by this accusation, known to Posterity. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that such unworthy men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasury, or of being hired with Bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Country. When therefore his day of answer came; he appeared before the Tribunes,

Tribunes, not humbly as one accuſed, but followed by a great Train of his Friends and Clients, with which he paſſed through the midſt of the Aſſembly, and offered himſelf to ſpeak. Having audience, he told the People, That upon the ſame day of the year he had fought a great Battel with *Hannibal*, and finiſhed the *Punick War* by a ſignal Victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit ſeaſon to brabble at the Law; but intended to viſit the *Capitol*, and there give thanks to *Jupiter*, and the reſt of the gods, by whoſe grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily diſcharged the moſt weighty buſineſs of the Common weal. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requeſting them, *That if ever ſince the ſeventeenth year of his life, until he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacity of his age, and yet his deſerts had exceeded the greatneſs of thoſe honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their City might ſtill be like to him.* Theſe words were heard with great approbation: ſo as all the people, even the Officers of the court followed *Scipio* leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them excepting their own ſlaves and a Cryer, by whom ridiculouſly they cited him to judgement, until for very ſhame, as not knowing what elſe to do, they granted him, unrequeſted, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their ſuit, but enforce him to ſubmit himſelf to a diſgraceful trial: he willingy relinquiſhed the City and his unthankful *Romans*, that could ſuffer him to undergo ſo much indignity. The reſt of his time he ſpent at *Liternum*: quietly with a few of his inward friends, and without any deſire of ſeeing *Rome* again. How many years he lived, or whether he lived one whole year, in this voluntary baniſhment; it is uncertain. The report of his dying in the ſame year, with *Hannibal* and *Philopœmen*, as alſo of his private behaviour at *Liternum*, render it probable, that he outlived the Tribune-ſhip of his Accuſers; who meant to have drawn him back to his anſwer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the reſt from proceeding) had not cauſed them to deſiſt. Howſoever it was; the ſame Tribunes went more ſharply to work with *L. Scipio the Aſiatique*. They propounded a Decree unto the People, touching money received of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treaſury; that the Senate ſhould give charge unto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and judicially determine thereof. In favour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the ſuppoſed Author of theſe contentions, and inſtigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect Vertue, temperate, valiant, and of ſingular induſtry; frugal alſo, both of the publick, and of his own; ſo as in this kind he was even faulty: for though he would not be corrupted with Bribes, yet was he unmerciful and unconſcionable, in ſeeking to increaſe his own wealth, by ſuch means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poyſoned with envy, troubled both himſelf and the whole City; whilſt he lived. His mean birth cauſed him to hate the Nobility, eſpecially thoſe that were in chief eſtimation. Neither did he ſpare to bite at ſuch as were of his own rank, men raiſed by deſert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whoſe Lieutenant he had been at *Thermopylæ*, was his Competitor for the Cenſorſhip, and likely to carry it, he took an Oath againſt him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjury, That he had not brought into the common Treaſury ſome Veſſels of gold and ſilver, gotten in the Camp of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare unto the *Scipio*'s, grew partly, (beſides his general ſpight at the Nobility) from his own firſt riſing, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from ſome check that was given unto himſelf, in the *African* Voyage by *P. Scipio*, whoſe Treaſurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his diſlike of the Conſuls bad Husbandry (judging Magnificence to be no better) in ſome peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of ſuch double diligence in his Treaſurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he publiſhed, or for want of judgement, thinking unworthily of the vertue that was far above him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with untrue Reports againſt his General; whoſe noble deeds confuted ſufficiently the author of ſuch falſe Tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought upon by the *Scipio*'s, whilſt it was nouriſhed by their enemy, brake out upon advantage, eſpecially againſt *L. Scipio*: his brother being dead, or out of the way. A ſevere inquiry and judgment being appointed of purpoſe againſt *Scipio*, matters were ſo carried, that he was ſoon condemned in a ſum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For *non payment* his body ſhould have been laid up in priſon: but from this rigor of the Law, he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the ſame Tribune who had cauſed the ſuit againſt the *African* to be let fall. In his eſtate, which

was confiſcated to the uſe of the City, when there neither appeared any ſign of his having been beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found ſo much as what he had been condemned to pay; than fell his Accuſers, and all whoſe hands had been againſt him, into the indignation of *the People*. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and Clients, made ſuch a Collection for him, as would have ſet him in better Eſtate than before, if he had accepted it. He took no more than ſuch of his own goods, as were of neceſſary uſe, being redeemed for him by his neareſt friends.

And thus began the Civil War of the *Tongue* in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not been, or not been much regardable until now, ſince the Punick War. Security of danger from abroad, and ſome want of ſufficient Employment, were eſpecial helps to the kindling of this fire; which firſt caught hold upon that Great Worthy, to whoſe Vertue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into ſo great ſecurity her extream danger. But theſe factious contentions did no long while contain themſelves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude in ſuch quarrelſome buſineſs, grew to perfection, they that found themſelves overmatched by their Adverſaries at this kind of weapon, began to make oppoſition firſt with Clubs and Stones, afterward with Swords; and finally, proceeded from frayes and murders in the ſtreets, unto battel in the open field. *Cornelia*, Daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Lady of rare Vertue, that in honour of her two Sons was more commonly named, *Mother of the Gracchi*, ſaw thoſe her two Sons, whileſt they were but young, ſlaughtered in *Rome*, together with ſome of their friends: by thoſe whom they oppoſed, and their death not revenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At theſe times the Senators began to take upon them Authority, more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the Conſuls all the whole power of the City, under this form, *Let the Conſuls provide, that the Commonweal receive no detriment.* By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen *enemy to the State*, they thought to have won a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturnius*, a popular man; whom by ſuch authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marius* a famous Captain of theirs, was ſo condemned, who by force of arms returned into the City, and murdered all the Principal Senators: whereupon began the Civil Wars; which giving unto *Sylla*, who prevailed therein, means to make himſelf abſolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cæſar*, a man of higher Spirit, to affect and obtain the like Soveraign Power, when by the like Decree of the Senate, he was provoked. It is true, that never any Conſul had finally cauſe to rejoyce, of his having put in execution ſuch Authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the fury of the multitude, in paſſing their Laws, by hurling of ſtones, and other violence, made the City ſtand in need of a Soveraign Lord: ſo the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as Enemies, thoſe that would not ſubmit themſelves, when they were over-topped by Voices in the Houſe, did compel *Cæſar*, or give him at leaſt pretence, to right himſelf by Arms: wherewith prevailing againſt his Adverſaries, he took ſuch order, that neither Senate nor People, ſhould thenceforth be able to do him wrong. So by inteſtine diſcord, the *Romans* conſuming all or moſt of their principal Citizens, loſt their own freedom, and became ſubjects unto the arbitrary government of One: ſuffering this change in three Generations, after this beginning of their inſolent Rule, wherein they took upon them as the higheſt Lords on earth, to do even what they liſted. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto unto compleat Greatneſs, nor believed of her ſelf, as if ſhe had, whilſt a King ſate crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and upholding the Reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this conſummation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the ſequel will diſcover.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Second Macedonian War.

§. I.

The Condition wherein thoſe Princes and Eſtates remained, which were Aſſociates of the Romans, when the War with Antiochus *was finiſhed. The Romans quarrel with* Philip. *They deal inſolently with the Achæans, The Macedonian, being unready for War, obtains Peace at* Rome, *by his Son* Demetrius: *of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.*

AFter the overthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Commonweal of the *Achæans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were governed by the ſame Laws and Magiſtrates as formerly had been, before the arrival of the *Romans* in thoſe parts: yet in very truth (the publick Declaration excepted) they were none other than abſolute Vaſſals to the People of *Rome*. For of thoſe five Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or unto Soveraign Power, in whomſoever it reſt; namely, *To make Laws*, *To create Magiſtrates*, *To arbitrate Peace and War*, *to beat Money*, and, *To reſerve* (as the French call it) *le dernier Reſſort*, or *the laſt Appeals*, the *Romans* had aſſumed four; and the greateſt of them ſo abſolutely, that is, *The Appeal*, or laſt reſort, as every petty injury offered to each other by the forenamed Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* Embaſſadours, or Commiſſioners, in thoſe places whence the Complaint came, or otherwiſe by the Senators themſelves within *Rome*; from whoſe arbitriment, or direction, if either King or Commonweals declined, He or they were beaten, and inforced to obedience; or had their Eſtates and Regalities utterly diſſolved. Nevertheleſs it is true, that they had their own Laws, and Officers of their own ordaining: yet ſo, as neither the Laws were of force, when the *Romans* interpoſed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of Magiſtrates ſo free, as that they had not therein eſpecial regard unto the good pleaſure of theſe their Maſters.

And to ſuch degree of ſervitude the ſeveral Eſtates of *Greece* did bow very gently: either as being thankful for their deliverance from a Yoke more ſenſibly grievous; or, as being skilful in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, ſince therein conſiſted their chief hope of thriving; or, as being more fearful of diſpleaſing the ſtrongeſt, than mindful of their own honour. But *Eumenes* living further off, and being moſt obſequious unto the *Romans*, was not of long time queſtioned about any of his doings: his conformity unto them in matter of War and Peace, together with the diverſion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to hold his own even as he liſted, until they ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe of him. Neither was it a little available to him, that his Kingdom bordered upon the Nations by them not throughly ſubdued. For upon the ſame reaſon (as well as upon his own high deſerts) were they very loving unto *Maſaniſſa*, and to his Houſe, until *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion ſettled in *Africk*: as likewiſe afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others, holding people in ſubjection unto themſelves, by the Miniſtry of Kings; eſpecially of ſuch Kings, as were uſeful and obſequious unto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper, and ſhewed himſelf not forgetful of his own former greatneſs, the honour of his Race, or the high reputation of his Kingdom. But ſuch Magnanimity was none otherwiſe conſtrued by the *Romans*, than as want of due reverence to their eſtate, and a valuation of himſelf againſt them: which in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore notwithſtanding that he had lately given paſſage to their Armies thorow his Country, prepared the wayes for them, and furniſhed them both with Victuals and other things needful, to tranſport them over the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*, againſt *Antiochus*: yet upon the complaint of *Eumenes* and the States of *Theſſaly* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea*, with all Pieces and places demanded by any of his Neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction or licence, even from the *Romans* themſelves.

Theſe

These Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had been part of *Lysimachus* his Kingdom: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the North-west, extended his Dominion very far. He is thought to have made himself Lord of *Transylvania:* In which Province it is said, That innumerable Medals of Gold have been found in the age of our Grand-fathers, each of them weighing two or three Crowns, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Victory*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he lived not to settle his Estate in *Europe*) fell to *Seleucus Nicanor* by right of War, wherein he vanquished and slew *Lysimachus:* as also, by the like right *Ptolomy Ceraunus* thought them his own, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gaules*, which the Kingdom of *Macedon* could not sustain, did shortly and easily wash away from that Crown, together with the more part of *Thrace*, all those heaps of Land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the Son of *Demetrius* and his Successors: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The fury of the *Gauls* being over-past, those Countries which lately had been oppressed by them, recovered their Liberty; and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wild *Thracians*, to find their advantages, and make use of them, even upon *Macedon*. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, King *Philip* did provide the most convenient remedies: by shutting up the ways, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdom; and by occupying *Lysimachia*, with some other Towns in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarks of his own Country, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoved him thus to do, for the defence of his own estate: yet forasmuch as these Towns were, in a manner, at absolute liberty, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Ætolians*, of wrongful usurpation and oppression, in his having occupied *Lysimachia*. Hereto he made a good answer. That his Garrison did only save it from the *Thracians:* who, as soon as he thence withdrew his men, did seize upon the Town, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might have said, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*; That they were places unable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might have entrance into his Kingdom. But this Plea had not availed him, in the disputation about *Lysimachia:* and in the present question, the *Romans* were not without their own title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Country thereabout, whilst *Philip* was busied in his former war: and since they, by their Victory, had gotten unto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only submitted his right unto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it unto their disposition, Whether *Ænus* and *Maronea* should be set at liberty: whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed upon *Eumenes*; who begged them as an appendix to *Lysimachia* and *Chersonesus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceive by the demeanour of their Embassadours towards him: who sitting as Judges between him and all that made complaint upon him, gave sentence against him in every controversie. Nevertheless he sent Embassadours to *Rome*, there to maintain his Right unto these Towns; wherein he thought, that equity (if it might prevail) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the War against *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: wherein whatsoever he had gotten for himself, was now taken from him by their Embassadors: and would they now deprive him of those two Towns, lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdom, which he had gotten to himself out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his own ruines, *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deal more? By such allegations either he was likely to prevail, or at least to gain time, wherein he might bethink himself what he had to do. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equal to him, than had been their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Maronites* had behaved themselves, in pleading against him for their Liberty, he took counsel of his own passion; and (as by nature he was very cruel) gave order to *Onomastus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these *Maronites* in such sort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians* by night, that they might sack the Town, and use all cruelties of War. This was done: but so ill taken by the *Roman* Embassadors who had better notice than could have been feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Majesty, to an accompt. He would have removed the blame from himself, and laid it even upon the *Maronites*: affirming, that

that they, in heat of their Factions, being ſome inclinable to him, otherſome to *Eumenes*, had fallen into ſuch outrage, that they had cut one anothers throats. And hereof he willed the Embaſſadors to enquire among the *Maronites* themſelves: as well knowing, that they who ſurvived, were either his own friends; or ſo terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durſt not utter an offenſive word. But he found the *Romans* more ſevere, and more thorowly informed in the buſineſs, than to reſt contented with ſuch an anſwer. He was plainly told, That if he would diſcharge himſelf of the Crime objected, he muſt ſend *Onomaſtus* and *Caſſander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate ſhould think fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his ſpirits, and ſaid, That *Caſſander* ſhould be at their diſpoſition: but concerning *Onomaſtus*, who had not been at *Maronea*, nor near to it, he requeſted them not to preſs him, ſince it ſtood not with his honour ſo lightly to give away his friends. As for *Caſſander*, becauſe he ſhould tell no tales; He took order to have him poyſoned by the way. By this we ſee, that the Doctrine which *Machiavel* taught unto *Cæſar Borgia*, to imploy men in miſchievous actions, and afterwards to deſtroy them when they have performed the miſchief, was not of his own invention. All Ages have given us examples of this goodly policy, the latter having been apt Scholars in this Leſſon to the more ancient: as the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, here in *England* can bear good witneſs; and therein eſpecially the Lord *Cromwel*, who periſhed by the ſame unjuſt Law that himſelf had deviſed, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an unpleaſant noiſe at *Rome*, and were like to have brought upon him the war which he feared, before he was ready to entertain it. Wherefore he employed his younger Son *Demetrius* as Embaſſadour unto the Senate: giving him Inſtructions how to make anſwer to all Complaints, and withall to deliver his own Grievances in ſuch wiſe, that if ought were amiſs, yet might it appear that he had been ſtrongly urged to take ſuch courſes. The ſum of his Embaſſage was, To pacifie the *Romans*, and make all even for the preſent. *Demetrius* himſelf was known to be very acceptable unto the Senate, as having been well approved by them, when he was Hoſtage in *Rome*: and therefore ſeemed the more likely to prevail ſomewhat; were it only, in that regard would be born unto his perſon.

Whileſt this buſineſs with the *Macedonian* hung in ſuſpence, and whileſt he, by his readineſs to make ſubmiſſion, ſeemed likely to divert from himſelf ſome other way the *Roman* Arms: the ſame Embaſſadors, that had been Judges between him and his Neighbours, made their progreſs thorow the reſt of *Greece*; and took notice of the Controverſies, which they found between ſome Eſtates in the Country. The greateſt cauſe that was heard before them, was the complaint of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* againſt the *Achæans*. It was objected unto the *Achæans*, That they had committed a grievous ſlaughter upon many Citizens of *Lacedæmon*: That unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing down the Walls of the City: as alſo further, in changing the Laws, and abrogating the famous Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas* the Prætor of the *Achæans*, made anſwer, That theſe baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*, who now took upon them to accuſe the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriouſly known to be the men, who had themſelves committed that murder, whereof ſhameleſly they laid the blame upon others: the *Achæans* having not only called thoſe unto judgment, that were ſuppoſed to be chief Authors of a Rebellion againſt both them and the *Romans*: and theſe Plaintiffs having ſlain them, upon private, though juſt hatred, as they were coming to make anſwer for themſelves. Concerning their throwing down the walls of *Lacedæmon*, he ſaid it was moſt agreeable to *Lycurgus* his Ordinance: who, having perſwaded his Citizens to defend their Town and liberty by their proper vertue, did inhibit unto them all kind of fortifications: as the Retraits and Neſts either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had woful experience) of Tyrants and Uſurpers. Further he ſhewed, how the ſame Tyrants that had built theſe walls, and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had alſo quite aboliſhed *Lycurgus* his Ordinances; and governed the City by their own lawleſs Will. As for the *Achæans*; they communicated their own Laws, which they held for the beſt, or elſe would ſoon change them, and take better, unto the *Lacedæmonians*; whom they found without Laws, or any tolerable form of policy. For concluſion, *Lycortas* plainly told *App. Claudius*, the chief of the Embaſſadours, That he and his Countrymen held it ſtrange, being friends and faithful Allies of the *Romans*, to ſee themſelves thus conſtrained, to anſwer and give account of their actions, as vaſſals and ſlaves unto the *People of Rome*. For if they were indeed at Liberty: why might not the

Achæans

Achæans as well require to be ſatisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did buſie themſelves, to take account how things went at *Lacedæmon*? For if the *Romans* would ſtand upon their Greatneſs; and intimate, as they begun, that the Liberty of their Friends was nothing worth, longer than ſhould pleaſe themſelves to ratifie it: then muſt the *Achæans* have recourſe unto thoſe Agreements that were confirmed by Oath, and which, without perjury could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing the *Romans*, but much more, the immortal gods. To this bold anſwer of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking ſtate upon him; he pronounced, more like a Maſter than a Judge, that if the *Achæans* would not be ruled by fair means, and earn thanks whileſt they might; they ſhould be compelled with a miſchief, to do what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the *Achæans*, which groaned to hear the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet fear prevailed above indignation: and it was permitted unto the *Romans* to do as they liſted. Hereupon the Embaſſadours reſtored ſome baniſhed and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, very ſoon after, did make void all judgements of death or baniſhment, that had been laid by the *Achæans* upon any Citizen of *Lacedæmon*; as likewiſe they made it a matter of diſputation, whether or no the City and Territory of *Lacedæmon* ſhould be ſuffered to continue a member of the *Achæan* Common-wealth: or, taken from them, and made as it had been an Eſtate by it ſelf. By bringing ſuch a matter into queſtion, the *Romans* well declared, that they held it to depend upon their own will, how much or how little any of their Confederates ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the Councel of *Achaia*, they diſcovered no leſs, as to them ſeemed, the love which they bare unto the *Achaians*, than the power which they had over them.

Into ſuch ſlavery had the *Greeks*, and all Kings and Commonweals whatſoever, bordering upon any part of the Mediterranean Seas, reduced themſelves, by calling in the *Romans* to their ſuccour. They wanted not the good counſel and perſwaſions of many wiſe and temperate men among them; they had alſo the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Africans*, all ſubdued by the *Romans*; and, by ſeeking Patronage, made meer Vaſſals; to inſtruct them, what in the like caſe they ſhould expect: yet could not the true reaſons of Eſtate and Policy ſo prevail with them, but their private paſſions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath evermore bought Revenge at the price of ſelf-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into moſt baſe and fearful ſervility.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*: who, though he ſaw the *Greeks* very far from daring to ſtir againſt thoſe, by whom both he and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans*, by freeing from his ſubjection, had made his implacable enemies) in hearty affection all the Country would be his, whenſoever he ſhould take Arms, as ſhortly he was like to do. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from *Rome*, brought with him the deſired Ratification of Peace; though qualified with much indignity ſoon following. He had been lovingly uſed at *Rome*, and heard with great favour in the Senate. There, being counfounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, unſkilful in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make anſwer: it was permitted unto him, to read ſuch brief notes as he had received from his Father, and out of thoſe the Senate were contented to gather ſatisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his own ſake, as they then ſaid, and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodneſs in the Defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the intreaty of his Son, together with ſome inſolence of his Son, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the *Romans*; did increaſe in *Philip* his hatred unto *Rome*, and bred in him a jealouſie of his too forward Son. To ſet him forward in theſe paſſions, there came dayly new Embaſſadors from *Rome*; ſome bringing one Commandment, ſome another; and ſome requiring him to fulfill thoſe things which had been impoſed upon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that obſerved his countenance: and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge, that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs muſt. With theſe Embaſſadours young *Demetrius* was converſant: rather perhaps out of ſimplicity, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious reſpect; yet a great deal more than was pleaſing to his Father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perſeus*, the Elder Son of the King, ſhould not ſucceed unto his Father, but that the Diadem ſhould be conferred upon *Demetrius*, if not by ſome other pretence, yet by meer favour of the *Romans*. This offended not only *Perſeus*, but *Philip* himſelf: who ſuſpected

ſuſpected his younger Son, as more *Roman* than his own; and accordingly miſconſtrued all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealouſie, it will not be amiſs to ſpeak of ſome memorable accidents that were in the mean time.

§. II.

The death of Philopœmen, Hannibal, *and* Scipio. *That the Military profeſſion is of all other the moſt unhappy: notwithſtanding ſome examples, which may ſeem to prove the contrary.*

THE *Romans* wanting other matter of quarrel in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late been ſo peremptory with the *Achæans*; that they ſeemed not unlikely to take part againſt them in any controverſie that ſhould be moved. Hereupon the *Meſſenians*, who againſt their will were annexed unto the *Achæan* Common-wealth, having long been of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themſelves from that Society, with purpoſe to ſet up again the Eſtate of their own, ſevered from communion with any other. This was the device of ſome that were powerful in their City; who finding the multitude only inclinable to their purpoſe, and not over-ſtrongly affected in the buſineſs, were careful to ſeek occaſion of reducing things to ſuch paſs, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a neceſſity of ſtanding out, and of not returning to the *Achæan* League. And hereupon they began to do ſome acts of hoſtility, whereby it was probable that blood ſhould be drawn, and either ſide ſo far exaſperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Prætor of the *Achæans*, levied ſuch forces as he could in haſte, and went againſt them. Many principal Gentlemen of the *Achæans*, eſpecially of the *Megalopolitans*, were ſoon in a readineſs to wait upon him. Beſides theſe, which were all, or for the moſt part, horſe; he had ſome Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that uſually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captain of the *Meſſenians*; whom he charged, and forced to run. But whileſt his horſe-men were too earneſt in following the chaſe; there arrived by chance a ſupply of five hundred from *Meſſene*, which gave new courage unto thoſe that fled. So the Enemies began to make head again: and with the help of thoſe, who very ſeaſonably came to their aid, compelled *Philopœmens* horſe-men to turn back, *Philopœmen* himſelf had long been ſick of an Ague, and was then very weak: yet the greatneſs of his courage would not ſuffer him to be negligent of their ſafety, which had ſo willingly adventured themſelves under his conduct. He took upon him to make the Retrait: and ſuffering his horſe-men to paſs along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about againſt the *Meſſenians*; whom, the reputation and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching over near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being caſt to ground by a fall off his horſe, and being withall in very weak plight of body, he was unable to get up again. So the Enemies came upon him, and took him; yet ſcarce believed their fortune to be ſo good, although their eyes were witneſſes. The firſt meſſenger that brought theſe news to *Meſſene*; was ſo far from being believed, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the City ran forth to meet him, and behold the ſpectacle ſeeming ſo incredible! They cauſed him to be brought into the Theatre, that there they might ſatisfie themſelves with beholding him. The greateſt part of them had compaſſion on his miſ-fortune: and in commemoration both of his virtue, and of the ſingular benefits by him done unto them, eſpecially in delivering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifeſt their good will for his delivery. Contrariwiſe, *Dinocrates* and his Faction were deſirous haſtily to take away his life: becauſe they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any diſgarce, or injury done to him, unrevenged. They durſt not one truſt another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a ſtrong vault under ground, that had been made for the cuſtody of their Treaſure. So thither they let him down faſt bound, and with an Engine laid an heavy ſtone upon the mouth of the Vault. There he had not ſtayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his preſent death. The Hangman of the City was let down unto him with a cup of poyſon, which *Philopœmen* took in his hand: and aſking no more than whether the Horſe-men were eſcaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was ſafe; when he heard an anſwer to his mind, he ſaid it was well: and ſo with a chearful countenance, drank his laſt draught. He was ſeventy years old, and weakned with long ſickneſs. whereby the poyſon wrought the ſooner, and eaſily took away his life. The *Achæans*, when they miſſed him

in their flight, were marvellously offended with themselves, for that they had been more mindful to preserve their own lives, than to look unto the safety of so excellent a Commander. Whilest they were devising what to do in such a case: they got advertisement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadours were forthwith dispatched unto *Messene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtain it by force, in case that fair means would not serve. *Lycortas* was chosen General of the Army against *Messene*: who coming thither, and laying siege to the Town, enforced it in short space to yield. Then *Dinocrates* knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himself, and made an end of his own life. The rest of those that had been partakers in the murder: were compelled to wait in bonds upon the ashes of *Philopœmen* that were carryed home in solemn pomp to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them slain at his funeral, as sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. *Q. Martius*, a *Roman* Embassadour, was then in *Greece*; whence, upon one occasion or other, the *Roman* Embassadours were seldome absent. He would have intermedled in this business of *Messene*, had not *Lycortas* made short work, and left him nothing to do.

About the same time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* sent Embassadour to *Prusias* King of *Bithinia*: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the war against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him that he would deliver *Hannibal*, the most spightful enemy in all the world unto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein unworthy of the Crown he wore) did readily condescend: or rather (as *Livie* thinks) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive to *Flaminius*. For upon the first conference between the King and *Flaminius*, a troop of souldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captain having found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusius*, had devised some secret sallies under ground to save himself from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy: which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing over him, as to save himself from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprizes, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way to escape, nor counsel to resort unto, he took the poison into his hand, which he alwaies preserved for a sure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of adverse fortune; which being ready to swallow down, he uttered these words: *I will now* (said he) *deliver the* Romans *of that fear which hath so many years possest them; that fear, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of* Flaminius, *over me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall never be numbered among the rest of his heroical deeds: No, it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the world, how far the ancient* Roman *virtue is degenerate and corruped. For such was the nobleness of their forefathers, as when* Pyrrhus *invaded them in* Italy, *and was ready to give them battel at their own door, they gave him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poyson; whereas these of a latter race, have employed* Flaminius, *a man who hath heretofore been one of their Consuls, to practise with* Prusias, *contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given, and contrary to the Laws of Hospitality, to slaughter or deliver up his own Guest.* He then cursing the person of *Prusias*, *and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to revenge his fidelity*, drank off the poyson and dyed.

In this year also (as good Authors have reported) to accompany *Philopœmen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the *African*; these being all of them, as great Captains as ever the world had; but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedy we have now finished, had he been Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authority might have commanded such supplies, as the War which he undertook, required; it is probable, that he had torn up the *Roman* Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly crost by a cowardly and envious Faction at home, as his proper virtue, wanting publick force to sustain it, did lastly dissolve it self in his own, and in the common misery of his Country and Common-weal.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the envy of our equals, and jealousie of our Masters, be they Kings or Common-weals, that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of men of war, and great Captains, being no Kings. For besides the envy and jealousie of men, the spoils, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as with good reason did *Monluc* the Marshal of *France* confess, That, *were not the mercies of* God *infinite, and without restriction, it were*

were *in vain for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were also infinite.* Howsoever, this is true, That the victories which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serve under them, to Fortune, or the cowardise of the Nation against whom them serve. For the most of others, whose virtues have raised them above the level of their inferiours, and have surmounted their envy: yet have they been rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the *Romans* we find many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Livius*, *L. Æmylius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we have lately buried. Among the *Greeks* we read of not many that escaped these rewards. Yea long before these times, it was a Legacy that *David* bequeathed unto his victorious Captain *Joab*. With this fear *Alexander* feasted *Fermenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereunto *Valentinian* the Emperour invited *Ætius*: who, after many other victories, overthrew *Attelia* of the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battel for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that ever was struken in the world, for there fell of those that fought, beside run-awaies, an hundred and fourscore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Ætius*, he had cut off his own right hand with his left: for it was not long after, that *Maximus* (by whose perswasion *Valentinian* slew *Ætius*) murdered the Emperour; which he never durst attempt, *Ætius* living. And, besides the loss of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Ætius*, the glory of the Western Empire was rather dissolved, than obscured. The same unworthy destiny, or a far worse had *Belisarius*; whose undertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torn out of his head by *Justinian*: and he died a blind begger. *Narses* also, to the great prejudice of Christian Religion, was disgraced by *Justin*. That rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath been well observed in every age since then, to wit, That the Common-weal cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence have the *Turks* drawn another Principle, and indeed, a *Turkish* one, That every warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of war, than suffer his own glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Bajazet* the second dispatch *Bassa Acomat*; *Selim* strangle *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their *Visiers*. Of the *Spanish* Nation, the great *Gonsalvo*, who drave the *French* out of *Naples*: and *Ferdinando Cortese*, who conquered *Mexico*; were crowned with Nettles, not with Lawrel. The Earls of *Egmond* and *Horn* had no heads left them to wear Garlands on. And that the great Captains of all Nations have been paid with this Copper Coin; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary, it may be said, That many have acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great ability in matter of War. This I confess. Yet must it be had withall in consideration, that these high places have been given or offered unto very few, as rewards of their military virtue; though many have usurped them, by the help and favour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it unregardable, That the Tyrants, which have oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which have traiterously cast down their Masters, and stepped up into their seats; were not all of them good men of war: but have used the advantage of some commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, have obtained those dignities, which undeservedly were ascribed to their personal worth. So that the number of those that have purchased absolute greatness by the greatness of their warlike virtue; is far more in seeming than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldier, and by the help of the Souldiers he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and, with a barbarous cruelty, seldom found in any other than cowards, he slew first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that never had done him wrong, before his face; and after them *Mauritius* himself. This his bloody aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid unto him again by *Heraclius*: who took from him the Imperial Crown, unjustly gotten; and set it on his own head. *Leontius* laid hold upon the Emperour *Justine*, cut off his Nose and Ears, and sent him into banishment: but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge he had left his own men of war. *Justine* having recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same fashion. *Philippicus* commanding the forces of *Justine*, murdered both the Emperour and his Son. *Anastasius*, the vassal of this new Tyrant, surprised his Master *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastasius*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for having wrested the Scepter out

of his hands, he enforced him to become a Prieſt. It were an endleſs and a needleſs work to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodoſius*, how many others have been repaid with their own cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thouſands, hoping of Captains to make themſelves Kings, have by Gods juſtice miſerably periſhed in the attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the beſt way of thriving by the practice of Arms, is to take what may be gotten by the ſpoil of Enemies, and the liberality of thoſe Princes and Cities, in whoſe ſervice one hath well deſerved. But ſcarce one of a thouſand have proſpered by this courſe. For that obſervation, made by *Solomon*, of unthankfulneſs in this kind, hath been found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little City, and a few men in it, and a great King came againſt it, and compaſſed it about, and builded Forts againſt it: And there was found a poor and wiſe man therein, and he delivered the City by his wiſdom: but none remembred this poor man.* Great Monarchs are unwilling to pay great thanks, leſt thereby they ſhould acknowledge themſelves to have been indebted for great benefits: which the unwiſer ſort of them think to ſavour of ſome impotency in themſelves. But in this reſpect they are often times couzened and abuſed; which proves that weakneſs to be in them indeed, whereof they ſo gladly ſhun the opinion. Contrariwiſe, free Eſtates are bountiful in giving thanks, yet ſo, as thoſe thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captains have made, by enriching themſelves with the ſpoil of the Enemy, they are very inquiſitive to ſearch into it; and to ſtrip the well-deſervers out of their gettings: yea moſt injuriouſly to rob them of their own, upon a falſe ſuppoſition; that even they whoſe hands are moſt clean from ſuch offences, have purloyned ſomewhat from the common Treaſury. Hereof I need not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipio's* being ſo lately recited.

Eccleſ. 9. 14. & 15.

In my late Soveraigns time, although for the wars, which, for her own ſafety, ſhe was conſtrained to undertake, her Majeſty had no leſs cauſe to uſe the ſervice of Martial men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predeceſſors for many years had: yet according to the deſtiny of that profeſſion, I do not remember that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldeſt, and moſt proſperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwiſe honoured, for any ſervice by them performed. And, that her Majeſty had many adviſed, valiant, and faithful men, the proſperity of her affairs did well witneſs, who in all her dayes never received diſhonour by the cowardiſe or infidelity of any Commander, by her ſelf choſen and imployed.

For as all her old Captains by Land died poor men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drewry*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Conſtable*, *Bourchier*, *Barkeley*, *Bingham*, and others: ſo thoſe of a later and more dangerous imployment, whereof *Norrice* and *Vere* were the moſt famous, and who have done as great honour to our Nation (for the means they had) as ever any did; thoſe (I ſay) with many other brave Colonels, have left behind them (beſides the reputation which they purchaſed with many travels and wounds) nor title nor eſtate to their poſterity. As for the L. *Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Bertie* L. *Willowghby* of *Eresby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Eſtates.

That her Majeſty in the advancement of her men of War did ſooner believe other men than her ſelf, a diſeaſe unto which many wiſe Princes, beſides her ſelf, have been ſubject; I ſay, that ſuch a confidence, although it may ſeem altogether to excuſe her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in ſome ſort accuſe her of weakneſs. And exceeding ſtrange it were, were not the cauſe manifeſt enough, that where the proſperous actions are ſo exceedingly prized, the Actors are ſo unproſperous and ſo generally neglected. The cauſe, I ſay which hath wrought one and the ſame effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that thoſe which are neareſt the perſon of Princes (which Martial-men ſeldom are) can with no good grace commend, or at leaſt magnifie a profeſſion far more Noble than their own, ſeeing therein they ſhould only mind their Maſters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving leſs honour and reward to men of far greater deſerving, and of far greater uſe than themſelves.

But his Majeſty hath already paid the greateſt part of that debt. For beſides the relieving by Penſions all the poorer ſort, he hath honoured more Martial men than all the Kings of *England* have done for this hundred years.

He hath given a Coronet to the L. *Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable ſervice, as well in the year 1588. as at *Caliz*, the Iſlands, and in our own Sea; having firſt commanded as a Captain, twice Admiral of a Squadron, and twice Admiral in Chief. His Majeſty hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* & *Burley* into Earldoms; and created *Sidney*

ney Vicount, *Knolles*, *Ruſſel*, *Carew*, *Danvers*, *Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chicheſter*, Barons, for their governments and ſervices in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elſewhere.

§. III.

Philip, *making proviſion for war againſt the Romans, deals hardly with many of his own ſubjects. His negotiation with the Baſtarnæ. His cruelty. He ſuſpecteth his Son* Demetrius. Demetrius *accuſed by his brother* Perſeus; *and ſhortly after ſlain by his fathers appointment.* Philip *repenteth him of his ſons death, whom he findeth to have been innocent: and intending to revenge it on* Perſeus, *he dieth.*

QVintius *Martius* the *Roman* Embaſſador, who travelled up and down, ſeeking what work might be found about *Greece*, had received inſtruction from the Senate, to uſe the utmoſt of his diligence in looking into the Eſtate of *Macedon*. At his return home, that he might not ſeem to have diſcovered nothing, he told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatſoever they enjoyned him: yet ſo, as it might appear, that ſuch his obedience would laſt no longer, than meer neceſſity ſhould enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and ſayings of that King, did wholly tend unto Rebellion, about which he was deviſing. Now it was ſo indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithful obſequiouſneſs to the *Romans*, and foreſaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdom into their own hands; which ſafety of their honour, if they could find convenient means; or otherwiſe (as to him ſeemed apparent) by what means ſoever. He was in an ill caſe: as having been already vanquiſhed by them; having loſt exceedingly both in ſtrength and reputation; having ſubjects that abhorred to hear of War with *Rome*; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto urged, would adventure to take his part: yet he provided as well as he could deviſe, againſt the neceſſity which he daily feared. Such of his own people as dwelt in the maritime Towns, and gave him cauſe to ſuſpect that they would do but bad ſervice againſt the *Romans*, he compelled to forſake their dwelling, and removed them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Country, whence theſe were tranſplanted, he filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whoſe faith he thought a great deal more aſſured againſt thoſe enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, he deviſed upon alluring the *Baſtarnæ*, a ſtrong and hardy Nation, that dwelt beyond the River of *Danubius*, to abandon their ſeat, and come to him with all their multitude: who, beſides other great rewards, would help them to root out the *Dardanians*, and take poſſeſſion of their Country. Theſe were like to do him notable ſervice againſt the *Romans*; being not only ſtout fighting men, but ſuch, as being planted in thoſe quarters by him, would bear reſpect unto him alone, The leaſt benefit that could be hoped by their arrival, muſt be the utter extirpation of the *Dardanians*; a people alwayes troubleſome to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, whenſoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perſwade thoſe *Baſtarnæ*, by hope of ſpoil, and other incitements, unto a more deſperate Expedition, through *Illyria*, and the Countries upon the *Adriatick* Sea, into *Italy* it ſelf. It was not known who ſhould withſtand them upon the way: rather it was thought, that the *Scordiſci*, and peradventure ſome others through whoſe Country they were to paſs, would accompany them againſt the *Romans*, were it only in hope of ſpoil. Now to facilitate the remove of theſe *Baſtarnæ* from their own habitations, into the Land of the *Dardanians*, upon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious journey unto them, that carried with them their wives and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchaſe the good will of ſome *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to paſs. And thus he ſought means to ſtrengthen himſelf with the help of the wild Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were known unto them; ſince he was not like to find aſſiſtance from any civil Nation, about the whole compaſs of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But theſe deviſes were long ere they took effect: ſo as the *Baſtarnæ* came not before ſuch time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpoſe. In the mean time he neglected not the training of his men to war, and the exerciſe of them in ſome ſmall Expedition againſt thoſe wild people that bordered upon him, and ſtood worſt effected toward him.

But theſe his counſels and proceedings were miſerably diſturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his Kingdom, and in his own houſe. The Families and whole Townſhips, which he had cauſed much againſt their wills to forſake their ancient dwellings, and betake themſelves to ſuch new habitations, as he in his diſcretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at firſt contained it ſelf within words: he having

ving done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived: which also he did unwillingly, being himself over-ruled by necessity, that seemed apparent. This evil therefore would soon have been determined, had not his cruel and vindicative nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from just sorrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly sought revenge where it was needless. In his rage he caused many to dye: among whom were some eminent men; and few or none of them deservedly. This increased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more general, when the King in a barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom he had injured, thought himself unlike to be safe, until he should have massacred all the children of those Parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical then perhaps he could have desired, gave men cause to think (as they could not in reason think otherwise) that, not without vengeance poured on him from Heaven, he felt the like misery in his own children. It is hard to say what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinary favour which they shewed unto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger Son. It may well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissention between the brethren, but only to cherish the vertue and towardliness of *Demetrius*; like as we find it in their Histories. But their notable favour towards this young Prince, and his mutual respect of them, bred extream jealousie in the Fathers head. If any custom of the *Romans*, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparel, or the unsightly contriving and building (as then it was) of the Town of *Rome*, were jested at in ordinary discourse and table-talk; *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praising them, even in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conversation with their Embassadours as often as they came, gave his Father cause to think, that he was no fit partaker of any Counsel held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder Son *Perseus*: who fearing so much lest his brother should step between him and the succession, converted wholly unto his destruction, that grace which he had with his Father. *Perseus* was then thirty years old; of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five years, more open and unwary in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertain more dangerous practices than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the King having entertained such suspitions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder Son, a slight occasion made the fire break out, that had long lain smothered. A Muster and ceremonious lustration of the Army, was wont to be made at certain times with great solemnity. The manner of it at the present was thus. They cleft in twain a Bitch; and threw the head and forepart, with the entrails, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Army was to pass: This done, the Arms of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very first original, were born before the Army. Then followed the King between his two Sons: after him came his own band, and they of his Guard; whom all the rest of the *Macedonians* followed. Having performed other ceremonies, that Army was divided into two parts: which under the Kings two Sons, charged each other in manner of a true fight; using poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captains did overearnestly seek each to get the upper hand, as a betokening of their good success in a greater trial. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, until *Perseus* his side at length recoyled. *Perseus* himself was sorry for this, as it had been some bad presage: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good use. They were of the craftier sort: who, perceiving which way the Kings favour bent, and how all the courses of *Demetrius* led unto his own ruine, addressed their services to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him; as if the heat of his ambition had carryed him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his own companions, and each of them had spies in the others lodging, to observe what was said and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaved himself so indiscreetly, that he was taken and well beaten by three or four of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of doors. After some store of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would go visit his brother, and see what chear he kept.

kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting ſuch of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet he would leave none of his train behind, but forced them all to bear him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themſelves ſecretly to prevent all danger. Yet was there ſuch good eſpial kept, that this their coming armed was forthwith made known to *Perſeus*: who thereupon tumultuouſly locked up his doors, as if he ſtood in fear to be aſſaulted in his houſe. *Demetrius* wondred to ſee himſelf excluded, and fared very angerly with his brother. But *Perſeus* bidding him be gone as an enemy, and one whoſe murdrous purpoſe was detected, ſent him away with an entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accuſed the younger unto the Father of them both. Much there was alledged, and, in effect, the ſame that hath been here recited, ſave that by miſconſtruction all was made worſe. But the main point of the accuſation, and which did aggravate all the reſt, was, That *Demetrius* had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps alſo dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom he knew that he ſhould be defended and born out. For *Perſeus* made ſhew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; becauſe he bore a due reſpect unto his Father, and was ſorry to ſee him ſpoiled, and daily robbed of ſomewhat by them. And for this cauſe he ſaid it was, that they did animate his brother againſt him: as alſo that they ſought how to win unto *Demetrius* the love of the *Macedonians*. For proof hereof he cited a Letter, ſent of late from *Titus Quintius* to the King himſelf: whereof the contents were, That he had done wiſely in ſending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that he ſhould yet further do well to ſend him thither again, accompanied with a greater and more honourable train of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counſel was given by *Titus*, of purpoſe to ſhake the allegiance of thoſe, that ſhould wait upon his brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become ſervants to this young Traitor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made anſwer, by rehearſing all paſſages of the day and night foregoing, in ſuch manner as he remembred them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perſeus*, that converted matters of paſtime, and what was done or ſpoken in wine, to ſuch an accuſation, whereby he ſought his innocent brothers death. As for the love which the *Romans* did bear him, he ſaid that it grew, if not by his own virtue, at leaſt wiſe from their opinion thereof: ſo as by any impious practice, he were more like to loſe it wholly, than to increaſe it. In this wretched pleading there wanted no ſuch paſſions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren, beſides thoſe that are common to all Plaintiffs and Defendants, before ordinary Judges. The King pronounced like a Father, though a jealous Father, That he would conclude nothing upon the exceſs or errour, whatſoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one hours audience of the matter, but upon better obſervation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themſelves both in word and deed. And herein he may ſeem to have dealt both juſtly and compaſſionately. But from this time forward he gave himſelf over wholly to *Perſeus*: uſing ſo little conference with his younger Son, that when he had matters of weight in hand, ſuch eſpecially as concerned the *Romans*, he liked neither to have him preſent, nor near unto him. Above all, he had eſpecial care to learn out what had paſſed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, *Philocles* and *Apelles*; men whom he thought no way intereſſed in the quarrels between the brethren, though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they ſaw the more in grace. Theſe brought home with them a Letter, ſaid to be written by *Titus* (whoſe ſeal they had counterfeited) unto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the young Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious deſires had cauſed him to enter into practices unjuſtifiable, againſt his elder brother, which yet ſhould never take effect: for that *Titus* himſelf would not be author, or abettor of any impious device. This manner of excuſe did forcibly perſwade the King to think his Son a dangerous Traitor. To ſtrengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gave *Demetrius* in cuſtody, made ſhew as if he had pitied the eſtate of the unhappy Prince, and ſo wrung out of him his ſecret intentions, which he ſhortly diſcovered unto *Philip*. It was the purpoſe of *Demetrius* to fly ſecretly to *Rome*; where he might hope not only to live in ſafety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could find at home, of bettering ſuch claim as he had in reverſion unto the Crown of *Macedon*. Whatſoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falſhood of *Didas*; who, playing on both hands, offered unto the Prince his help for making the eſcape, and in the mean while

while revealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* resolved to put his Son to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behoveful to make him away privily, for fear lest the *Romans* should take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proof sufficient, at least, of the Kings despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the war. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince out of his life. This accursed minister of his Kings unadvised sentence, first gave poyson to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of Ruffians, to finish the tragedy: who villainously accomplished their work, by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not been found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his own blood. The houses of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* fell either with themselves, or even upon their heels; by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on desire of soveraign rule, or fear of losing it. By the like unnatural hatred, had almost been cut off the lines of *Ptolomy* and of *Seleucus*: which, though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their Kingdoms thereby grievously distempered. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upstart-family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raised it self to marvellous greatness, in very short space, from the condition of meer slavery: whereof a principal cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their piety. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples, but is said to have propounded the last of them to his own children, as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to do: not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But he was himself of an unmerciful nature; and therefore unmeet to be a good perswader unto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his blood-thirsty appetite, he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both strangers and subjects of his own; did now procure vengeance down from Heaven, that rewarded him with a draught of his own poyson. After the death of his Son, he too late began to examine the crimes that had been objected; and to weigh them in a more equal ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to think, that malice had not been contriver of the whole process. His only remaining Son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which he took in being freed from all danger of competition: as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remove of those dangers which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no less to be feared than at other times; when he, as having accomplished the most of his desires, left off his usual trouble of mind, and carefulness of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times, by those that well understood the difference between a rising and a setting Sun. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousness of such expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy; and filled his head with suspitious imagination; the like whereof he had never been slow to apprehend. He was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complain. One honourable man, a Couzen of his, named *Antigonus*, continued so true to *Philip*, that he grew thereby hateful to *Perseus*: and thus becoming subject unto the same jealous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This Counsellor, when he found that the anger conceived against *Perseus* would not vent it self, and give ease to the King, until the truth were known whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treason objected; as also that *Philocles* and *Apelles* (the Embassadours which had brought from *Rome* that Epistle of *Flaminius*, that served as the greatest evidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgery in the business: made diligent enquiry after the truth. In thus doing he found one *Xychus*, a man most likely to have understood what false dealing was used by those Embassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented unto the King: saying, that this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to utter what he knew. *Xychus* for fear of torture, uttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himself, that he had been employed by the Embassadours in that wicked piece of business. No marvel if the Fathers passions were extreme, when he understood that by the unnatural practice of one Son, he had so wretchedly cast away another, far more virtuous and innocent.

innocent. He raged exceedingly againſt himſelf, and withall againſt the Authors of the miſchief. Upon the firſt news of this diſcovery, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italy*; *Philocles* was taken: and either foraſmuch as he could not deny it when *Xythus* confronted him, yielded himſelf guilty; or elſe was put to torture. *Perſeus* was now grown ſtronger, than that he ſhould need to fly the Country: yet not ſo ſtout as to adventure himſelf into his fathers preſence. He kept on the borders of the Kingdom towards *Thrace*, whilſt his father wintred at *Demetrias*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his ungracious Son, took a reſolution, to aliene the Kingdom from him, and confer it upon *Antigonus*. But his weak body, and exceſſive grief of mind, ſo diſabled him in the travel thereto belonging, that ere he could bring his purpoſe to effect, he was conſtrained to yield to nature. He had reigned about two and forty years: alwaies full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himſelf with continual wars; of which that with the *Romans* was moſt unhappy, and few or none of the reſt found the concluſion, which a wiſe Prince would have deſired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evil that befell him, he might thank his own perverſe condition: ſince his Uncle, King *Antigonus*, had left unto him an eſtate, ſo great, and ſo well ſettled, as made it eaſie for him, to accompliſh any moderate deſires, if he had not abhored all good counſel. Wherefore he was juſtly puniſhed by feeling the difference between the imaginary happineſs of a Tyrant, which he affected, and the life of a King, whereof he little cared to perform the duty. His death, even whilſt yet it was only drawing near, was fore-ſignified unto *Perſeus*, by *Caligenes* the Phyſitian, who alſo concealed it a while from thoſe that were about the Court. So *Perſeus* came thither on the ſudden, and took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom: which in fine he no leſs improvidently loſt, than he had wickedly gotten.

§. IV.

How the Baſtarnæ *fell upon* Dardania. *The behaviour of* Perſeus *in the beginning of his reign. Some wars of the* Romans: *and how they ſuffered* Maſaniſſa *cruelly to oppreſs the* Carthaginians. *They quarrelled with* Perſeus. *They allow not their Confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The Treaſon of* Callicrates, *whereby all* Greece *became more obnoxious to* Rome, *than in former times. Further quarrels to* Perſeus. *He ſeeks friendſhip of the* Achæans, *and is withſtood by* Callicrates. *The* Romans *diſcover their intent of warring upon him.*

IMmediately upon the death of *Philip*, came the *Baſtarnæ* into *Thrace*; where order had been taken, long before, both for the free paſſage, and for the indempnity of the Country. This Compact was friendly obſerved, as long as no other was known than that *Philip* did live to recompence all that ſhould be done, or ſuſtained, for his ſervice. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*; and not heard withal, that he took any care what became of the enterprize: then was all daſht and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford ſo good markets unto theſe ſtrangers, as formerly they had done. On the other ſide, the *Baſtarnæ* would not be contented with reaſon, but became their own carvers. Thus each part having loſt their rich hopes repoſed in *Philip*, grew careful of thriving in the preſent; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blows; and the *Baſtarnæ* had the upper hand, ſo as they chaſed the *Thracians* out of the plain Countrys. But the victors made little uſe of their good fortune. For whether by reaſon of ſome overthrow, received by them in aſſaulting a place of ſtrength; or whether becauſe of extream bad weather, which is ſaid to have afflicted them as it were miraculouſly: all of them returned home, ſave thirty thouſand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How theſe thirty thouſand ſped in their voyage, I do not find. It ſeems that by the careleſs uſing of ſome victories, they drew loſs upon themſelves: and finally took that occaſion, to follow their companions back into their own Country.

As for *Perſeus*, he thought it not expedient, in the novelty of his reign, to embroil himſelf in a war ſo dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his mind to the ſettling of his Eſtate, which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himſelf, as the condition of his affairs ſhould require, either for war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly took away the life of *Antigonus*. To win love of his people, he ſate perſonally to hear their cauſes in judgement, (though herein he was ſo over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his vertue of juſtice to be no better than fained) as alſo he gratified them with many delightful ſpectacles, magnificently by him

ſet forth. Above all, he had care to avoid all neceſſity of war with *Rome*: and therefore made it his firſt work, to ſend Embaſſadors thither, to renew the league; which he obtained, and was by the Senate ſaluted King, and friend unto the State. Neither was he negligent in ſeeking to purchaſe good will of the *Greeks*, and other his neighbours: but was rather herein ſo exceſſively bountiful, that it may ſeem a wonder how in few years, to his utter ruine, he became ſo griping and tenacious. His fear was indeed the maſtring paſſion, which over-ruled him, and changed him into ſo many ſhapes, as made it hard to diſcern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proof of this, there is requiſite no more, than the relation of his actions paſt and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, buſie in wars againſt the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquiſhed, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They alſo conquered *Iſtria*; ſubdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had ſome quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as ever ſince the victory) a heavy hand: and ſuffered *Maſaniſſa* to take from them what he liſted. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient Vaſſals to *Rome*, were affraid, though in defence of their own, to take arms: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leave of the *Romans*. *Maſaniſſa* therefore had great advantage over them, and was not ignorant how to uſe it. He could get poſſeſſion by force, of whatſoever he deſired, ere their complaining Embaſſadors could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated to leave things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the Country of *Emporia*: and ſo did he uſe them again and again: with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwiſe, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Maſaniſſa* had won ſome land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* wan from *Gala*, and within a while, reſtored to the right owners, for love of his wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Aſdrubal* his father-in-law. This did *Maſaniſſa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans* (to whoſe judgement the caſe was referred) was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficial it was for their Eſtate, to uſe all manner of ſubmiſſive obedience to *Rome*. They had ſcarcely digeſted this injury, when *Maſaniſſa* came upon them again, and took from them above ſeventy Towns and Caſtles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embaſſadors, they made lamentable complaint unto the *Roman* Senate. They ſhewed how grievouſly they were oppreſſed by reaſon of two Articles in their League: That they ſhould not make war out of their own Lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were ſo that they might lawfully withſtand the violence of *Maſaniſſa*, invading their Country, howſoever he was pleaſed to call it his: yet ſince he was Confederate with the *Romans*, they durſt not preſume to bear defenſive arms againſt him, but ſuffered themſelves to be eaten up, for fear of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they intreated, that they might have fairer juſtice; or be ſuffered to defend their own by ſtrong hand; or at leaſt, if right muſt wholly give place to favour, That the *Romans* yet would be pleaſed to determine, how far forth *Maſaniſſa* ſhould be allowed to proceed in theſe outrages. If none of theſe petitions could be obtained, then deſired they, that the *Romans* would let them underſtand, wherein they had offended ſince the time that *Scipio* gave them peace; and vouchſafe to inflict on them ſuch puniſhment as they themſelves in honour ſhould think meet: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to ſuffer at once what ſhould be appointed by ſuch Judges; than continually to live in fear, and none otherwiſe draw breath, than at the mercy of this *Numidian* Hangman. And herewithal the Embaſſadors threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, weeping; in hope to move compaſſion.

Here may we behold the fruits of their envy to that valiant houſe of the *Barchines*; of their irreſolution in proſecuting a war ſo important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their half-penny-worthing in matter of expence when they had adventured their whole eſtate in the purchaſe of a great Empire. Now are they ſervants, even to the ſervants of thoſe men, whoſe fathers they have often chaſed, ſlain, taken and ſold as bond-ſlaves in the ſtreets of *Carthage*, and in all Cities of *Africk* and *Greece*. Now have they enough of that *Roman* peace, which *Hanno* ſo often and ſo earneſtly deſired. Only they want peace with *Maſaniſſa*, once their mercenary, and now their maſter or rather their tormentor, out of whoſe cruel hands, they beſeech their maſters to take the office of correcting them. In ſuch caſe are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they ſee flouriſhing in ſuch proſperity as might have been their own. But the *Romans* had far better entreated *Varro*, who loſt the battel at *Cannæ*; than *Hannibal*

that

that wan it was used by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely bestowed, every man of them, all his private riches upon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publick, without craving recompence: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extream want, to set out an Army into *Spain*, at what time the enemy lay under their own walls. These were no *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthaginians*, having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pitiful behaviour bred peradventure some commiseration; yet their tears may seem to have been mistrusted, as proceeding no less from envy to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their own calamity. They thought themselves able to fight with *Masanissa*: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into comparisons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained not such leave as they sought, of defending their own right by arms: but contrariwise, when without leave obtained, they presumed so far, the destruction of *Carthage* was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the present, they received a gentle answer; though they had otherwise little amends. *Gulussa* the Son of *Masanissa* was then in *Rome*, and had not as yet craved audience. He therefore was called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reason of his coming; and had related unto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* against his Father. He answered, That his Father not being throughly aware of any Embassadors thither sent from *Carthage*, had therefore not given him instructions, how to deal in that business. Only it was known, that the *Carthaginians* had held Councel divers nights, in the Temple of *Æsculapius*: whereupon he himself was dispatched away to *Rome*, there to intreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the *Romans*, and of his Father, might not be overmuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the people of *Rome*. This answer gave little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replyed, that for *Masanissa* his sake, they had done, and would do, whatsoever was reasonable, but that it stood not with their justice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians*, those Lands, which by the covenants of the League were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this mild rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*; bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willed him to tell his Father, that he should do well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* war was even ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians* (for feat of urging them unseasonably to rebellion) or *Masanissa*, at whose hands they expected no little help. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Masanissa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for fear, partly for hope of better usage in the future; by *Masanissa*, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happned (which was unlikely) that they should be vanquished; he made none other account, than that all *Africk* round about him, and *Carthage* therewithall, should be his own.

In the midst of all these cares, the *Romans* had not been unmindful of *Perseus*. They visited him daily with Embassadors; that is, with honourable spies to observe his behaviour. These he entertained kindly at first, until (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any satisfaction, until the *Bastarnæ* were thence gone; though he protested, that he had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no less ill contented with good offices, by him done, to sundry of his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which (they said) he did unto other some. Where he did harm to any; they called it making war upon their friends. Where he did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The *Dolopians*, his subjects, (upon what occasion it is uncertain) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slew *Euphranor*, whom he had appointed their Governour. It seems that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the *Macedonian*: and therefore unlikely to have presumed far, unless either they had been extreamly provoked; or else were secretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatsoever it was that bred this courage in them, *Perseus* did soon allay it, and reclaim them by strong hand. But the *Romans* took very angerly this presumption of the King: even as if he had invaded some Country of their *Italian* Confederates, and not corrected his own rebels at home. Fain they would have had him to draw in the same yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereunto had he humbled once his neck, they could themselves have done the part of *Masanissa*; though *Enmenes*, or some other fit for that purpose, had been

wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That the Conditions of the League between them were ſuch as made it unlawful both to his Father heretofore, and now to him, to take arms without their licence firſt obtained.

To the ſame paſs they would alſo fain have reduced the *Greeks*, and generally all their adherents, even ſuch as had entred into league with them upon equal terms: whom uſually they rewarded with a frown, whenſoever they preſumed to right themſelves by force of Arms, without ſeeking firſt the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Achæans* had good experience: whoſe confidence in their proper ſtrength, made them otherwhiles bold to be their own carvers; and whoſe hope of extraordinary favour at *Rome* cauſed them the more willingly to refer their cauſes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have chaſtiſed the *Meſſenian* by War; *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking ſuch a work in hand, without his authority: yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, even with Lordly threats, when they took upon them to carry any buſineſs of importance, by their own power, without ſtanding unto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who nevertheleſs upon ſubmiſſion, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their abſolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; eſpecially in uſurping the practice of arms, which belonged only to the Imperial City. In learning this hard leſſon, they were ſuch untoward Schollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very ſharp correction. Yet was there no ſmall part of blame to be imputed unto their Maſters. For the *Roman* Senate, being deſirous to humble the *Achæans*, refuſed not only to give them ſuch aid as they requeſted, and as they challenged by the tenor of the League between them; but further, with a careleſs inſolency, rejected this honeſt and reaſonable petition, That the Enemy might not be ſupplied from *Italy*, with victuals or arms. Herewith not content, the Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affairs of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argives*, *Lacedæmonians*, or *Corinthians* would revolt from the *Achæans*; they themſelves would think it a buſineſs no way concerning them.

Polyb. lib. 31. & 33.

This was preſently after the death of *Philopœmen*: at what time it was believed, that the Common-wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much diſtreſs: were it not upheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithſtanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the *Achæans* had utterly ſubdued the *Meſſenians* far ſooner than was expected; and when as not only no Town rebelled from the *Achæans*, but many entered into their Corporation; then did the *Romans* with an ill-favoured grace, tell the ſame Embaſſadors, to whoſe petition they had made ſuch bad anſwer (and who as yet were not gone out of the City,) That they had ſtraightly forbidden all manner of ſuccour to be carried to *Meſſene*. Thus thinking, by a fained gravity, to have ſerved their own turns, they manifeſted their condition; both to ſet on the weaker againſt the ſtronger and more ſuſpected, and alſo to aſſume unto themſelves a Soveraign power, in directing all matters of war, which diſſemblingly they would have ſeemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their Confederates: not permitting any of them to make war; whether offenſive or defenſive; though it were againſt meer ſtrangers; without interpoſing the authority of the Senate and people of *Rome*: unleſs peradventure, ſometimes they winked at ſuch violence, as did help towards the accompliſhment of their own ſecret malice. Now theſe *Roman* Arts, howſoever many (for gainful or timerous reſpects) would ſeem to underſtand them; yet were generally diſpleaſing unto all men endued with free ſpirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the moſt turbulent City in *Greece*, having neither ſubjects of their own that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring any into ſubjection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practiſe their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the moſt mighty. So they kept themſelves in grace with the *Romans*, remaining free from all trouble, until the war of *Mithridates*: being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardon-cravers for the vanquiſhed. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for thoſe other Common-weals and Kingdoms, that with over-nice diligence, ſtrove to preſerve their Liberties and Lands from conſuming by piece-meal: they were to be devoured whole, and ſwallowed up at once. Eſpecially the *Macedonian*, as the moſt unpliant, and wherein many of the *Greeks* began to have affiance, was neceſſarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow, than to break.

Neither *Perſeus*, nor the *Romans* were ignorant,

norant, how the *Greeks* at this time ſtood affected. *Perſeus*, by reaſon of his neer neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce between them and his ſubjects, could not want good information of all that might concern him, in their affairs. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopœmen* had long ſince foretold, of the miſerable ſubjection, whereinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* Patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger, but as being tenderly ſenſible of their liberty, felt themſelves grieved with the preſent ſubjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious. Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publick to fall out with the *Romans*; yet all of them had the care to chooſe among themſelves none other Magiſtrates, than ſuch as affected the good of their Country, and would for no ambition, or other ſervile reſpect, be flatterers of the greatneſs which kept all in fear. Thus it ſeemed likely, that all domeſtical conſpiracies would ſoon be at an end; when honeſty, and love of the Common-weal, became the faireſt way to preferment. Of this careful proviſion for the ſafety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not throughly advertiſed: either becauſe things were diligently concealed from their Embaſſadors; whom all men knew to be litle better than ſpies; or becauſe little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by ſuch Traitors (of whom every City in *Greece* had too many) as were men unregarded among their own people, and therefore more like to ſpeak maliciouſly than truly; or perhaps becauſe the Embaſſadors themſelves, being all Senators, and capable of the greateſt Office or charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their own deſires of employment. But it is hard to conceal that which many know, from thoſe that are feared or flattered by many. The *Achæans* being to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, that ſhould both excuſe them, as touching ſome point wherein they refuſed to obey the Senate; and inform the Senate better in the ſame buſineſs: choſe one *Callicrates*, among others, to go in that Embaſſage. By their making choice of ſuch a man, one may perceive the advantage, which miſchievous wretches, who commonly are forward in purſuing their vile deſires, have againſt the plain ſort of honeſt men, that leaſt earneſtly thruſt themſelves into the troubleſome buſineſs of the weal-publick. For this *Callicrates* was in ſuch wiſe tranſported with ambition, that he choſe much rather to betray his Country, than to let any other be of more authority than himſelf therein. Wherefore inſtead of well diſcharging his credence, and alledging what was meeteſt in juſtification of his people, he uttered a quite contrary tale; and ſtrongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppreſs both the *Achæans*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, with a far more heavy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to look unto the ſetling of their authority, among his froward Countrimen: if they meant not wholly to forego it. For now there was taken up a cuſtome, to ſtand upon points of confederacy, and laws: as if theſe were principally to be had in regard, any injunction from *Rome* notwithſtanding.

Hence grew it, that the *Achæans*, both now, and at other times, did what beſt pleaſed themſelves, and anſwered the *Romans* with excuſes: as if it were enough to ſay, That by ſome condition of League, or by force of ſome Law, they were diſcharged or hindred from obeying the Decrees of the Senate. This would not be ſo, if he, and ſome other of his opipion might have their wills: who ceaſed not to affirm, That no Columns, or Monuments, erected, nor no ſolemn oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obſervance of Confederacy or Statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the *Romans* themſelves, that the multitude refuſed to give ear unto ſuch perſwaſions. For howſoever in popular Eſtates, the ſound of liberty uſed to be more plauſible, than any diſcourſe tending againſt it: yet if they which undertook the maintenance of an argument, ſeeming never ſo bad, were ſure by their ſo doing, to procure their own good; the number of them would increaſe apace, and they become the prevalent faction. It was therefore, ſtrange how the *Fathers* could ſo neglect the advancement of thoſe, that ſought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* Majeſty. More wiſely, though with ſeditious and rebellious purpoſe, did the *Greeks*; who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, upon men otherwiſe of little account or deſert, only for having uttered ſome brave words againſt the *Romans*. The *Fathers* hearing theſe and the like reaſons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly thoſe that were obſtinate, and by cheriſhing their friends, to make their party ſtrong; reſolved to follow this good counſel, in every point; yea to depreſs all thoſe that held with the right, and to ſet up their own followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth

Pol. Lib. 38.

more

more peremptorily with the *Achæans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the present unto all Cities of *Greece*, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of *Lacedæmon*) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalf of *Callicrates*, they advised all men to be such, and so affected, as he was, in their several common-weals. With this dispatch, *Callicrates* returned home a joyful man: having brought his Country into the way of ruine, but himself into the way of preferment. Nevertheless he forbore to vaunt himself of his eloquence used in the Senate. Only he so reported his Embassage, that all men became fearful of the danger, wherewith he threatned those that should presume to oppose the *Romans*. By such Arts he obtained to be made Prætor of the *Achæans*: in which Magistracy, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serve to manifest his ready obsequiousness unto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now, as the *Romans* by threatning-terms won many flatterers, and lost as many true friends: so *Perseus* on the other side, thinking by liberal gifts, and hopeful promises, to assure unto himself those that ill could brook his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honester than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* distracted with factions: some holding with the *Romans*, some with the *Macedonian*, and some few, respecting only the good of the Estates wherein they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignity not sufferable, That a King, no better than their Vassal, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of the trespasses: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall afford them just occasion to make War upon him. *Perseus* having finished his business among the *Dolopians*, made a journey to *Apollo* his Temple at *Delphi*. He took his Army along with him: yet went, and returned in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worse for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himself; to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadours or Letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatsoever, done by his Father, might be buried with his Father; since his own meaning was to hold friendship sincerely with all his neighbours. The *Romans* perhaps could have been pleased better, if he had behaved himself after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of hostility in his passage. Yet, as if he ought not to have taken such a journey, without their licence; this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the love of the *Achæans*: which his Father had so lost, that by a solemn decree, they forbade any *Macedonians* to enter their territories. It was jealousie perhaps, no less than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoever *Philip* had by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two *Arati*, given them cause to abhor him, yet in the publick administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, been to them so beneficial, that not without much ado, and at length, without any general consent, they resolve to forsake him. Wherefore it was needful, even for preservation of concord among them, to use all circumspection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a Country towards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends, but the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of War, and when all danger of inovation was past, was uncivil, if not inhumane; as nourishing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the *Achæans* reaped no good fruit. For, although they were not, in like sort, forbidden the Kingdom of *Macedon*: yet understanding what would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to pass, that their bond-men, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their Masters could not fetch them, ran daily away in great numbers: exceedingly to the loss of such, as made of their slaves very profitable use. But *Perseus* took hold upon this occasion: as fitly serving to pacifie those, whose enmity fain he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all these fugitives, to send them home again: and wrote unto the *Achæans*, That as for good will unto them, he had taken pains to restore back their servants, so should they do very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away again. His meaning was readily understood, and his Letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearsed by the Prætor, before the Councel. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angerly; and bade them be advised what they did: for that this was none other, than a plain device, to make them depart from the friendship of the *Romans*.

Herewithall

Herewithall he took upon him, ſomewhat liberally, to make the *Achæans* beforehand acquainted with the War, that was coming upon *Perſeus* from *Rome*. He told them how *Philip* had made preparations for the ſame War; how *Demetrius* had been made away, becauſe of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perſeus* had, ſince his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly, He rehearſed all thoſe matters, which were afterwards alledged by the *Romans*; the invaſion of the *Baſtarnæ*, upon the *Dardanians*; the Kings journey againſt the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he ſaid) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he adviſed them to expect the event of things, and not over-haſtily to enter into any degree of friendſhip with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good anſwer was made by the Prætors brother: That *Callicrates* was too earneſt in ſo light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings Cabinet, nor of the *Roman* Senate, he made himſelf too well acquainted with all that had paſſed, or was like to follow. For it was well known, that *Perſeus* had renewed his League with the *Romans*; that he was by them ſaluted King, and friend to the eſtate: and that he had lovingly entertained their Embaſſadours: This being ſo; why might not the *Achæans*, as well as the *Ætolians*, *Theſſalians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greeks*, hold with him ſuch correſpondence, as common humanity required? Nevertheleſs *Callicrates* was grown a man ſo terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durſt not over-ſtiffly gainſay him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation: and anſwer made the whilſt, That ſince the King had only ſent a Letter without an Embaſſadour, they knew not how to reſolve. Better it was to ſay thus, than, that they were afraid to do as they thought moſt reaſonable and convenient. But when *Perſeus* herewith not contented, would needs urge them further, and ſend Embaſſadours: then were they fain, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to give audience: which was proof ſufficient (to one that could underſtand) of the condition wherein they lived. For hearkening to this advice of *Callicrates*; they were ſoon after highly commended by a *Roman* Embaſſadour: whereby it became
Liv. 42. apparent, that the *Romans* intended War upon the *Macedonian*; though hitherto no cauſe of War was given.

§. V.

How Eumenes *King of* Pergamus *was buſied with* Pharnaces, *the* Rhodians, *and others. His hatred to the* Macedonian: *whom he accuſeth to the* Roman *Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemns his enemies the* Rhodians; *with the cauſes thereof. The unuſual ſtoutneſs of the* Macedonian *Embaſſadours.* Perſeus *his attempt upon* Eumenes. *The brotherly love between* Eumenes *and* Attalus. Perſeus *his device to poyſon ſome of the* Roman *Senators: whereupon they decree War againſt him, and ſend him defiance. Other things concerning the juſtice of this War.*

EUmenes King of *Pergamus* had been troubled about theſe times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates*, his neighbours. He had taken the right courſe, in making firſt his complaint to the *Romans*: by whom he was animated with comfortable words, and promiſe, That they, by their authority, would end the buſineſs to his content. But in concluſion, by the help of the Kings, *Pruſias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the War himſelf; and brought his Enemies to ſeek and accept peace, on ſuch conditions as pleaſed him to give them. After this, being at good leiſure; he began to conſider how the affairs of *Macedon* ſtood under *Perſeus*. His hatred to *Perſeus* was very great: and therefore he was glad to underſtand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the ſame his Enemy was as great, and withall notorious. Now, beſides his ancient and hereditary quarrel with the *Macedonian*; it vexed him exceedingly, That his own honours (whereof the *Greeks*, prodigal in that kind, had heaped immoderate ſtore on his Father and him) began to wax every where ſtale; whileſt *Perſeus*, either by his currying favour, or by the envy born to the *Romans*, had gotten their beſt liking and wiſhes. For deſpight of this indignity, He ſtirred up the *Lycians* againſt the *Rhodians* his old friends: and in helping theſe rebels, was ſo violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, in open War. But ſmall pleaſure found he in theſe poor and indirect courſes of revenge. *Pol. Leg.* 56. & 59.

The *Lycians* could not be ſaved by his Patronage from ſevere and cruel chaſtiſement, given to them by the *Rhodians*. This rendered him contemptible: as likewiſe, his acts of hoſtility, little different from robberies, made him hateful to thoſe which loved him before. As for his honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not only continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a *Polyb. Leg.* 74.

decree

decree of the *Achæans*, as too unmeasured, misbeseeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. All this (which he needed not to have regarded, had he not been too vainly ambitious) befell him; especially for his being over-serviceable to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble Kingdom; which if it fell, the liberty of *Greece* was not like to stand. Now for the redress hereof, he thought it vain to strive any longer with bounty, against such an Adversary, as by hopeful promises alone, without any great performance, had over-topped him in the general favour. And therefore he resolved even to overturn the foundations of this popularity, by inducing the *Romans* utterly to take away from the eyes of men this Idol, the *Macedonian* Kingdom, which all so vainly worshipped. Neither would it prove a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already desirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompenced with some piece of the Kingdom, as he had been rewarded, for the like service, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

To this end he made a second voyage to *Rome*: where, though he had little to say, which they knew not before, yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange novelty; and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turn the ballance, that before was equal. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the *Bastarnæ* into *Dardania*, that of *Perseus* himself against the *Dolopian*, and to *Delphi*, the great estimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*, his intermedling in business of his neighbours, his riches and his great provisions, were all the material points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only he descended unto particulars, having searched into all (as he professed) like unto a Spy. He said, that *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse of his own, mony in a readiness to entertain ten thousand Mercenaries for ten years, Arms to furnish a number thrice as great: The *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Souldiers as many as he should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten years, because he would not be driven, either to live upon spoil, or to take from his own Subjects. Herewithall he prayed them to consider, that King *Seleucus*. the Son and successor of *Antiochus* the Great, had given his Daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That King *Prusias* of *Bythinia*, by earnest suit, had gotten to wife the Sister of *Perseus*, and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loth to utter it plainly) That even the envy to their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to hear of amity with *Philip*, were now grown marvellously well affected to his Son. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denyed or justified, (as that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the *Romans*, and that he had expelled *Abrypolis* the *Illyrian*, who invaded *Macedon*, out of his Kingdom, or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplifie unto the most; saying, That he thought it his duty to forewarn them: since it would be to himself a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in *Italy* making War upon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to believe that the *Romans* stood in fear of *Perseus*, lest he should set upon them in *Italy*. Nevertheless, forasmuch as they loved not to make War without fair pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended: great thanks were given to *Eumenes*, who had every way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautifie their intendment. Now though it were so, that he told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his coming, made all seem greater. For if upon any relation made by their own Embassadours, or upon tales devised by their flatterers and spyes, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere he had committed any open act of hostility against them; their injustice and oppression would have been most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done, were so notorious, and the danger threatning them so terrible, that such a Prince as *Eumenes* came out of his own Kingdom, as far as from *Asia*, to bid them look to themselves; who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtain their own right and security? Toward this justification of the war, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto, their more than usual curiosity, in concealing what *Eumenes* had uttered in the Senate, when they could not but understand that his errand was well known; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadours were at *Rome*, provided of answers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would speak; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of him, of some

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about him, seems to have disclosed all: when the weariness of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearful apprehension; against which it behoved their wisdom to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore careless audience was given to the *Rhodian* Embassadors; who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublesome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had ever been, and a provoker of the *Lycians* to rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great pomp conveighed by Sea unto *Perseus*, his Bride *Laodice*; which friendly Office, as the *Macedonian* bountifully requited, so the *Romans* despightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, Liv. An. 61. were setling themselves in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*, Embassadors came from *Rome* with strange news, which gave new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced That it stood not with the manner of the Ca. An. 41. *Romans*, to alien quite from their own protection any People or Nation by them vanquished: and that the *Lycians* were by them assigned unto those of *Rhodes*, not as meer Vassals, but as Dependants and Associates. For proof hereof, they referred themselves unto the Commentaries of the ten Embassadors; whom they had sent to dispose of things in *Asia*, after the Victory against King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Masanissa*, the *Ætolians*, and all other Kings or Estates that were beholding to *Rome*, for increasing the number of their subjects, had cause to find themselves agrieved, if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their Subjects might easily be made their Fellows, whensoever it should please the Senate: though it were so that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate: which was only to plague the *Rhodians* for their good will to *Perseus*, by setting them and the *Lycians* together by the ears. The *Fathers* could therefore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, upon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embassadors, which indeed more nearly touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his love to *Rome*.

But the *Macedonian* Embassage they heard not so carelessly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to find cause of anger: for whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perseus* desired much to give them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might savour of hostility; but that, if his travel in this kind proved vain, then would he be ready to defend himself by arms, and stand to the chance of War, which often falls out contrary to expectation. These big words may seem to have proceeded from the vehemency of *Harpalus*, that was chief of the Embassadors; rather than from instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why *Perseus* himself might, at this time, think to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any submission. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the *Roman* servitude; it was not expedient that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the general expectation, and the good affection born to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weakness of spirit, unanswerable to a work of such importance. Wherefore he, or his Embassadour for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to fortune, which might have been his, had he known how to use it.

Now that this bravery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings own heat; it appears by his daring to adventure soon after, on a practice that more justly might anger the *Romans*, and give them fairer shew of reason to make War upon him. It was known that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way and there do sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his own hands of a most mischievous Enemy. So there were appointed three or four stout Ruffians to do the murder: who placing themselves behind a broken mud-wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading up from the Sea to the Temple, did thence assault the King; whom they sorely bruised with great stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their work, such was the opportunity of the place which they had chosen; but fear of being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such haste, that they killed one of their own Companions, who could not hold pace with them; because he should not discover them. *Eumenes* was conveighed away to the little Isle of *Ægina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his Death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* took upon him as King, and either took, or would have taken to wife (supposing

it be like a matter of State) *Stratonica* the daughter of King *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the Widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare Examples of brotherly love, That when the King turned alive home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and do his duty, as in former times, received none other check, than, *That he should forbear to marry with the Queen, until he were well assured of the Kings death.* More than this, *Eumenes* never spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, unto the same Brother, both his Wife and Kingdom. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of *the King his Brother*: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in special favour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readiness to have transferred the Kingdom from his Brother to him. By such concord of Brethren was the Kingdom of *Pergamus* raised and upheld; as might also that of *Macedon* have been, if *Demetrius* had lived, and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad, when he understood that his Ministers had both accomplished his will, and had saved all from discovery. But as he was deceived in the main point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* lived, so was he beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment; which he vainly esteemed the less material. For he had written to one *Praxo*, a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertain the men whom he sent about this business: and she, being apprehended by *C. Valerius*, a *Roman* Embassador, then attending upon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius* a Citizen of *Brundusium*; who coming newly from the Court of *Macedon*, loaden with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the Embassadour, and thereof discharged himself. *Brundusium* was the ordinary Port for Ships passing between *Italy* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a fair house; wherein he gave entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embassadors, and other honourable personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, journying to and fro. By occasion of such his Hospitality, he was commended to *Perseus*, and invited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his Embassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his coming, he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiarity than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings Secret. The sum of all was, That he must needs do a turn, in giving to such of the *Romans* as the King should hereafter name, a poyson of rare quality; sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this Employment: for fear lest the vertue of this Medicine should be tried upon himself. But being once at liberty, he discovered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had never seen before, nor was like to see again: and therefore, besides that the Kings denial ought to be as good as such a fellows affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himself; and in like sort concerning the attempt upon *Eumenes*: denying to have had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such objections were not to be made unto a King, to prove the Rightfulness of making War upon him, but rather unto a subject pleading for his life in judgement. But howsoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger proof (which might have been easie) than any that we find by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very suitable to these practices. Neither did the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royal Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private Offences, it gave him no priviledge: they judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if he might not lawfully make War upon *Eumenes* their Confederate; that is, if he might not send men to waste the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the Towns: might he send Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no less breach of the League to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the Sword, was it lawful for him to do it by poyson? Wherefore they presently decreed War against him; and sent Embassadours to denounce it unto him, unless he would yield to make such amends as they should require. He seemed at this time to have been so confident in the general favour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances, that if he desired not War, yet he did not fear it: or at least he thought by shew of courage, to make his Enemies more calm. He caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them back, and bade them do their Errand. They made a tedious rehearsal of all matters, which they had long been collecting against him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that he had entertained long and secret confe-

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rence in the Isle of *Samothrace*, with Embassadors sent to him out of *Asia*, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which, they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have stood upon the evidence, brought against him by *Rammius* and *Praxo*. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, well-beloved, & well-befriended. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the *Romans* greedy, proud, insolent, and underminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better than meer spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the League made between them and his Father; and renewed by himself indeed only for fear; but wished them to descend to more equal conditions; whereupon he, for his part, would advise, as they might also do for theirs.

In the form of the League between *Philip* and the *Romans*, as is set down by *Polybius*, we
l. 23. find no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to
c. 33 any inconvenience in the future; excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Livy* inserts a clause, whereby he was expressly forbidden to make any War abroad, without leave of the *Romans*. It is most likely, that all the *Roman* Confederates were included in this peace: whereby every one of the neighbours round about *Macedon*, entring shortly into league with *Rome*, did so bind the Kings hands, that he could no more make war abroad, than if he had been restrained by plain covenant. And thus might that seem an Article of the Peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge this point further, and say, that the *Macedonian* might not bear Defensive Arms, without their permission; then had *Perseus* very just reason to find himself agrieved. For since they had allowed his father, without controll, to make war in *Thrace*, (whilest they themselves were unacquainted with the *Thracians*) elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become unlawful for him to chastise his own Rebels? or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By such allegations he maintained the right of his cause in very mild sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the League as unjust, he ministred occasion unto the Embassadors, to give him defiance. Having heard the worst of their message, he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdom in three days. But either he should have been less vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could serve him to undertake the War, he should couragiously have managed it, and have fain to work immediately, whilst the Enemy was unprepared; not have lost the opportunity, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

§. VI.

The Romans solicite the Greeks, to joyn with them in the war against Perseus. *How the Greeks stood affected in that war. The timerousness of* Perseus. Martius *a Roman Embassador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of* Thessaly. *The forces of* Licinius *the Roman Consul: and what Assistants the Romans had in this War. Of* Tempe *in* Thessaly; *& what advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had; but lost by his fear.* Perseus *braves the Romans, fights with them, knows not how to use his Victory, sues for peace, and is denied it by the Conquered.* Perseus *having the worse in a Skirmish, forsakes all the Country lying about* Tempe. *The Bœotians rebel against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the War against* Perseus. *They vex the Greeks their friends: for whose ease the Senate makes Provision, having heard their Complaints. The flattering Alabanders.*

SO long had the *Romans* been seeking occasion to take in hand this *Macedonian* War, that well they might have been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behind hand in Provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the Warr: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunity of making their Cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were unprepared for the Action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to believe, that their own strengths were such as would prevail in the end; they hastily embraced the fair occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of time. Neither was this their unreadiness a small help, towards examining the disposition of the *Greeks* and others; who must afterwards dearly pay for any backwardness found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to fear, that all of the *Greeks*, or

other Eaſtern People ſhould conſpire together, and take part with the *Macedonian*: ſuch was the diſſention between the ſeveral Eſtates; howſoever the generality of them were inclin'd the ſame way. Nevertheleſs Embaſſadors were ſent to deal with them all; and to crave their help againſt *Perſeus*, or rather to demand it, in no leſs ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it againſt *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in Wars pretending the Liberty of *Greece*. The Embaſſadors uſed as gentle words for faſhion ſake, as if they had ſtood in doubt that their requeſt might happen to be denied. But the *Greeks* were now grown well acquainted with ſuch *Roman* courteſie: and underſtood that not only ſuch as made refuſal, but even they who might ſeem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words, when once this buſineſs was ended. Wherefore none of them were ſcrupulous in promiſing the beſt of their help to the *Romans*: the * *Achæans* and *Rhodians*, which were chief among them, being rather doubtful, even when they had done their beſt, leſt it ſhould be ill taken, as if they had halted in ſome part of their duty. It is ſtrange that men could be ſo earneſt to ſet up the ſide, whereof they gladly would have ſeen the ruine. The vulgar ſort was everywhere addicted to *Perſeus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if ſome were vehemently *Roman*, they wanted not oppoſers, that were wholly *Macedonian*; yea, the wiſeſt and moſt honeſt, who regarded only the benefit of their Country, wiſhed better to *Perſeus* than to the *Romans*. And of this number *Polybius* the chief of Hiſtorians was one: who though He * judged the victory of *Perſeus*, like to prove hurtful unto *Greece*, yet wiſhed he the *Romans* ill to thrive, that ſo the *Greeks* might recover perfect Liberty: for his endeavours in which courſe, he was at length tyrannically handled, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. This conſidered, it appears that an extraordinary fear, and not only reverence of the Imperial City, made the *Achæans*, and other Eſtates of *Greece*, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occaſion of this their fear may be juſtly imputed unto the timorous demeanor of *Perſeus* himſelf. He had undertaken a War, whereof the benefit ſhould redound, not only to his own Kingdom, but unto all that were oppreſſed by the *Romans*. Yet no ſooner were ſome few Companies brought over-ſea, to make a countenance of meaning ſomewhat againſt him, than he began to ſpeak the enemy fair, and ſue for peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it was known, that every ſmall thing would ſerve to terrifie him: and conſequently, that it ſhould at all times be in the *Romans* Power, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leiſure upon thoſe which had aſſiſted him: little cauſe was there why any ſhould adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noiſe; leading about his army; taking by force or compoſition ſome few Towns, and ſoliciting all to joyn with him. But wiſe men could not be ſo beguiled. For at the ſame time, he ſought all means of pacification: and to that end, made humble ſuit unto the *Roman* Embaſſadors. *Q. Martius*, the chief of thoſe Embaſſadors, and a man of more fineneſs in cunning than was uſual among the *Romans*, made ſhew of inclination to the Kings deſire; and gave out ſuch comfortable words, that the King entreated and obtained a meeting at the River *Peneus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with thoſe crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perſeus* made none other anſwer, than the ſame which they could have made for him; yet the Embaſſadors, and eſpecially *Martius*, took it in good part, as therewith ſatisfied: and adviſed him to give the like ſatisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done, a truce was agreed upon. Thus had *Martius* his deſire; which was to make the King loſe time. For *Perſeus* had all things then in a readineſs, and might have done much, ere the *Roman* Army could have been in *Greece*. But by the interpoſition of this truce, he no way increaſed his forces; he ſuffered a moſt convenient ſeaſon of winning upon the Enemy, to ſlip away; and obtained in recompence nothing elſe, than leiſure and vain hope. Yet was he pleaſed herewith, as it had been with ſome victory: publiſhing a copy of the Diſputation between him and the *Romans*, whereby he gave men to underſtand how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of peace. He ſent Embaſſadors alſo to the *Rhodians*, of whoſe good will to him he was beſt perſwaded; not only to let them know how much he was ſuperiour in cauſe; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators, to compound the differences between him and the *Romans*, if perhaps notwithſtanding the goodneſs of his cauſe, he ſhould be denied peace. Theſe were poor helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late ſtanding upon point of Honour, was no better than meer vanity; his own ſafety being the utmoſt of his ambition. This his fearfulneſs might ſeem excuſable, and the blame thereof to appertain unto the *Greeks*; who deceived

* *Pol. Leg.* 72, 73, & 80.

* *Pol. Leg.* 77.

ceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in a time of neceſſity, that was partly their own: had it not been his Office, who took upon him as their Champion, to give ſuch a manly beginning to the War, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averſe from him; and were careful not to put their ſhoulders to a falling wall. The *Rhodians*, among whom he had many ſtout Partizans, deſired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might ſeem to do againſt the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Bœotians* alſo, who had entered of late into a ſtrict ſociety with the *Macedonian*; renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*: to whom further, in a ſort, they yeelded themſelves as vaſſals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their ſubmiſſion under a general form; but cauſed their ſeveral Towns to make covenant apart, each for it ſelf; to the end, that being thus diſtracted into many little Commonweals, they might not (were they never ſo deſirous to rebel) have ſuch force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated into one, under the City of *Thebes*. This work, of ſeparating the *Bœotians* from *Thebes* their Head, was more than *Ageſilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would ſuffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedæmonians*. So far more available to *Thebes*, being deſtitute of help from abroad, was the virtue of *Epaminondas*, and a few brave Citizens, than was the ſociety with King *Perſeus*, againſt a number not ſo great as followed the *Lacedæmonians*.

Martius brought this to effect, whileſt the King ſat ſtill, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he turned to the City; where, vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though ſome reproved it as diſhoneſt) employed again by the Senate, with commiſſion to deal as he ſhould think expedient. Touching the Embaſſadours which *Perſeus* had ſent; audience was given to them, for that they ſhould not plainly ſee how their Maſter was deluded: but neither excuſe nor intreaty would ſerve their turn: the Senate being reſolved before-hand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, and had thirty days reſpite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they, who came laſt on the ſame errand, did their meſſage without the Walls, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the uſual place of giving audience to open Enemies, or to ſuch Commanders as might not, by reaſon of ſome cuſtom enter the City) and had only the ſhort warning of eleven days, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poor courteſie ſerve alone to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earneſt: but it was a likely mean both to keep a long while from *Perſeus* the knowledge of his buſineſs, and to ſtagger his reſolution, when he ſhould need it moſt firm.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius* the *Roman* Conſul was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as ſoon as the *Macedonian* Embaſſadours were with their King at *Pella*. Which though it were enough to have rouzed *Perſeus*, and have made him lay aſide all cowardly hope of getting Pardon, yet was he content to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himſelf tributary to the *Romans*, and to redeem their good will with ſome part of his Kingdom, that ſo he might enjoy the reſt; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the ſtouteſt counſel prevailed; which alſo was the wiſeſt, and ſo would have proved, had it been ſtoutly and wiſely followed. He now began, as if the War had not begun until now, to do what ſhould have been done long afore. He cauſed all his Forces to be drawn together; and appointed their Randezvouz at *Citium*, a Town in *Macedon*. All being in readineſs, he did Royal Sacrifice, with an hundred Beaſts, to I know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and thoſe of his Guard, ſet forward to *Citium*. His Army he found conſiſting of nine and thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, whereof about twelve thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe were ſtrangers, of ſundry Nations, moſt part *Thracians*; the reſt of his own *Macedonians*. Theſe he animated with lively ſpeeches; laying before them the glory of their Anceſtors, the inſolency of the *Romans*, the goodneſs of his Cauſe, the greatneſs of his Proviſions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, eſpecially in numbers. They anſwered him chearfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of *Macedon* there came likewiſe Meſſengers, offering to help him with money and victuals, according to their ſeveral Abilities. He gave them thanks: but anſwered, That his own proviſions would abundantly ſuffice, willing them only to furniſh him with Carts, for his Engines and Munition.

Out of his own Kingdom he iſſued forth into *Theſſaly*: knowing that the *Romans* were to paſs thorow that Country, in their Journey towards him. Some Towns of *Theſſaly* opened their Gates unto him, without

out making offer to defend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well-manned; and some he wan by force. Of these last was *Pyle*; a Town thought impregnable, and therefore, not more stoutly than proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the Assailants. It was taken by reason of a sally; which the Towns-men rashly made, and being driven back, received the *Macedonians*, that entered pell mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of War was practised here: to the greater terrour of the obstinate. So *Pellana* and *Connus* (Towns of much importance, especially *Connus*, which stood in the straights of *Ossa*, leading into *Tempe*) yielded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the King marched onwards to *Sicurium*, a Town seated on the foot of Mount *Ossa*; where he rested a while, expecting news of the Enemy.

Licinius the Consul brought with him only two *Roman* Legions: being promised other strength of Auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother came to him in *Thessaly*, with four thousand foot, and a thousand Horse. Thither also came, from every part of *Greece*, such aid as the several Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; *Masanissa* sent thither his Son *Misagenes*, with a thousand Foot, as many Horse, and two and twenty Elephants. *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, by reason of his Affinity with *Eumenes*, was friend to the *Romans*, and had sent to *Rome* his young Son, there to be brought up: yet he did little or nothing in this war; perhaps because *Eumenes* himself began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise advised than he had been in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the *Romans*. *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy* (though *Ptolomy* was then young, and under Tutors) had business of their own; the *Syrian* meaning to invade the *Egyptian*: yet each of them promised help to the *Romans*, which they cared not to perform. *Gentius* the *Illyrians* was inclinable to the *Macedonian*, yet made good countenance to the *Romans*, for fear. It was a pretty trick wherewith *M. Lucretius*, the *Roman* Admirals Brother, served him, for this his counterfeit good will. This King had four and fifty Ships, riding in the Haven of *Dyrrachium*, uncertain to what purpose: all which *Lucretius* took away, after a very kind sort; making shew to believe That for none other end than to serve the *Romans*, their good friend *Gentius* had sent thither this Fleet. But whatsoever *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost both his Kingdom and himself, in the end of this War; by offering, rather than giving his help to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what he brought over the Sea, *Licinius* came into *Thessaly*: so tyred with a painful journey, through the Mountainous Country of *Athamania*, which stood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perseus* had been ready, attending his descent into the Plains, the *Romans* must needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreshed himself and his wearied Army, by the River *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his Auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender help, that could enable him to deal with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolved to abide where he then was, and keep his trenches, until his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himself in the mean while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The Land of *Thessaly*, in which these two Armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* besides: as having been freed by them from a more heavy yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope of expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitful, and abounding in all things needful to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautiful Valley of *Tempe*, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often used at large to signifie the most pleasant and goodly places. This Valley of it self was not great; but adding to it those huge Mountains *Ossa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poesie) with their Spurs or Branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of *Thessaly*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; unless they would make an hungry journey thorow the Country of the *Dassaretians*, as in the former war with *Philip*, they had long, in vain, attempted to do. *Perseus* therefore had no small advantage, by being Master of the Straights leading unto *Tempe*: though far greater he might have had, if by mis-spending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these Mountains, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the worse; yea, to win upon them (for a while) every year more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionless he might have done far greater things, had he seized upon the Straights of *Aous*, which his Father once kept, and defended all the Country behind the Mountains of *Pindus*.

Surely

Surely, not without extreme difficulty, muſt the *Romans* have either travelled by Land, with all their Carriages and Impediments, through places wherein was no relief to be found; or elſe have committed their Armies, and all things thereto needful, unto the mercy of Seas that were very dangerous; if they would have ſought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: upon neither of which courſes they once deviſed, notwithſtanding any trouble which they found in this preſent War. It may perhaps be ſaid, that the *Greeks*, and others, whom the King muſt have left on his back, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his own home. But they were all, excepting the *Theſſalians*, better affected now to him, than they had been to his Father in the former War. The *Ætolians*, upon whom the *Athamanians* depended, grew into ſuſpicion with the *Romans* (as we ſhall find anon) even as ſoon as they met with *Perſeus*. The *Bœotians*, how politickly ſoever *Martius* had wrought with them, adventured themſelves deſperately in the *Macedonian* quarrel: what would they have done, if he at firſt had done his beſt? The *Rhodians*, *Illyrians*, yea, and *Eumenes* himſelf, after a while began to waver, when they ſaw things go better with *Perſeus*, than they had expected. So that if inſtead of diſcouraging his Friends, by ſuing baſely for peace; he had raiſed their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and increaſed the number of his well-willers; yea, and bought down with money (as he might have done) ſome of his enemies, and among them *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the *Romans* perhaps have been compelled to forſake their imperious patronage over *Greece*; and to render the Liberty by them given, entire; which otherwiſe was but imaginary. Such benefit of this War, ſince it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reaſon have been expected at firſt, from greater advantages. But as a fearful company running from their Enemies, till ſome River ſtay their flight; are there compelled by meer deſperation to do ſuch acts, as done, while the battel laſted, would have won the Victory: ſo fell it out with *Perſeus*. In ſeeking to avoid the danger of that War, whereof he ſhould have ſought the honour; he left his friends that would have ſtood by him, and gave them cauſe to provide for their own ſafety: yet being overtaken by neceſſity, he choſe rather to ſet his back to the Mountains of *Tempe*, and defend himſelf with his proper forces; than to be driven into ſuch miſery, as was inevitable, if he gave a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Theſſaly*, it is hard to ſhew particularly, for that the Hiſtory of thoſe things is much periſhed. Wherefore we muſt be contented with the ſumm.

The Conſul having no deſire to fight, until ſuch time as all his forces were arrived; kept within his Trenches, and lay ſtill encamped by the River of *Pencus*, about three miles from *Lariſſa*. That which perſwaded the Conſul to protract the time, did contrawiſe incite the King, to put the matter unto a haſty trial. Wherefore he invited the *Romans* into the field; by waſting the Land of the *Pheræans* their Confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity; he grew bold to adventure even unto their Trenches: out of which, if they iſſued, it was likely that his advantage in Horſe would make the Victory his own. At his coming they were troubled; for that it was ſudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themſelves to be ſafely lodged. They ſent out a few of King *Eumenes* his Horſe, and with them ſome light-armed foot, to entertain ſkirmiſh. The Captain, and ſome other of theſe were ſlain: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius* nor *Eumenes*, found it reaſonable to hazard battel. Thus, day after day, a while together, *Perſeus* continued offering battel: which they ſtill refuſed. Hereby his boldneſs much increaſed; and much more his reputation: to the grief of thoſe, who being ſo far come to make a Conqueſt, could ill digeſt the ſhame that fell upon them by their enduring theſe bravadoes. The Town of *Sycurium*, where *Perſeus* then lay, was twelve miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which uſed to take up four hours of the morning, but he was fain to bring water along with him in Carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirſty when they came to fight. For remedy of theſe inconveniencies, he found out a lodging ſeven miles nearer to the enemy: whom he viſited the next day by the Sun-riſing. His coming at ſuch an unuſual hour, filled the Camp with Tumult: inſomuch as though he brought with him only his Horſe and light Armature, that were unfit to aſſail the Trenches, yet the Conſul thought it neceſſary, and reſolved to give check to his pride. Wherefore he ſent forth his Brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many brave Captains, with all his power of Horſe, his Velites, and all the reſt of his light Armature to try their fortune: he himſelf remaining in the Camp, with

with his Legions in readineſs. The honour of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the Victory in a manner intire (though the *Theſſalians* made a good retrait) with little loſs of his own. But he diſcovered his weakneſs ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly do, to counſel given by one of his own temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great fear, leſt he ſhould aſſault their Camp; and to that purpoſe, upon the firſt news of his ſucceſs, his Phalanx was brought unto him by the Captains, though unſent for: he nevertheleſs took it for ſound advice, which indeed was timorous and baſe, To work warily, and moderate his victory; by which means it was ſaid, That either he ſhould get honeſt conditions of Peace, or at leaſtwiſe many Companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like that his good fortune would exalt the Hope and Courage of his Friends. Yet, had it been greater, and had he won the *Roman* Camp, his friends would have been the more, and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: And in ſuing for it, even when he had the victory; what leſs did he, than proclaim unto all which would become his partakers, That neither good nor bad fortune ſhould keep him from yielding to the *Romans*, whenſoever they would be pleaſed to accept him? At this time the joy of his victory would admit none of the Conſiderations. He had ſlain of the *Roman* Horſe two hundred, and taken of them priſoners the like number. Of their foot he had ſlain about two thouſand: loſing of his own no more than twenty Horſe, and forty foot. The *Roman* Camp, after this diſaſter, was full of heavineſs and fear: it being much doubted that the enemy would ſet upon it. *Eumenes* gave counſel to diſlodge by night, and remove to a ſurer place beyond the River *Peneus*. The Conſul, though aſhamed to profeſs, by ſo doing, in what fear he ſtood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the Loſs paſt, than by ſtanding on proud terms, to draw upon himſelf a greater Calamity. So he paſſed the River in the dead of the night, and encamped more ſtrongly on the further ſide. The *Aetolians* were ſorely blamed for this loſs: as if rather a traiterous meaning, than any true fear, had occaſioned their flight, wherein the reſt of the *Greeks* followed them. Five of them that were men of eſpecial mark, had been obſerved to be the firſt which turned their backs: an obſervation likely to coſt them dear, at a time of better leiſure. As for the *Theſſalians*, their virtue was honoured with reward: ſo as the *Greeks* might learn by Examples of either kind, that if they would ſhun indignation, or incur favour, then muſt they adventure no leſs for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would do for their own Liberty. Thus fared it with the Conſul and his Army. *Perſeus* came the next day to correct the former days errour; which how great it was, he not until then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of ſafety; whither they could never have attained, if the King had either preſſed his Victory, or given better heed to them that night: his light Armature alone being ſufficient to have routed them whileſt they were conveying themſelves to the other ſide of *Peneus*. But it was vain to tell what might have been done, ſince there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, even the flower of their City, The Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were choſen their Senators, and conſequently the Generals themſelves, Prætors, Conſuls, and all that bore Office or Command among them; yea, they were beaten ſo ſhamefully, that they ſtole away by night, and ſuffered him to gather up the ſpoils of them without reſiſtance, as yielding themſelves overcome. With ſuch brave words did the King ſet out the Glory of his Action; dividing the ſpoils among his Followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honour round. He came nearer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopſelus*, a place in a mid-way between *Tempe* and *Lariſſa*: as if it were his meaning to preſs them ſomewhat harder. Nevertheleſs he was eaſily perſwaded to uſe the occaſion, which he ſeemed to have, of obtaining peace. Therefore he ſent unto the Conſul, and offered to yield unto the ſame Conditions, wherein his Father had been bound to the *Romans*; if the War might ſo take end. It were needleſs here again to ſhew the folly of this his courſe. Towards the accompliſhment of this deſired Peace, there was in the Conſul no greater power than to grant a Truce, whileſt Embaſſadours might go to *Rome*: it reſting in the Senate and People to approve the conditions, & ratifie the League. And of ſuch a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no ſmall diſcommodity redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned anſwer, That other hope of peace there was none; ſave that *Perſeus* would yield both his Kingdom and Perſon, ſimply and abſolutely, to diſcretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to be ſo reſolute in Adverſity. On the other ſide, it argued a very faint heart in *Perſeus*, that having receiv'd an anſwer ſo peremptory

he

he ſtill perſiſted, making vain offers of greater tribute. Finding that the peace which he ſo much deſired, could not be purchaſed with mony, the King withdrew himſelf back to *Sycurium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whoſe forces were well repaired by the coming of *Miſagenes* the Son of *Maſaniſſa*, with the aid before mentioned. This diſtance between the King and them, cauſed the *Romans* to wax the more bold in making their harveſt: about which buſineſs they ranged over all the fields. Their careleſs demeanour gave him hope to do ſome notable exploit: which he attempted, both upon their Camp, and upon thoſe that were abroad. The Camp he thought to have fired on the ſudden: but the alarm being taken in good ſeaſon, he failed in the enterpriſe. As for the forragers; he had a good hand upon them, if he could have withdrawn it, and given over in time. But whilſt he ſtrove to force a guard, he was viſited by the Conſul; by whom either in a ſkirmiſh of horſe, or (for the report is divers) in a great battel, he was overcome. This miſadventure, whether great or ſmall, cauſed *Perſeus*, after a few daies, to fall back into *Macedon*; as being naturally given to fear danger, even where none was; whereby what loſs he felt, will appear hereafter. He left all behind him, ſave only *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and conſequently an eaſie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went ſtraight unto *Connus*; hoping to have taken it, and ſo to have gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the work too hard, he returned back unto the *Perræbians* and others; from whom he won ſome Towns, and among the reſt, *Lariſſa*. There were ſundry Towns thereabout, bearing the ſame name of *Lariſſa*: ſo that this which the Conſul took, may ſeem not to have belonged unto the *Theſſalians*; unleſs, perhaps, after his victory, *Perſeus* did greater acts than we find recorded, and got ſome part of *Theſſaly*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to give a preciſe account; for that the Hiſtories of them are greatly defective. One may think it ſtrange, that the *Bœotians*, whom a *Roman* Embaſſador could terrifie, and bring altogether to his own will, ſhould not be afraid of a *Roman* Army, then on foot in *Greece*, and a Navy on their coaſt. But more ſtrange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the Art of *Martius*, were more true to *Rome*, than other petty Towns, which by that ſame diſtraction of the *Bœotians*, became within themſelves more abſolute, than formerly they had been. The cauſes hereof were to have been ſought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now loſt. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly puniſhed by *Lucretius* the *Roman* Admiral: who got ſo much by ſpoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebell in like ſort, if by extream oppreſſion he could have driven them ſo far. Neither was *Licinius* the Conſul undiligent in the ſame kind. What his doings were, after ſuch time as he was at leiſure from *Perſeus*, I find no where mentioned. Only this is ſaid in general; That in the War which he made, he cruelly and covetuouſly demeaned himſelf.

After the ſame faſhion dealt they, that commanded in the year following; *Hoſtilius* the Conſul, and *Hortenſius* the Admiral, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hoſtilius* ſhewed more of his induſtry, in picking quarrels with the Confederates of *Rome*, than in proſecuting the War againſt the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* War upon his Kingdom, after that the Conſul had ſought paſſage in vain over certain mountains, *Perſeus* ſeemed, in a manner, free from it. He was troubled indeed on that ſide which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Conſul ſent thither with an Army of four thouſand, and who, by levies made upon the Confederates, doubled this his Army. But *Claudius* thinking to have taken *Uſcana*, a border town of *Illyria*, by Treaſon; came thither in ſuch careleſs order, that the inhabitants which had made ſhew of Treaſon, with purpoſe only to train him into danger; ſallied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chaſed him ſo far, that hardly he eſcaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this Town of *Uſcana*, ſhortly after became *Roman*: which howſoever it happened, *Perſeus* very ſoon recovered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotys* a *Thracian* King, ſecuring him on the one ſide of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirot*, revolted from the *Romans*, on the other. *Perſeus* likewiſe made a painful journey into *Ætolia*; where he was promiſed to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the ſtrongeſt City in that Region. Of this hope though he were diſappointed by thoſe of the *Romans* faction, yet in his retnrn home, he took in *Aperantia*; and ſhortly heard good news, that *Ap. Claudius* was again throughly beaten by *Clevas*, one of his Lieutenants. Such ſucceſs had the *Macedonian* War under *Hoſtilius*. The ſame Conſul offended much

the *Greeks*, by the ſtrict inquiſition which his Embaſſadors made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For theſe Embaſſadors travelling thorow all the Citis of *Peloponneſeus*, gave out ſpeeches tending to ſhew, That they liked no better of thoſe who ſought not by might and main to advance their buſineſs, than of thoſe which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to have accuſed by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the ſteps of *Philopœmen*; and together with him, his ſon *Polibius*, who ſoon after was General of the *Achæan* Horſe; but more notable by that excellent Hiſtory which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably diſcharged. The ſumm of the accuſation ſhould have been; That theſe were not hearty friends unto the *Romans*, but ſuch as abſtained from raiſing troubles, more for lack of opqortunity, than for any love to the common quiet. But ſince no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to ſuch a tale; it was thought better, for the preſent, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætolians*: They demanded hoſtages; and found ſome in the Councel that approved the motion: as alſo among the *Acarnanians*, there were that intreated to have *Roman* Garriſons beſtowed in their Towns. But neither the one nor the other of theſe propoſitions took effect. They of the *Roman* faction, accuſed not only ſuch as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but alſo the good Patriots; making it no leſs than a matter of treaſon, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary ſide, there wanted not ſome, who roundly told theſe pick-thanks of their baſe flattery, rating them openly, in ſuch ſort, that one of them hardly eſcaped being ſtoned, even in the preſence of the Embaſſadors. Thus was all full of acuſations, and excuſes: among which the Embaſſadors carried themſelves, as men that could believe none ill: though it were well enough known what they thought. The beſt was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and publiſhed to this effect: That it ſhould be free for all men, to refuſe obedience to any *Roman* Magiſtrate, impoſing any burden for the preſent war, unleſs it were ſuch, as the Senate had likewiſe thought meet. Of this Decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or ſeemed, a good remedy of many inconveniences. But they that ſtanding on priviledges hereof, refuſed to fulfill every commandment, were numbred among the Patriots; which in the end of this war proved little better, if not worſe, than to have been Traitors. The Senate was driven to ſet down this order, by reaſon of many and vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magiſtrates, and eſpecially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortenſius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great ſumm of mony, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*, in that they loved not to have their ſubjects oppreſſed. *Hortenſius* being ſtill in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embaſſages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to ſeek redreſs of injuries, or to offer their ſervices: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a Town of the leſſer *Aſia*, there was preſented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a moſt baſe piece of flattery. Theſe *Alabanders* brought three hundred horſemens targets, and a crown of gold, to beſtow upon *Jupiter* in the Capitol. But having a deſire to gratifie the *Romans* with ſome exquiſite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be ſingular, and being not able to reach unto any great performance: they built a Temple, unto the Town *Rome*, and appointed anniverſary games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that *goddeſs*. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, and the like vain men, that would be thought gods; or at the ſhamefull flattery of ſuch as beſtowed upon men, and not the moſt vertuous of men, divine honours; when he ſees a Town of houſes, wherein powerfull men dwell, worſhipped as a Goddeſs; and receiving (without ſcorn of the Givers, or ſhame of the Preſent) the title of *Deity*, at the gift of ſuch a raſcal City as *Alabanda*?

§. VII

§. VII.

Q. Martius *the Roman Conſul, with extream difficulty and danger, enters into* Tempe. *The cowardize of* Perſeus *in abandoning* Tempe. *The Town of* Dium *quitted by* Martius; *repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill ſucceſs. Their affairs in hard eſtate.* Martius *a cunning and a bad man.* Polybius *ſent Embaſſadour to* Martius *from the Achæans.* Polybius *his honeſt wiſdom beneficial to the Achæans. King* Eumenes *grows averſe from the Romans.* Perſeus *negotiates with* Antiochus *and* Eumenes. *His falſe dealing with* Gentius *King of* Illyria; *whom he draws into the Roman war. He ſends Embaſſadours to the Rhodians; who vainly take upon them to be arbitrators between him and the Romans.* Perſeus *loſeth a mighty ſuccour of the Baſtarnæ, by his wretched parſimony.*

AFter two years of the *Macedonian* war, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the war began; which had been thought likely to reform all thoſe Countreys, and bring them to what paſs the *Romans* deſired; as it did in the end. *Perſeus* had hitherto the better, and was ſtronger now, than when he lived in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* ſide; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, took courage daily; and his reputation grew ſuch, as cauſed thoſe that were before wholly *Roman*, to ſuſpect what the iſſue of the war might prove, and thereupon to become wiſe for themſelves. Contrariwiſe, *Licinius* and *Hoſtilius* the Conſuls, had one after the other ſpent their time in vain, ſeeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conqueſt, by many loſſes received. The *Roman* Admirals had ſo demeaned themſelves, that many Towns even of the beſt effected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the fear was great on the *Roman* ſide; and the Army much leſſened, not only by caſualties of war, but by the facility of the Tribunes or Colonels, or elſe of the Conſul himſelf (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licenſing the Souldiers to depart. *Quintius Martius* the new Conſul, who ſucceeded unto *Hoſtilius*, was to amend all this: which nevertheleſs was more than he knew how to do; though he brought with him a ſtrong ſupply of men. He began hotly to ſet the war on foot, which along time had ſlept. And he began the right way: not ſeeking to force the ſtraights that were ſurely guarded, but taking pains to climb the mountains which were thought able to forbid all paſſage over them, without help or need of any cuſtody. The King heard of his approach; and being uncertain what way he meant to take, diſtributed his own forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit aſcent. But the Conſul proceeded in his journey: with hope, either not to be diſcovered by the Enemy, or to break through all oppoſition, or at leaſtwiſe, to fight on as convenient ground, as they ſhould have that lay to ſtop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a ſafe retreat. He ſent before him four thouſand of his moſt expedite foot, to diſcover the wayes. Two daies was this company troubled, in overcoming the difficulty of no more than fifteen miles: after which they had ſight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their paſſage. They occupied therefore a ſafe piece of ground; and ſent back word to the Conſul, where they were; intreating him to haſten unto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit diſmaved at his arrival; but met him, and fought with him, two or three daies together; each returning to their own Camp at night, with little loſs on either ſide. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountain, which gave ſcarcely room unto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the reſt were beholders. In this caſe it was impoſſible to get forwards: yet a ſhame to return. Wherefore *Martius* took the only courſe remaining; and indeed the beſt: Part of his men he left with *Popilius*, to attend upon the *Macedonians*; whilſt he, with the reſt, fetcht a compaſs about, and ſought out waies that never had been trodden. Herein he found extream difficulty: which notwithſtanding he overcame. Beſides the troubles commonly incident to ſuch journeys, through places unfit for habitation: he was compelled by labour of hand; to make paths where none were; yea, where Nature might ſeem to have intended, that none ſhould be. So ſteep he found the deſcent of the mountains, in this way which he took: that of ſeven miles, which they travelled the firſt day, his men were compelled, for the more part to row themſelves down; as not daring to truſt their feet. Neither was this the worſt. For they met with rocks, that ſtood one over another, ſo upright: and cumberſome to get down: that their Elephants were affraid of that giddy project, and caſting their governours, made a terrible noiſe, which affrighted the horſes, and bred great confuſion. Having therefore

gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grievous journey; there was nothing more deſired by the ſouldiers, than that they might be ſuffered to creep back again, the ſame way which they had come. But ſhift was made to let down the Elephants, by a kind of bridges, like unto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was joyned to the edge of the cliff; the other ſuſtained by two long poſts, faſtened in the ground below. Upon theſe two poſts, or poles, (which indeed, not being very ſtrong, ſince it was intended that they ſhould be either cut or broken) were faſtened two rafters, anſwerable in length to the diſtance, between the higher and the lower fall: ſo as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. Theſe were covered with planks and turfe; that they might ſeem continent with the ground: ſo to make the beaſts adventurous to go upon them. If there were a plain of any good extent from the foot of a rock, to the next downfall; then might the bridge be ſhorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, upon one of theſe; the poſts upholding the frame were cut aſunder; thereby cauſing him to ſink down unto the next bridge; whence he was conveyed in like manner, to the third, and onward ſtill to the very bottom. Thus went they down ſliding, ſome on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an even valley. By this it appears, how throughly provided the *Romans* uſed to be in their journeys, of things needful in all occaſions: as alſo what ineſtimable pains they took in this deſcent, about the conveyance of themſelves and all their carriages down the mountains. The next day they reſted; ſtaying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly, or perhapes never, ſhould have overtaken them, if the Enemy had followed, and ſet upon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies journeys were like unto the firſt: ſave that cuſtome, and the nearneſs to their waies end without meeting enemy, cauſed them the better to endure the labour.

Perſeus could not be ignorant of the *Romans* coming towards him: ſince they fought with his men upon the paſſage, three daies together; he lying ſo nigh, that he might wel near have heard the noiſe. Yet was he ſo poſſeſſed with fear; that he neither ſtirred to help his own men, or to hinder the Conſul, nor made any proviſion for that which might fall out; but as one void of councel, ſate hearkening after the event. Four only paſſages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the firſt by *Connus*; which the *Romans* were unable to force: the ſecond and third were the ſame which *Martius* had attempted in vain, and another like unto it; the laſt, by the City of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All theſe were ſufficiently guarded: and whoſoever would ſeek any other way, muſt be fain to take ſuch pains as *Martius* had undergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the reſt: whereof only the King had benefit: for that his enemies could not get thither, ſave through the valley it ſelf, into which they muſt firſt pierce another way. *Dium* ſtood upon the foot of the huge mounrain *Olympus*, about a mile from the Sea: of which mile, the River *Helicon* becoming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, took up the one half, the reſt being ſuch as might eaſily have been fortified. Beſides all theſe, there was in the midſt of *Tempe*, a paſſage which ten men might eaſily keep: where the ſpurs of the mountains, reaching far into the valley; drew near to the very banks of *Peneus*, a goodly and deep River which ran through it. Wherefore nothing had been more eaſie, than to make the Conſul repent him of his troubleſome journey: if *Perſeus* could have ſeen his own advantages. For the *Roman* Army was not only in ill caſe to fight, after the vexation of that miſerable travel: but muſt needs have either periſhed for want of victuals, or been inforced to return the ſame way that he came, if the King hade made good the ſtraight of *Dium*. To have returned, and climbed up with their Elephants and carriages, againſt thoſe rocks, from which, with extreem labour, they could hardly get down, it ſeems a matter of impoſſibility: eſpecially conſidering how the enemy from above their heads, would have beaten upon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they ſtole away from him. It may therefore be thought ſtrange that the *Romans* did not rather take their journey into *Macedon*, from the ſide of *Illyria*, whence that Kingdom had often been invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themſelves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*, whence, after that they were arrived, there was no means to eſcape, without forcing one of thoſe paſſages, which they deſpaired to win. But the cowardize of *Perſeus* did commend the counſel by them followed, as wiſe. For he no ſooner heard that the Enemy was come over the Mountains into *Tempe*, than he fared like one out of his wits; ſaying, That he was vanquiſhed, and had loſt all, without battel. Herewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what he could carry away

away in haſte; and ſtraightwaies abandoned the Town. In the ſame vehemency of amazement, he ſent a ſtraight commandment to *Theſſalonica*, that the Arſenal there ſhould be ſet on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treaſures there ſhould be caſt into the Sea: as if the *Romans* were like preſently to be Maſters of theſe two Cities. *Niceas*, who was appointed to drown the treaſure, performed it as haſtily as well he could: though ſoon after, his Maſter grew ſorry for the loſs; and itwas all, in a manner, recovered by Divers from under the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to ſet fire on the Kings Arſenal, deferred the execution, foreſeeing that repentance might follow: and ſo he prevented the damage. Whether *Niceas*, for his abſolute and blind obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his careful providence, merited the greater commendation, or more eaſie pardon; it reſted in the King to interpret. The reward of his ſervice, was this, *Perſeus* growing aſhamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this haſty direction: cauſed them both to be ſlain. Alſo thoſe poor men, which had fetcht his treaſure out of the Sea by their diving, were payed their wages after the ſame ſort: that ſo there might be no witneſs of the Kings baſe folly. Such end muſt they fear, who are privy to diſhonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perſeus* would have gone ſurely to work, for the hiding of his fault; then muſt he ſo royally have behaved himſelf, that no man might believe him to be the Author of any unworthy act or councel. But his vertue was of no ſuch capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore, having called *Hippias* away (the Captain which had ſtopped the Conſul on the top of the Mountain) and *Aſclepiodatus*, from defence of the paſſages, whereto they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; ſaying, That they had betrayed unto the Enemy the gates and bars of *Macedon*. Of this reproach, if they would diſcharge themſelves, by laying it upon him, to whom of right it belonged, then might they have ſped as did *Niceas* and *Andronicus*.

The Conſul *Martius* had great cauſe to rejoyce, for that the King had ſo haſtily relinquiſhed his poſſeſſion of *Tempe*, and all the paſſages leading thereinto: ſince the *Roman* Army, this notwithſtanding, was hardly able to ſubſiſt for want of victuals. He took *Dium* without reſiſtance, and thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein having travelled about a daies journey, and gotten one Town that yielded, he was compelled by meer lack of food for his men, to return back towards *Theſſaly*. His Fleet came to him, in this time of neceſſity, well appointed to have holpen him in the war: but having left behind, at *Magneſia*, the ſhips of burthen, which carryed the proviſions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been careful to occupy the Caſtles about *Tempe*, which were forſaken by the *Macedonians*: for by thoſe waies only might Corn be brought into the Army. To meet the ſooner with this Corn, which was moſt deſirouſly expected, he forſook *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which fooliſh journey (if not worſe than fooliſh) he loſt more, than a little the longer faſting had been worth. It is probable that his Carts, with all, or the moſt of his ſtore, were loſt among the Mountains: for otherwiſe it had been madneſs to put himſelf on ſuch an enterprize, ſo ſlenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or ſight of the Enemy, he ſhould be fain to quit it. Howſoever it was: men thought him a coward, or at leaſt a bad man of war; ſince he thus recoyled and gave off, when it moſt behoved him to have proſecuted the action.

By underſtanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himſelf, underſtood his own errour; ſought to hide it by ſuch poor means as have been ſhewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repoſſeſſed the Town of *Dium*, which he haſtily repaired, finding it diſ-mantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped ſtrongly by the River of *Enipeus*: meaning there to ſtop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Leſs diligence, more timely uſed, would have been enough, not only to have delivered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace, but to have given him ſuch a noble victory, as might cauſe the *Romans* to ſeek a good end of the war upon fair conditions, and not to begin again in haſte. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Conſul an exceeding hinderance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the Conqueſt in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the Town of *Heraclea*, ſtanding on the River of *Pencus*, five mile from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climbing upon mens heads, ſomewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made ſuch defence as it could, and was not given up for fear. After this, *Martius* did ſet a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would have taken it again, and have driven the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like ſo great: his chief care,

care, being to provide for his wintering. He sent the Admiral to make attempt upon the Sea-Towns, *Thessalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others. All these were assayed: but in vain. The fields about *Thessalonica* were wasted; and some companies, that sundry times adventured forth of the Town, were still put to the worse. As for the Town it self; there was danger in coming near it, either by Land or Sea; by reason of the engines, which shot from the walls, and reached unto the Fleet. Wherefore the Admiral setting sail from thence, ran along by *Anea*, and *Antigonea*, (landing near to each of them; and both doing and receiving hurt) until he came to *Pallene* in the territory of *Cassandrea*. There King *Eumenes* joyned with him, bringing twenty ships of War: and five other were sent thither from King *Prusias*. With this access of strength, the Admiral was bold to try his fortune at *Cassandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the Town: which, while the *Romans* were filling up, question was made, What became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not upon the bank? By this occasion, it was learned, that there were Arches in the Town-wall filled up with that earth, and covered with one single row of brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope of making way into the Town, by sapping the walls. To this work he appointed such as he thought meetest: giving an alarm to the other side of the Town, thereby to shadow his attempt. The breach was soon made. But whilest the *Romans* were shouting for joy, and ordering themselves for the assault: the Captains within the Town perceived what was done; and sallying forth unexpected, gave a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch and the wall; of whom they slew about six hundred, and suffered few to escape unwounded. This disaster, and the want of good success on that part of the Town which King *Eumenes* assailed (a supply in the mean while entring the Town by Sea) caused the siege to break up. *Torone* was the next place which the Admiral thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*: whereinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Captain, was gotten before his coming, with such forces, as were not only sufficient to have defended the Town, if the Admiral had laid siege to it, but to keep the Land about it from spoil; or, at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay dear for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melibœa*; whither the Consul (that he might not be quite without work) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing suddenly over their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their Camp on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, so far was their ability short of their Enterprises; ever since their Consul (whether dastardly, or carelessly) most unlike a good Commander, had let go his hold of *Macedon*, by forsaking *Dium*: yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harm befell them, or, at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining History of this war. For *Martius* perswaded the *Rhodians* by *Agesipolis* their Embassadour, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other business of less importance, That they should do well to interpose themselves as Mediators, and seek to finish the War. Now, although *Polybius* do most probably conjecture, that this was rather a malicious device of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true fear in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an Army on foot: yet since he made shew of fear, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his fear seem not counterfeit. And so were the *Rhodians* moved to think of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtesie, both of him and of the Admiral, towards their Embassadour, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadours of *Perseus*, and of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did set out their business at *Rhodes*, not more with the strength of a good Fleet, which the *Macedonians* had gotten, than with the honour of some victory, wherein he had lately slain great numbers of the *Roman* horse. Thus much we find intimated; though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from *Rome* to view the estate of *Martius* his Army. For they found the Consul wanting meat; the Admiral wanting men; and, for those few that he had, wanting both money and clothes: and *App. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, so unable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwise, he was in extream danger; so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new Army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seem, that some blow had been taken on the *Illyrian* side, which made all to halt; or

Polyb. Legat. 80.

Polyb. Legat. 87.

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at leaſt that the *Romans*, with greater loſs than is before ſpoken of, had been driven from ſome of the Towns which they beſieged.

Now, although it were ſo, that *Martius*, in very few of his actions, behaved himſelf like a man of war: yet in exerciſe of *Cunning*, which one hath moſt aptly termed, *A crooked or ſiniſter kind of wiſdom*, he dealt as a crafts-maſter, with a reſtleſs working diligence. This indeed neither proved his ſufficiency, nor commended his honeſty; ſince thereby he effected nothing to his own benefit; and nevertheleſs out of envy, vain-glory, or ſuch delight as weak and buſie-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made oppoſition to the good of his Country. At ſuch time as *Perſeus*, by the ſucceſs of his doings againſt *Hoſtilius*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade *Theſſaly*. *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriots among the *Achæans*, judged it expedient for their Nations to help the *Romans*, as in a time of adverſity, whom in proſperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* propoſed a decree, which paſſed: That the *Achæans* ſhould ſend their whole power into *Theſſaly*, and participate with the *Romans* in all dangers. So the Army was levied: and *Polibius*, Li. with others, ſent Embaſſadors unto *Martius*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleaſure. *Polibius* found the Conſul buſie in finding paſſage thorow *Tempe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the Army, and awaited the Conſuls leiſure, till they came to *Heraclea*; where, finding the time convenient, he preſented the Decree, and offered the ſervice of his Nation, wherein ſoever it ſhould be commanded. *Martius* took this very kindly; but ſaid, That he needed now no manner of help. Forthwith *Polibius* diſpatched home his companions, to ſignifie thus much: tarrying himſelf behind in the Camp. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* deſired, or rather imperiouſly required, of the *Achæans*, five thouſand men, to be ſent him into *Epirus*. It was manifeſt, that *Appius* had need of theſe men; and that if he were ſtrong in field, he might do notable ſervice, by diſtracting the forces of *Perſeus*. But the *Labirinthian* head of *Martius*, could not allow of ſuch plain reaſon. He called unto him *Polibius*, to whom he declared, That *Appius* had no need of ſuch aid, and therefore willed him to return home, and in any wiſe take order that the men might not be ſent, nor the *Achæans* be put to ſuch needleſs charges. Away went *Polibius*; muſing, and unable to reſolve, whether it were for love to the *Achæans*, that the Conſul was ſo earneſt in this buſineſs; or rather for envy, and to hinder *Ap. Claudius* from doing any thing, ſince himſelf could do nothing. But when *Polibius* was to deliver his opinion in the Councel touching this matter; then found he a new doubt, that more nearly concerned his own ſelf, and thoſe of his party. For as he was ſure to incurr the great indignation of the Conſul, if he ſhould neglect what was given him in charge; ſo was it manifeſt on the other ſide, that the words by *Martius* uttered to him in private, would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they ſhould refuſe to help *Claudius*, alledging that he had no need: In this caſe therefore, he had recourſe unto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted men from neceſſity of doing what the *Roman* Commanders ſhould require, unleſs, by ſpecial order from the Senate, the ſame were likewiſe appointed. So for lack of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred unto the advice of the Conſul: by whom it was ſure to be made fruſtrate. Hereby the *Achæans* were ſavers, of more than an hundred and twenty Talents: though *Polibius* himſelf ran into danger of *Appius* his diſpleaſure; and for ſuch honeſt dealing in his Countries behalf, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long years impriſonment.

Whether it were by the like policy of *Martius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to ſtand in fear leſt the fire, which he himſelf had helped to kindle, would ſhortly take hold on his own lodging; or whether the regard of mony were able to overſway all other paſſions; it is hard to determine: ſince they that had better means to know the truth, have not preciſely affirmed any certainty. One report is, That *Eumenes* did not ſo much as give any help to *Martius*: but coming to have joyned with him, in ſuch friendly manner as he did with the former Conſuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in ſuch anger, that he refuſed to leave behind him certain horſe of the *Gallo-Greeks*, being requeſted to have done it. If this were true, and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behind with the Conſul, did the *Romans* good ſervice: then is the reaſon apparent, of the hatred, born afterward by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the love to *Attalus*. But it is more generally received; that *Eumenes* gave a willing ear to *Perſeus* his deſire of accord, for meer deſire of gain.

And

And it might well be, that covetousnes drew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. Howsoever it befell; *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be sounded, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to solicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his advertisements, both to *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect love between a King and a free City: that the *Romans* had quarrel alike to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and used the help of one against another; that *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the help of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed with help of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes* to consider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia* which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to think better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to look for any good conclusion of his war with the *Egyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him give over, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compell the *Romans* to surcease from their War upon *Macedon*; or else to hold them as common enemies unto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay far out of the *Romans* way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more nearly toucht; and as he felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should give answer, he began to offer a bargain of peace for mony. He thought the *Romans* to be no less weary, than *Perseus* was affraid. Wherefore he promised for his own part, That if he might have fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remain a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantity of mony (how much I find not) he would also bring the *Romans* to condescend unto peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receive the hostages, but not to lay out the mony; especially before-hand, as was required. He would fain have peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost; but he would lay down the mony in the Temple at *Samothrace*: whence it should be delivered unto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of *Samothrace* was *Perseus* his own: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, howsoever the business might happen to succeed: so that needs he would have part of his wages in *prest*. Thus the two Kings did no more, than lose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the *Romans*, as a Traitor.

After the same manner dealt *Perseus* with King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainly, and said, That without mony he could not stir. Hereunto *Perseus* loved not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serve at the last cast, to deliver him from all his fears. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his fear urge him to prodigality; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soon made, and pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*, to the end that all his Army might have comfort, by such access of strength to their party. Presently upon the bargain made, Embassadours were sent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perseus* and *Gentius*: who desired the *Rhodians*, to take upon them, as Arbitrators, between *Perseus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the war to an end. The *Rhodians* thinking that *Martius* the Consul was no less desirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the *Roman* Senate, hearing proud words to the same effect, from the *Rhodian* Embassadors; gave an answer as disdainful, angry, and menacing, as they could devise: so as this vain glory of the *Rhodians* was thoroughly chastised; and more thoroughly should have been, if their submission had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such use of *Gentius* his friendship, made *Perseus*, without laying out one ounce of silver. Now fain he would have hastened this young and rash *Illyrian* to enter with all speed into the War: but then must the mony be hastened away. *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* Embassadour, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him daily to begin the War by Land and Sea, whilest the *Romans* were unprovided. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon ten Talents were sent to *Pantauchus*: who delivered it to the young King, as Earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed; and sealed up with the seal of the *Illyrians*, but carryed by *Macedonians*, and not too fast. Before this mony came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had laid hands upon two *Roman* Embassadours, and cast them into prison.

Which

Which *Perſeus* no ſooner heard, than he recalled his Treaſure-bearers, and ſent them with their load to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of neceſſity to make war with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto or not.

There came about the ſame time through *Illyria*, to the aid of *Perſeus*, under one *Clondicus*, a petty King, ten thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand foot of the *Gauls*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Baſtarnæ*. Theſe had before-hand made their bargain, and were to receive preſent pay at the firſt. At their entry into the Kingdom, *Perſeus* ſent one to them; deſiring their Captains to come viſit him, whom he promiſed to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the firſt queſtion that their General aſked, was, Whether the King had ſent money to give their Souldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the meſſenger had not what to anſwer. Why then (ſaid *Clondicus*) tell thy Maſter, that the *Gauls* will not ſtir one foot further, until they have gold, as was agreed, and hoſtages. *Perſeus* hereupon took counſel: if to utter his own opinion before men ſo wiſe that they would not contradict him, were to take counſel. He made an invective againſt the incivility and avarice of the *Baſtarnæ*: who came with ſuch numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdom. Five thouſand horſe of them he ſaid would be as many as he ſhould need to uſe; and not ſo many, that he ſhould need to fear them. It had been well done, if any of his Counſellors would have told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole Army of them, ſince without any danger to the Kingdom, they might be let out, by the way of *Perræbia*, into *Theſſaly*: where, waſting the Country, and filling themſelves with ſpoil, they ſhould make the *Romans* glad to forſake *Tempe*, even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable ſervice, whether they won any victory or not. This, and a great deal more, might have been alledged, if any man had dared to give advice freely. In concluſion, *Antigonus*, the ſame meſſenger that had been with them before, was ſent again, to let them know the Kings mind. He did his errand: upon which followed a great murmure of thoſe many thouſands that had been drawn ſo far to no purpoſe. But *Clondicus* aſked him now again, Whether he had brought the mony along with him to pay thoſe five thouſand, whom the King would entertain. Hereto when it was perceived that *Antigonus* could make no better anſwer, than ſhifting excuſes, the *Baſtarnæ* returned preſently towards *Danubius*, waſting the neighbour-parts of *Thrace*; yet ſuffering this crafty meſſenger to eſcape unhurt: which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt *Perſeus*, like a careſull Treaſurer, and one that would preſerve his mony for the *Romans*, without diminiſhing the ſumm. But of this painful Office he was very ſoon diſcharged by *L. Æmylius Paulus* the new Conſul: who in fifteen daies after his ſetting forth from *Italy*, brought the Kingdom of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed over it a King ſo fooliſh and ſo cowardly.

§. VIII.

Of L. Æmilius Paulus *the Conſul. His journey. He forceth* Perſeus *to diſcamp. He will not hazard battel with any diſadvantage. Of an Eclipſe of the Moon.* Æmylius *his ſuperſtition. The battel of* Pydna. Perſeus *his flight. He forſakes his Kingdom: which haſtily yeelds to* Æmylius. Perſeus *at* Samothrace. *He yeelds himſelf to the* Roman *Admiral, and is ſent priſoner to* Æmylius.

BY the War of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much diſhonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity ſo moved them, that either * they decreed that Province to *L. Æmylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwiſe their manner, to the chance of lot, between him and his fellow-Conſul; or at leaſt were gladder that the lot had caſt it upon him, than that ſo worthy a man was advanced to the dignity of a ſecond Conſulſhip. He refuſed to propound unto the Senate any thing that concerned his Province; until by Embaſſdours, thither ſent to view the eſtate of the War, it was perfectly underſtood, in what condition both the *Roman* Forces, and the *Macedonan*, at the preſent remained. This being throughly known to be ſuch, as hath been already told, the Senate appointed a ſtrong ſupply, not only to the Conſul, but unto the Navy, and likewiſe to the Army that lay between *Illyria* and *Epirus*; from which *App. Claudius* was removed, and *L. Anicius* ſent thither in his place. *Æmylius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the people, as was the cuſtom, ſpake with much gravity and authority. He requeſted thoſe that thought themſelves wiſe enough to manage this War; either to

* *Plut. in vit. Æmyl.*

accompany him into *Macedon*, and there assist him with their advice; or else to govern their tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hear-say, and censure by idle reports: for he told them plainly, that he would frame his doings to occasion not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his Father *L. Æmylius*, who died valiantly in the battel of *Canna* might well be living in some of their memories; which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly unto the instructions given by a wise and resolute Consul.

All his business within the City being dispatched, *Æmylius* was honourably attended at his setting forth on his journey, with an especial hope of men, that he should finish the war: though that he should finish it so soon and happily, was more than could have been hoped or imagined. He came to *Brundusium*: whence, when the wind came fair, he set sail at break of day, and arrived safely at the Isle of *Corcyra* before night. Thence passed he to *Delphi*: where having done sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he set forwards to the Camp, and was there in five daies more. So are there but five of the fifteen daies remaining, in which he finished the War.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at *Dium*: having spared no labour of men and of women to fortifie the banks of *Enipeus*, where it was foordable in dry weather: so as there was little hope or room, to force him; and consequently, as little possibility to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconvenience troubling the *Romans*, and much disabling them to make attempt upon *Dium*, was lack of fresh water. For there were ten miles between *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying between the Seashore and the foot of *Olympus*, without any Brook or Spring breaking forth on that side. But *Æmylius* found present remedy for this, by digging Wells on the shore; where he found sweet Springs: as commonly there is no shore that wants them, though they rise not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking up his lodging any nearer to the Enemy, than the Town of *Heraclea*, on the River of *Peneus*; where he had watering at pleasure, but could perform no service of any worth. Yet when the *Roman* Camp had such means to lye close to the *Macedonian*, as it presently did, the passage onward being defended as hath been shewed, seemed no less difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessary to search another way: which by enquiry was soon found out. There was a narrow passage over *Olympus*, leading into *Perræbia*; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a fair journey. *Martius* either had not been informed hereof, or durst not attempt it; or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the adventure; they fearing lest it would prove such a piece of work as had been their march over *Ossa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industry, courage, and ability to command. He had reformed, even at his first coming, many disorders in the *Roman* Camp: teaching the souldiers among other good lessons, to be obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselves, as had been their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their General. And now he appointed about five thousand men to this enterprise; whereof he committed the charge unto *Scipio Æmylianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own Sons by nature; but adopted, the one of them, by a Son of *Scipio* the *African*; the other, by one of the *Fabii*. *Scipio* took with him some light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretians*; but his main strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, upon the mountain, consisted in a manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers; who though, at some distance they might do notable service against those that should climb up unto them; yet when the darkness took away their aim, they were like to make a bad nights work, being to deal with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal the business about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* took a wrong way towards the Fleet: where victuals were provided for their journey: it being noised, that they were to run along the coasts of *Macedon* by sea, and waste the Country. All the way they were passing the mountains (which was about three daies) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set upon *Perseus* where he lay, rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his main Enterprise, than upon any hope to do good, in seeking to get over *Enipeus*. The channel of *Enipeus*, which received in Winter time a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-near all dry, yet it served not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore *Emylius* employed none save his *Velites*; of whom the Kings light armature had advantage at far distance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perseus* had raised on his own bank, did also beat upon the *Romans*, and gave them to understand, that their labour was in vain.

Yet

Yet *Æmylius* perſiſted as he had begun: and recontinued his aſſault, ſuch as it could be, the ſecond day. This might have ſerved to teach the *Macedonians*, that ſome greater work was in hand: ſince otherwiſe a good Captain, as *Æmylius* was known to be, would not have troubled himſelf with making ſuch bravado's, that were ſomewhat coſtly. But *Perſeus* lookt only unto that which was before his eyes: until his men, that came running fearfully down the Mountain, brought word into the Camp, that the *Romans* were following at their backs. Then was all full of tumult, and the King himſelf no leſs (if not more) amazed than any of the reſt. Order was forthwith given to diſlodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haſte, the Camp was broken up, and a ſpeedy retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were ſo, that they which had the cuſtody of the paſſage were taken ſleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force, *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good ſucceſs in their journey. It may well be, that they ſlept until the *Romans* came ſomewhat near to them; and then taking alarm, when their arrows and ſlings could do little ſervice, were beaten at handy-ſtrokes: ſo as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epiſtle of *Scipio*, may each of them have been true. Thus was an open way cleared into *Macedon:* which had been effected by *Martius* in the year foregoing; but was cloſed up again through his not proſecuting ſo rich opportunity.

Perſeus was in an extream doubt what courſe to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice to man his Towns, and ſo to linger out the War: having been taught by the laſt years example, how reſolute the people were in making defence. But far worſe counſel prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearful deliberations. The King reſolved to put all at once to hazzard of battel: fearing belike to put himſelf into any one Town, leſt that ſhould be firſt of all beſieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwaies are jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even that ſame that *Æmilius*, or any invader, ſhould have deſired. So a place was choſen near unto *Pydna*, that ſerved well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewiſe on the ſides of it ſome pieces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light armature. There he abode the coming of the enemy; who ſtayed not long behind him. As ſoon as the *Romans* had ſight of the Kings Army; which with greater fear than diſcretion, had haſted away from them, forſaking the Camp that was ſo notably well fortified: they deſired nothing more, than to give battel immediately: doubting leſt otherwiſe the King ſhould change his mind, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Conſul; praying him not to loſe occaſion by delay. But *Æmylius* told him, that he ſpake like a young man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The *Romans* were tyred with their journey; had no Camp wherein to reſt themſelves; nor any thing there, ſave only the bare ground whereon they trod. For theſe, and the like reſpects, the Conſul made a ſtand: and ſhewing himſelf unto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of battel, gave charge to have the Camp meaſured out and entrenched behind the Army; whereinto, at good leiſure, he fell back, without any manner of trouble. After a nights reſt, it was hoped both by the *Romans* and the *Macedonians*, that the matter ſhould be determined; each part thinking their own General to blame, for that they had not fought the ſame day. As for the King, he excuſed himſelf by the backwardneſs of the enemy, who advanced no further; but kept upon ground ſerving ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other ſide, the Conſul had the reaſons before ſhewed, which he communicated to thoſe about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of *September*, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpitius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former year been Prætor, foretold unto the Conſul, and (with his good liking) unto the Army, an Eclipſe of the Moon, which was to be the ſame night: willing the Souldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was natural, and might be known long before it was ſeen. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in ſuch Eclipſes to beats Pans of Braſs, and Baſons, as we do in following a ſwarm of Bees; thinking that thereby they did the Moon great eaſe, and helped her in her labour. But this prognoſtication of *Sulpitius* converted their ſuperſtition into admiration of his deep ſkill, when they ſaw it verified. Contrariwiſe, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noiſe, as long as the Eclipſe laſted: rather perhaps becauſe it was their faſhion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodegie betokening their loſs: ſince their deſire to fight was no whit leſſened by it. I will not here ſtand to diſpute, Whether ſuch Eclipſes do ſignifie, or cauſe any alteration in civil affairs, & matters that have ſmall dependance on natural complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of obſervation it is, how ſuperſtitio

tivates the wisdome of the wisest, where the help of true religion is wanting. *Æmylius*, though he were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moon, that it was no supernatural thing, nor above the reach of humane understanding, so as he should need to trouble himself with any devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing his duty to this moon, & congratulating with sacrifice her delivery, as soon as she shone out bright again: for which he is commended even by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpitius* perhaps did not assist him in this foolish devotion, yet it is like, that he being a Senator, and one of the Councel for war, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no less foolish. For a great part of the day was vainly consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with any sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good luck in the entrails of the beasts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was found a promise of victory to *Æmylius*: but with condition, That he should not give the onset. *Hercules* was a *Greek*, and partial, as nearer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Roman*. Wherefore it had been better to call upon the new goddess, lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or upon *Romulus*, founder of their City, on whom the *Romans* had bestowed his Deity; or (if a God of elder date were more authentical) upon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of military affairs; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrary to the rules of war.

Now concerning the battel; *Æmilius* was throughly perswaded, that the King meant to abide it: for that otherwise he would no have stayed at *Pydna*, when as, a little before, his leisure served to retire whither he listed, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the morning Sun was full in the *Romans* faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoon. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Æmilius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder, there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clock in the morning, a small occasion brought to pass that, which whereto neither of the Generals had over earnest desire.

A Horse brake loose at watering, which two or three of the *Roman* Souldiers followed into the River, wading after him up to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further bank: whence a couple of *Thracians* ran into the Water, to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blows, as in a private quarrel; and one of the *Thracians* was slain. His Countrimen seeing this, hasted to revenge their fellows death, and followed those that had slain him over the River. Hereupon company came in, to help on each part, until the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be careful of the event. In fine, each of the Generals placed his men in order of battel, accordingly as the manner of his Country, and the arms wherewith they served, did repuire. The ground was a flat level, save that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Consul encouraged their men with lively words: which the present condition could bountifully affoord. But the King, having finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himself into *Pydna*: there to do sacrifice, as he pretended, unto *Hercules*. It is the less marvel, that he durst adventure battel, since he had bethought himself of such a stratageme, whereby to save his own person. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the sacrifice of a Coward: whose unseasonable devotion could be no better then hypocrisie. For he that will pray for a good Harvest, ought also Plough, Sow, and Weed his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battel, he found it no better than lost: and he in looking to his own safety, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, such as we find recorded are, That the *Roman* Elephants, could do no manner of good: That the *Macedonian Phalanx* did so stoutly press onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was thereat much astonished, that the *Peligni* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were over-born; many of them slain, and the squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out averse to the *Romans*; and which the Consul beholding, is said to have rent his Coat-armour for grief. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his devoyre, the victory might have been his own. That which turned the fortune of the battel, was the same which doubtless the Consul

ſul expected, even from the beginning: the difficulty or almoſt the impoſſibility of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whileſt ſome of the *Romans* ſmall battalions preſſed hard upon one part of it, and other recoyled from it; it was neceſſary (if the *Macedonians* would follow upon thoſe which were put to the worſe) that ſome files having open way before them, ſhould advance themſelves beyond the reſt that were held at a ſtand. This coming ſo to paſs, admoniſhed the Conſul, what was to be done. The long Pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little uſe, when they were charged in flank by the *Roman* Targettires; according to the direction given by *Æmylius*, when he ſaw the front of the enemies great battel become unequal, and the ranks in ſome places open, by reaſon of the unequal reſiſtance which they found. Thus was the uſe of the *Phalanx* proved unavailable againſt many ſmall Squadrons, as it had been formerly in the battel of *Cynoſcephalæ*: yea this form of embattailing was found unſerviceable againſt the other, by reaſon, that being not every where alike diſtreſſed, it would break of it ſelf; though here were little ſuch inconvenience of ground, as had been at *Cynoſcephalæ*.

Perſeus, when he ſaw his battel begin to rout, turned his bridle preſently, and ran amain towards *Pella*. All his Horſe eſcaped, in a manner untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harm which they had taken, witneſſing the little good ſervice which they had done. As for the poor foot, they were left to the mercy of the Enemy: who ſlew above twenty thouſand of them; though having little cauſe to be furious, as having loſt in that battel, only ſome fourſcore, or ſixſcore men at the moſt. Some of the foot, eſcaping from the execution, overtook the King and his company in a Wood, where they fell to railing at the Horſemen, calling them cowards, traitors, and ſuch other names, till at length they fell to blows. The King was in doubt leſt they had ill meaning to himſelf: and therefore turned out of the common way being followed by ſuch as thought it good. The reſt of the company diſperſed themſelves: every one as his own occaſions guided him. Of thoſe that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to leſſen. For he fell to deviſing upon whom he might lay the blame of that daies misfortune, which was moſt due to himſelf: thereby cauſing thoſe that knew his nature, to ſhrink away from him, how they could. At his coming to *Pella*, he found his Pages and houſhold-ſervants, ready to attend him, as they had been wont. But of his great men that had eſcaped from the battel, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholy time, there were two of his Treaſurers that had the boldneſs to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their unſeaſonable admonitions, he ſtabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he ſent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore ſtanding in fear, leſt they that refuſed to come at his call, would ſhortly dare ſome greater miſchief, he ſtole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Evander* (who had been employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other. There followed him likewiſe about 500. *Cretians*, more for love of his money than of him. To theſe he gave of his plate, as much as was worth about fifty talents, though ſhortly he couſened them of ſome part thereof; making ſhew as if he would have redeemed it, but never paying the money. The third day after the battel he came to *Amphipolis*, where he exhorted the Townſ-men to fidelity, with tears: and his own ſpeech being hindered by tears, he appointed *Evander* to ſpeak what himſelf would have uttered. But the *Amphilopitans* made it their chief care to look well to themſelves. Upon the firſt fame of the overthrow, they had emptied their Town of two thouſand *Thracians* that lay there in Garriſon: ſending them forth under colour of a gainful employment, and ſhutting the gates after them. And now to be rid of the King, they plainly bad *Evander* to be gone. The King hearing this, had no mind to tarry: but embarking himſelf and the treaſure which he had there, in certain veſſels that he found in the River *Strymon*; paſſed over the Iſle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to live ſafe, by priviledges of the Religious Sanctuary therein.

Theſe miſerable ſhifts of the King make it the leſs doubtful, how all the Kingdom fell into the power of *Æmilius*, within ſo few daies after his victory. *Pydna*, which was neareſt at hand, was the laſt that yielded. About ſix thouſand of the ſouldiers, that were of ſundry Nations, fled out of the battel into that Town; and prepared for defence: the confuſed rabble of ſo many ſtrangers hindering all deliberation and conſent. *Hippius*, who had kept the paſſage over *Oſſa* againſt *Martius*, with *Pantaucus*, who had been ſent Embaſſador to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, were the firſt that came in: yielding themſelves, and the Town of *Beræa*, whither they had retired out of the battel. With

the like meſſage came others from *Theſſalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Towns of *Macedon*, within two daies: the loſs of the head bereaving the whole body of all ſenſe and ſtrength. Neither did they of *Pydna*, ſtand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forſaken his Country: but opened their gates upon ſuch terms, that the ſack of it was granted to the *Roman* Army. *Æmylius* ſent abroad into the Country, ſuch as he thought meeeteſt, to take charge of other Cities: he himſelf marching towards *Pella*. He found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents: the ſame, whereof *Perſeus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a very little while he ſhall have more.

It was ſoon underſtood, that *Perſeus* had taken Sanctuary in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his own Letters to the Conſul confirming the report. He ſent theſe Letters by perſons of ſuch mean condition, that his caſe was pitied, for that he wanted the ſervice of better men. The ſcope of this writing was to deſire favour: which, though he begged in terms ill beſeeming a King, yet ſince the inſcription of his Epiſtle was, *King Perſeus to the Conſul Paulus*; the Conſul, who had taken from him his Kingdom, and would not allow him to retain the Title, refuſed to make any anſwer thereunto. So there came other Letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby he craved and obtained, that ſome might be ſent to confer with him about matters of his preſent eſtate. Nevertheleſs, in this Conference, he was marvellouſly earneſt, that he might be allowed ſtill to retain the name of King. And to this end it was, perhaps, that he had ſo carefully preſerved his Treaſure, unto the very laſt: flattering himſelf with ſuch vain hopes as theſe: That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuary, nor yet neglect thoſe great riches in his poſſeſſion; but compound with him for money, letting him have his deſire to live at eaſe, and to be called King. Yea, it ſeems that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a deſire to live in this Iſle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his conſultations about the War, he was dehorted by his friends, from ſeeking to exchange his Kingdom of *Macedon*, for *ſuch a paltry Iſland; and for that he offered to lay up the money which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But he finds it otherwiſe. They urge him to give place unto neceſſity, and, without more adoe, to yield to the diſcretion and mercy of the people of *Rome*. This is ſo far againſt his mind, that the Conference breaks off without effect. Preſently there arrives at *Samothrace* *Cn. Octavius* the *Roman* Admiral with his Fleet: who aſſayes, as well by terrible threats, as by fair language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; wherein, for fear of impriſonment, he had now already impriſoned himſelf. When all would not ſerve, a queſtion was moved to the *Samothracians*; How they durſt pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy priviledge of Sanctuary, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quick. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and ſend word to the King, that *Evander*, who lives with him in the Temple, is accuſed of an impious fact, committed at *Delphi*, whereof unleſs he can clear himſelf in judgement, he muſt not be ſuffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence born to his Majeſty, now paſt, makes them forbear to ſay, that *Perſeus* himſelf is charged with the ſame crime. But what will this avail, when the Miniſter of the fact being brought into judgement, ſhall (as is to be feared) appeach the Author? *Perſeus* therefore willeth *Evander* to have conſideration of the little favour that can be expected at the *Romans* hand; who are like to be preſidents and overſeers of this judgment: ſo as it were better to dye valiantly, ſince none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cauſe; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not help him. Of this motion *Evander* ſeems to like well: and either kills himſelf, or hoping to eſcape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poyſon wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandment. The death of this man, who had ſtuck to *Perſeus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forſake him: ſo as none are left with him, ſave his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be ſuſpected, that they which leave him upon this occaſion, will tell perillous tales, and ſay, That the King hath loſt the priviledge of this holy Sanctuary, by murdering *Evander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirm ſo much, who ſhall dare to gainſay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formality, and even that alſo liable to diſpute, which preſerves him from captivity; he purpoſeth to make an eſcape, and fly, with his Treaſures, unto *Coyts* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one ſhip; who eaſily was perſwaded to wait the

* *Liv. l. 42.*

King

King thence. With all secrecy the Kings money, as much as could be so conveyed, was carryed aboord by night; and the King himself; with his wife and * children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him only * *Philip* his elder Son, who was only by adoption his Son, being his * brother by nature) with much ado got out at a window by a Rope, and over a mud-wall. At his coming to the Sea-side, he found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretian* had played a *Cretian* trick, and was gone with the money to his own home. So it began to wax clear day, whilest *Perseus* was searching all along the shore: who had stayed so long about this, that he might fear to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ran therefore amain towards his lodging: and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, lest he should be taken, he hid himself in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ran up and down making inquiry; till *Octavius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoever, abiding with their Master in *Samothrace*, should have their lives and liberty, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they should presently yield themselves to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion*, a *Thessalonian*, to whom the King had given the custody of his children, delivered them up to *Octavius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himself, with his Son *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him, rendred himself, and made the *Roman* Victory compleat. If he had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of living, than of reigning therein; he might well have brought this War to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing at once, those contrary hopes of saving his Kingdom by Arms, and himself by flight, he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those Princes, that have been wretched by their own default. He was presently sent away to *Æmylius*; before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the Victory over himself, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the less to be esteemed. *Æmylius* used to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having, with so hostile a mind, made war upon the *Romans*. Hereto good answer might have been returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearful silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul termed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercy of the people at *Rome*. After these good words, being invited to the Consuls Table, and respectively entreated, he was committed prisoner to *Q. Ælius*.

Such end had this *Macedonian* War, after four years continuance: and such end therewithall had the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the world then known, was now translated unto *Rome*.

§. IX.

Gentius *King of the* Illyrians *taken by the* Romans.

ABout the same time, and with like celerity, *Anicius* the *Romans* Prætor, who succeeded unto *App. Claudius*, had the like success against King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an Army of fifteen thousand; with which he was at *Lissus*, ready to assist King *Perseus* as soon as the money should come, whereof he had received only ten Talents. But *Anicius* arrested him on the way, fought with him, overcame him, and drave him into * *Scorda*. This Town was very defensible by nature, besides the help of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seem unpossible to be won, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late Victory; and therefore presented his Army before the walls, making countenance to give an assault. The *Illyrians*, that might easie have defended themselves within the Town, would needs issue forth and fight. They were, it seems, rather passionate, than couragious: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazed to treat about yielding. The King sent Embassadours; by whom, at first, he desired truce for three daies; that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had laid violent hands on the *Roman* Embassadours, to have recourse to such mediation. But he thought his own fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harm done by him, than the casting of those Embassadours into prison, where they were all alive. Having obtained three daies respite, he passed up a River, within half a mile of the *Roman* Camp, into the Lake of *Scorda*, as it were to consult the more privately; though indeed

Called now Scutari.

deed, to hearken whether the report were true, the his brother *Caravantius* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such help was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to return into *Scorda*. He sent messengers craving access unto the Prætor; before whom, having lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonesty, was not so great as his folly present) he fell down humbly, and yeilded himself to discretion. All the Towns of his Kingdom, together with his wife, children, brother, friends, were presently given up. So this War ended in thirty daies: the people of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun, until *Perpenna*, one of the Embassadours that had been imprisoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had passed.

§. X.

How the Romans *behaved themselves in* Greece *and* Macedon *after their Victory over* Perseus.

NOW began the *Romans* to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to look Tyrannically upon those that had been unmannerly toward them before, whilest the War with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadours were still at *Rome*, when the tydings of these Victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them do their errand again. This they performed with a bad grace; saying, That they were sent from *Rhodes* to make an overture of peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this war was no less grievous to the *Romans* themselves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalf of the *Romans* did congratulate with the Senate and people of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had been expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassage to *Rome*, not for love of *Rome*, but in favour of the *Macedonian*; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (covetous of the charge) to have War proclaimed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadours were so affrighted, that in mourning Apparel, as humble Suppliants, they went about the City, beseeching all men, especially the great Ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance, for some foolish words. This danger of War from *Rome* being known at *Rhodes*, all that had been any whit averse from the *Romans* in the late War of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that slew themselves for fear, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and less would have done, if old *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not uttered a milde sentence, and advertised the Senate, That in decreeing War against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that City, which they were greedy to ransack, than any just cause, had moved them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the Wars of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whom, none of any mark remained alive, save those that had been of the *Roman* faction. All which notwithstanding, many years passed, ere by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the society of the *Romans*: a favour which till now they had not esteemed; but thought themselves better without it, as equal friends.

* *Cæsar. et Sallust. et Cicero in Catilina.*

With the like, or greater severity, did the *Romans* make themselves terrible in all parts of *Greece*. *Æmylius* himself made progress thorow the Country; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chief Citizens in *Demetrias* were slain at one time by those of the *Roman* faction, and with help of the *Roman* Souldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul, the redress was such, as requited not the pains of supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed unto the *Romans* the liberty of their Country, he feasted liked a King, with excessive chear; yet so, that he had all things very cheap in his Camp: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in sending provisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadours likewise were sent from *Rome*; some, to give order for settling the estate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate, than was usual in such case; and some, to visit the affairs of *Greece*. The Kingdom of *Macedon* was set at liberty by *Æmylius*, and the Embassadours, his assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the *Romans* used to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had been payed unto the Kings, was lessened by

by half. As for the reſt, the Country was divided into four parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the othere. All the Nobility were ſent captive into *Italy* with their wives and children, as many as were above fifteen years old. The ancient Laws of the Country were abrogated: and new given by *Æmilius*. Such miſchief the Senate thought it better to do at the firſt alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conqueſt, than otherwiſe to leave any inconvenience that ſhould be worſe in the future. But concerning the *Greeks*, that were not ſubject to *Rome*, the things done to them could deſerve no beetter name than meer tyranny: yea, and ſhameleſs perjury; were it not ſo, that the familiar cuſtom, among Princes and great Eſtates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oaths of confœderation ſeem of no validity. The Embaſſadours that were ſent to viſit the *Greeks*, called before them all ſuch men of note, from every quarter, as had any way diſcovered an unſerviceable diſpoſition towards the *Romans*. Theſe they ſent to *Rome*; where they were made ſure enough. Some of theſe had ſent Letters to *Perſeus*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands: and in that reſpect, though they were no ſubjects; yet wanted there not colour, for uſing them as traitors, or at leaſt as enemies. But ſince only two men were beheaded, for having been openly on the *Macedonian* ſide; and ſince it is confeſſed, that the good *Patriots* were no leſs afflicted in this inquiſition, than they that had ſold themſelves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcuſable tyranny. With the *Achæans* theſe Embaſſadours were to deal more formally: not ſo much becauſe that Common-wealth was ſtrong; (though this were to be regarded by them, having no Commiſſion to make or denounce War) and like to prove untractable, if manifeſt wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of ſign, by Letters, or otherwiſe, whereby any one of the *Achæans* could be ſuſpiciouſly charged to have held correſpondence with the *Macedonian*. It was alſo ſo, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his adherents, had been employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their ſervice to the *Romans*; but only ſuch as were the beſt *Patriots*. Yet would not therefore the Embaſſadours neglect to uſe the benefit of the time: wherein, ſince all men trembled for fear of *Rome*, the ſeaſon ſerved not to rank the *Achæans* with the reſt. And hereto *Callicrates* was very urgent: fearing, and procuring them to fear in behalf of him and his friends, that if ſome ſharp order were not now taken, he and his fellows ſhould be made to pay for their miſchievous devices, ere long time paſſed. So the Embaſſadours came among the *Achæans*: where one of them, in open aſſembly of the Nation, ſpake, as *Callicrates* had before inſtructed him. He ſaid, That ſome of the chief among them, had with mony and other means befriended *Perſeus*. This being ſo, he deſired that all ſuch men might be condemned; whom, after ſentence given, he would name unto them. After ſentence given (cryed out the whole aſſembly) what juſtice were this? Name them firſt, and let them anſwer; which if they cannot well do, we will ſoon condemn them: Then ſaid the *Roman* boldly, That all their Prætors, as many as had led their Armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, ſaid *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, than ſhould I likewiſe have been friend to *Perſeus*: whereof, if any man can accuſe me, I ſhall throughly anſwer him, either here preſently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Upon theſe words of *Xenon* the Embaſſadour laid hold, and ſaid, That even ſo it were the beſt way, for him and the reſt to purge themſelves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not until he had cited above a thouſand; willing them to appear and anſwer before the Senate. This might even be termed the captivity of *Greece*; wherein ſo many of the honeſteſt and worthieſt men were carried from home, for none other cauſe, than their love unto their Country; to be puniſhed according to the will of thoſe, who could not endure, that virtue, and regard of the publick liberty, ſhould dwell together in any of the *Greeks*. At their coming to *Rome*, they were all caſt into priſon, as men already condemned by the *Achæans*. Many Embaſſages were ſent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondred, that any ſuch honeſt care of theſe innocent men could be remaining: ſince honeſty had been thus puniſhed as a vice, in ſo many of the worthieſt among them) to inform the Senate, that theſe men were neither condemned by the *Achæans*, nor yet held to be offenders. But in ſtead of better anſwer, it was pronounced; That the *Senate thought it not expedient for the Country, that theſe men ſhould return into Achaia*. Neither could any ſolicitation

ſolicitation of the *Achæans*, who never ceaſed to importune the Senate for their liberty, prevail at all; until after ſeventeen years, fewer than thirty of them were inlarged, of whom that wiſe and virtuous man *Polybius* the great Hiſtorian, was one. All the reſt were either dead in priſon, or, having made offer to eſcape, whether upon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of Jayle, after that they were committed thereto, ſuffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being deſirous to preſerve the *Macedonian* Treaſure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gave order, that the whole Country of *Epirus* ſhould be put to ſack. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as alſo it was performed by *Æmylius* with miſchievous ſubtilty. Having taken leave of the *Greeks*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to uſe the liberty beſtowed upon them by the people of *Rome*; he ſent unto the *Epirots* for ten of the principal men out of every City. Theſe he commanded to deliver up all the Gold and Silver which they had; and ſent along with them, into every of their Towns, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the mony. But he gave ſecret inſtructions to the Captains, that upon a certain day by him appointed, they ſhould fall to ſack, every one the Town whereinto he was ſent. Thus in one day were threeſcore and ten Cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, ſpoiled by the *Roman* Souldiers; and beſides other acts of hoſtility in a time of peace, a hundred and fifty thouſand of that Nation made ſlaves. It may be granted, that ſome of the *Epirots* deſerved puniſhment, as having favoured *Perſeus*. But ſince they among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence; yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had been already ſent into *Italy*, there to receive their due; and ſince this Nation, in general, was not only at the preſent in good obedience, but had even in this War done good ſervice to the *Romans*: I hold this act ſo wicked, that I ſhould not believe it, had any one Writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being maniteſt by conſent of all, it is the leſs marvellous that God was pleaſed to make *Æmylius* childleſs, even in the glory of his triumph, how great ſoever otherwiſe his virtues were.

In ſuch manner dealt the *Romans*, after their victory, with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*. How terrible they were to other Kingdoms abroad, it will appear by the efficacy of an Embaſſage ſent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof, before we ſpeak, we muſt ſay ſomewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himſelf, and of his affairs about which theſe Embaſſadours came.

§. XI.

The War of Antiochus *upon* Egypt *brought to end by the* Roman *Embaſſadours.*

ANtiochus the Great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the ſhort time following of his reign and life. He died the ſix and thirtieth year after he had worn a Crown, and in the ſeventeenth or eighteenth of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*; while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Juſtine*) of *Jupiter*. He left behind him three Sons, *Seleucus*, *Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one Daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had given in marriage to *Ptolomy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*. *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, and the eldeſt of *Antiochus* his Sons; reigned in *Syria* twelve years, according to *Euſebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Joſephus* give him but ſeven years. A Prince, who, as he was ſlothful by nature, ſo the great loſs which his Father *Antiochus* had received, took from him the means of managing any great affair. Of him, about three hundred years before his birth, *Daniel* gave this judgment, *Et ſtabit in loco ejus viliſſimus & indignus decore regio.* *And in his place* (ſpeaking of *Antiochus*, the Father of this man) *ſhall ſtart up a vile perſon, unworthy the honour of a King.* Under this *Seleucus*, thoſe things were done which are ſpoken of *Onias* the high Prieſt, in theſe words, and other to the ſame effect: *What time as the holy City was inhabited with all peace, becauſe of the godlineſs of* Onias *the Prieſt, it came to paſs, that even the King did honour the place, and garniſhed the Temple with great gifts.* And all that is written in the third Chapter of the ſecond of *Maccabees*, of *Simon* of *Benjamin*, who by *Appollonius* betrayed the Treaſure of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* ſent by the King to ſeize them; of his miraculous ſtriking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his ſucceſſour *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the reign of this King, that the Books of the *Maccabees* take beginning.

Strab. l. 16. Juſt. l. 35.

Euſeb. in Chro. App. de bell Syr. Ant. 22. 5.

Dan. 11. 21. 2 Mac. 3.

ning. Which Books seem not to be delivered by one and the same hand. For the first Book, although it touch upon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his story; nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother and successor of this *Seleucus*, from whom downward to the death of *Simon Maccabæus* (who died in the hundred threescore and seventeen year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*) that first Book treateth. The Author of the second Book, although he take the story somewhat further off, by way of a Proœme, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth year of the *Grecian* reign, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slain by *Judas*: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Jason* the brother of *Onias*; who, after the death of *Seleucus*, prevailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successor, for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Jansenius*, and other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadours to the *Jews*, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence between them and the *Greeks*, *Jonathan* the brother and successor of *Judas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himself directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadours, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the high Priest, whereto *Josephus* adds, that the name of the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadour was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her claws.

1 Mac. 12. Sept. Evil. 26.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seven and thirtieth year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*. He was the second Son of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his Kingdom by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also he usurped from his brothers Son.

Ptolomy Philometor, his Nepheww by his Sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had been about seven years King of *Egypt*.

Ptolomy Epiphanes, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in *Egypt* four and twenty year, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and the Great *Antiochus*, had agreed to divide his Kingdom between them, whilest he was a child. But they found such other business ere long with the *Romans*, as made them give over their unjust purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gave with his Daughter in marriage, unto this *Ptolomy*, the Provinces of *Celosyria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*, which he had won by his victory over *Scopas*, that was General of the *Egyptian* Forces in those parts. Nevertheless, *Ptolomy* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby he lived in the greater security. He left behind him two Sons, this *Ptolomy Philometer*, and *Ptolomy Physcon*; with a Daughter *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom she was cast off, and her Daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these *Egyptian* Kings.

Ptolomy Philometer, so called (that is, the Lover of his Mother) by a bitter nickname, because he flew her, fell into hatred with his subjects, and was like to be chased out of his Kingdom, his younger brother being set up against him. *Physcon* having a strong party, got possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometer* held himself in *Memphis*, craving succour of King *Antiochus* his Uncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who under colour to take upon him the protection of the young Prince, sought by all means possible to possess himself of that Kingdom. He sent *Apollonius* the Son of *Mnestheus* Embassadour into *Egypt*, and under colour to assist the Kings Coronation, he gave him instructions to perswade the Governours of the young King *Philometor*, to deliver the King his Nephew, with the principal places of that Kingdom, into his hands; petending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephews safety and well doing. And the better to answer all arguments to the contrary, he prepared a forcible Army to attend him. Thus came he alongst the coast of *Syria* to *Joppe*, and from thence on the sudden he turned himself towards *Jerusalem*; where, by *Jason* the Priest, (a Chaplain fit for such a Patron) he was with all pomp and solemnity received into the City. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and predecessor of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traitor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the Treasures thereof to *Apollonius* Governour of *Cœlosyria* and *Phœnicia*, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from Heaven; the said *Apollonius* being strucken by the Angel of God, and recovering again at the Prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrifie

2 Mac. 4.

2 Mac. 3.

terrifie others from the like ungodly practices. Presently upon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Jason*, the brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtain
2 Mac. 4. the Priesthood for himself, offered unto the King three hundred and threescore Talents of silver, with other rents and summs of money. So he got his desire, though he not long enjoyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Jason*, and his being over-reached by another in the same kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the *Achæans*, when as that mischievous *Callicrates*, who had been too hard for all worthy and virtuous men, was beaten at his own weapon, by one of his own condition. It was thus:

One fire than other burns more forcibly,
One Wolf than other Wolves does bite more sore,
One Hawk than other Hawks more swift does fly:
So one most mischievous of men before,
Callicrates, *false knave as knave might be,*
Met with Menalcidas *more false than he.*

And even thus fell it out with *Jason*: who within three years after was betrayed, and over-bidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred Talents more obtained the Priesthood for himself: *Jason* thereupon being forced to fly from *Jerusalem*, and to hide himself among the *Ammonites*.

From *Jerusalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phœnicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of war, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and
1 Mac. 1. 17. with a mighty Army of Land-forces, *He went about to reign over* Egypt, *that he might have the dominion of two Realms, and entred* Egypt *with a mighty company; with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Navy., and moved War against* Ptolemæus *King of* Egypt; *but* Ptolemæus
V. 18, 19, 20, &c. *was afraid of him, and fled, and many were wounded to death. He won many strong Cities, and took away the spoils of the Land of* Egypt. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecy
Dan. 11. 24. of *Daniel*: *He shall enter into the quiet and plentiful Provinces, and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his Fathers Father.* Never indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* so great a victory over the *Egyptians*, nor took from them so great riches. For he gave a notable overthrow
Hist. in Dan. to the Captains of *Ptolomy*, between *Pelusium*, and the Hill *Cassius*, after which he entred and sackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *Antiochus* had smitten *Egypt*, *he turned again, and went up towards* Israel *and* Jerusalem *with a mighty people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuary, and took away the Golden Altar, and the Candlestick for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the Shewbread, and the pouring Vessels, and the Bolls, and the Golden Basons, and the Vail, and the Crowns, and the Golden Apparrel. He took also the Silver, and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his own Land, after he had murdered many men.* 1 Mac. 1. 1.

It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* War, that *Antiochus* took in hand this *Egyptian* business. At what time he first laid claim to *Cœlosyria*, justifying his title by * the same allegations which his Father had made; and stiffly averting, that this Province had not been consigned over to the *Egyptian*, or given in dowry with *Cleopatra*. Easie it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a fair way to get all *Egypt*. The *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greeks*, pressed him, by several Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receive their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolomies*, then should the War be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when he saw that it was an hard piece of work to take *Alexandria* by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine War, than by the terrour of his arms, threatning destruction unto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his Forces for the present; leaving the *Ptolomies* in very weak estate, the younger almost ruinated by his invasion; the elder hated and forsaken by his people. * Cap. 5. sect. 2. Polyb. l. 5. 81, 82, &c.

But how weak soever these *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, that *Antiochus* might leave them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leisure, his other business at *Jerusalem*, or elsewhere. So after the sack of *Jerusalem*, he rested him a while at *Antioch*, and then made a journey into *Cilicia*, to suppress the Rebellion of the *Thracians* and others in those parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowry to a Concubine of the Kings, called *Antiochis*. For Governour of *Syria* in his absence, he left

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one *Andronichus*, a man of great authority about him. In the mean while, *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the ſame who had thruſt *Jaſon* out of the Prieſthood, and promiſed the King three hundred talents for an In-come; committing the charge of the Prieſthood to his brother *Lyſimachus*, ſtole certain Veſſels of Gold out of the Temple: whereof he preſented a part to *Andronichus* the Kings Lieutenant, and ſold the reſt at *Tyre*, and other Cities adjoyning. This he did, as it ſeemeth to advance the payment of the three hundred talents promiſed; the ſame being now by *Soſtratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Prieſt (formerly diſpoſſeſſed by *Jaſon*) had certain knowledge, being moved with zeal, and deteſting the ſacriledge of *Menelaus*, he reproved him for it; and fearing his revenge, he withdrew himſelf into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoyning as a ſuburb to *Antioch*. In compaſs it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, ſweet Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abuſed to luſt, and other ſuch voluptuouſneſs. Whether it were well done of *Onias* to committ himſelf to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claim priviledge from the Holineſs of a ground conſecrated to any of the Heathen Gods, I will not ſtand to diſcourſe. Only I ſay for mine own opinion, that the inconvenience is far leſs, to hold this Book as Apocryphal, than to judge this fearful ſhift which *Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable or allowable, as the Book ſeems to do. As for this refuge, it could not ſave the life of the poor old man: *for* Menelaus *taking* Andronicus *apart, prayed him to ſlay* Onias. *So when he came to* Onias, *he counſelled him craftily, giving him his right hand with an oath, and perſwaded him to come out of the Sanctuary; ſo he ſlew him incontinently without any regard of righteouſneſs.* Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his return out of *Cilicia*, *He took away* Andronicus *his garment of purple, and rent his clothes, and commanded him to be led throughout the City; and in the ſame place where he had committed the wickedneſs againſt* Onias, *he was ſlain as a murderer.* In taking revenge of this innocent mans death, I ſhould have thought that this wicked King had once in his life time done Juſtice. But preſently after this, at the ſuit of one *Ptolomy*, a Traitor to *Ptolomy Philometor*, he condemned innocent men to death, who juſtly complained againſt *Menelaus*, and his brother *Lyſimachus*, for a ſecond robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the Veſſels of Gold remaining. Hereby it is manifeſt, that he was guided by his own outragious will, and not by any regard of juſtice: ſince he revenged the death of *Onias*, he ſlew thoſe that were in the ſame cauſe with *Onias*; *Who, had they told their cauſe, yea, before the* Scythians, *they ſhould have been heard as innocent.* By reaſon of ſuch his unſteadineſs, this King was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, Mad, inſtead of *Epiphanes*, which ſignifieth Noble, or Illuſtrious. *Joſeph. 12. Ant.*

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a ſecond voyage into *Egypt*, *and then were there ſeen throughout all the City of* Jeruſalem, *forty daies long, horſemen running in the air with robes of gold, and as bands of Spear-men, and as troops of Horſemen ſet in array, encountring and courſing one againſt another.* Of theſe prodigious ſigns, or rather forewarnings of God, all Hiſtories have delivered us, ſome more, ſome leſs. Before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Veſpatian*, a Star in the form of a ſword appeared in the Heavens directly over the City, after which there followed a ſlaughter like unto this of *Epiphanes*, though far greater. In the *Cymbrian* wars, *Pliny* tells us, that the Armies were ſeen fighting in the Air from the morning till the evening. *2 Mac. 5. 11* *Plin. lib. 2. cap 57.*

In the time of Pope *John* the eleventh, a fountain poured out blood in ſtead of water, in or near the City of *Genoa*; ſoon after which the City was taken by the *Saracens*, with great ſlaughter. Of theſe and the like prodigious ſigns, *Vipera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one ſeemeth to me moſt memorable, becauſe the moſt notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour *Nero*, the off-ſpring of the *Cæſars*, as well natural as adopted, took end; whereof this notable ſign gave warning. *Mercur. Vipere de Prodig. l. 8. Vipera de priſco & ſacro inſtituto.*

When *Livia* was firſt married to *Auguſtus*, an Eagle let fall into her arms a white Hen, holding a Lawrel branch in her mouth. *Livie* cauſed this Hen to be carefully nouriſhed, and the Lawrel branch to be planted: of the Hen came a fair increaſe of white Poultry; and from the little branch there ſprang up in time a Grove of Lawrel; ſo that afterwards, in *Suet. Galba.*

all triumphs, the Conquerors did use to carry in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; and after the triumphs ended, to set it again in the same ground: which branches were observed, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last year of *Nero*, all the broods of the white Hens died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cæsars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were stricken down with lightning. That the Jews did not think such strange signs to be unworthy of regard; it appears by their calling upon *God*, and praying, that these tokens might turn to good.

Now, as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt*, was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning; so was this second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolomy* being left in *Memphis*, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the power of their Uncle; thought it the best way to seek entrance into that royal City, rather by perswasion, than by arms. *Physcon* had not yet forgotten the terrour of the former siege: the *Alexandrines*, though they loved not *Philometor*, yet loved they worse to live in scarcity of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extream) since nothing was brought in from the Country; and the friends of the younger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helps, and above all these, the loving disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor*, in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the fear wherein he stood of his Uncle. For though *Antiochus* was gone out of *Egypt* with his Army; yet had he left behind him a strong Garrison in *Pelusium*: retaining that City, which was the Key of *Egypt* to his own use. This consideration wrought also with *Physcon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the news of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King *Philometor* his Nephew, and a meaning to subject his younger brother unto him, which he gave in answer to all Embassadours; yet he now prepared to make a sharp war upon them both. And to this end he presently furnished and sent out his Navy towards *Cyprus*, and drew his land Army into *Cœlosyria*, ready to enter *Egypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as far as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embassadors sent from *Ptolomy*. Their errand was partly to yield thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philometor* in his Kingdom, partly to beseech him, That he would rather be pleased to signifie what he required to have done in *Egypt*, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an Army. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That he would neither call back his Fleet, nor withdraw his Army, upon any other condition; than that *Ptolomy* should surrender into his hands, together with the City of *Pelusium*, the whole Territory thereto belonging: and that he should also abandon and leave unto him the Isle of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had unto either of them, for ever. For answer unto these demands, he set down a day certain, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleet entred *Nilus*, and recovered as well those places which appertained to *Ptolomy* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it self; for *Memphis*, and all about it, received *Antiochus*, being unable to resist him. The King having now no stop in his way to *Alexandria*, passed on thitherwards by easie journeys.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein *Egypt* stood, the *Romans* had notice long ago. But they found, or were contented to find, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a Civil war: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet they gave signification, that it would be much displeasing unto them, to have the Kingdom of *Egypt* taken from the rightful owners. More they could not, or would not do; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loth to provoke *Antiochus* too far. Nevertheless, the *Egyptian* Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in need of help against their Uncle, who prepared and made open war against them both: it was to be expected, that not only the *Romans*, but many of the *Greeks*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arm in defence

fence of their Kingdom. *Rome* had been ſuſtained with food from *Egypt*, in the War of *Hannibal*; when *Italy*, lying waſte, had neither corn nor mony wherewith to buy ſufficient ſtore. By help of the *Egyptians* had *Aratus* laid the foundation of that greatneſs, whereto the *Achæans* attained. And by the like help had *Rhodes* been defended againſt *Demetrius Poliorcets*. Neither were theſe friendly turns, which that bountiful houſe of the *Ptolomyes* had done for ſundry people abroad; ill followed, or ſeconded, by others as bad in requital: but with continuance of ſuitable beneficence, from time to time encreaſed. Wherefore the two brothers ſent abroad confidently for aid; eſpecially to the *Rhodians* and *Achæans*, who ſeemed moſt able to give it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra* had ſent, a year ſince: but their Embaſſadours lay ſtill in *Rome*. Of the *Achæans* they deſired in particular, that *Lycortas* the brave Warriour might be ſent unto them, as General of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his Son *Polybius*, General of the Horſe. Hereunto the *Achæans* readily condeſcended: and would immediately have made performance, if *Callicrates* had not interpoſed his miſchievous Art. He, whether ſeeking occaſion to vaunt his obſequiouſneſs to the *Romans*, or much rather envying thoſe Noble Captains whoſe ſervice the Kings deſired; withſtood the common voice: which was, That their Nation ſhould, not with ſuch ſmall numbers as were requeſted, but with all their power, be aiding unto the *Ptolomies*. For it was not now (he ſaid) convenient time to entangle themſelves in any ſuch buſineſs, as might make them the leſs able to yield unto the *Romans* what help ſoever ſhould be required in the *Macedonian* War. And in this ſentence, he, with thoſe of his faction, obſtinately perſiſted; terrifying others with big words, as it were in behalf of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius* the late Conſul had ſignified unto him, that the *Romans* were paſt all need of help: adding further, that a thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, might well be ſpared to the aid of their Benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without diſabling their Nation to perform any ſervice to the *Romans*; foraſmuch as the *Achæans* could without trouble, raiſe thirty or forty thouſand Souldiers. All this notwithſtanding, the reſolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree ſhould have paſſed; he brought into the Theater where the Aſſembly was held, a Meſſenger with Letters from *Martius*: whereby the *Achæans* were deſired to conform themſelves to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour, as the Senate had done, by ſending Embaſſadours to ſet *Egypt* in peace. This was an advice againſt all reaſon. For the Senate had indeed ſent Embaſſadours to make peace; but as in a time of greater buſineſs elſewhere, with ſuch milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely that the *Achæans* ſhould do any good in the ſame kind. Yet *Polybius* and his friends durſt not gain-ſay the *Roman* Counſel, which had the force of an Injunction. So the Kings were left in much diſtreſs; diſappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perſeus* overcome; and then might the Embaſſadours, ſent from the *Roman* Senate, perform as much as any Army could have done.

Audience had been lately given by the Senate, unto thoſe Embaſſadours of *Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra*: which having ſtayed more than a whole year in the City, brought nothing of their buſineſs to effect untill now. The Embaſſadours delivered their meſſege in the name of thoſe that had ſent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no leſs than his Brother and Siſter.

In this ambaſſage of *Ptolomy*, now requeſting help from *Rome*, appeared a notable change of his fortune, from ſuch as it had been before three or four years laſt paſt. For in the beginning of theſe his troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* War; either he, or *Eulæus*, or *Lenæus* (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affairs in ſuch good eſtate, that not only he determined to ſet upon *Antiochus* for *Cœloſyria*, but would have interpoſed himſelf between the *Romans* and *Perſeus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embaſſadour was by a friend perſwaded to forget that point of his errand. From theſe high thoughts he fell on the ſudden, by the rebellion of his brother and ſubjects, to live under protection of the ſame *Antiochus*. And now at ſuch time as by attonement with his brother and ſubjects, he might have ſeemed to ſtand in no need of ſuch protection,

Polyb. leg. 72.

protection, he hath remaining none other help whereby to save both his Kingdom and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister shewed it self, even in the habit of those Embassadours. They were poorly clad; the hair of their heads and beards overgrown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands branches of Olive. Thus they entred into the Senate, and there fell, groveling and prostrate, upon the floor, Their garments were not so mean and mournful, nor their looks and countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For, having told in what danger their King and Country stood; they made a pitiful and grievous complaint unto the Senate, beseeching them to have compassion of their Estate, and of their Princes, who had alwayes remained friendly and faithful to the *Romans*. They said that the people of *Rome* had so much heretofore favoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as, if they pleased but to send their Embassadours, and let *Antiochus* know that the Senate was offended with his undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and withdraw his Army out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or used any delay; then should *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra* be shortly driven out of their Realms, and make repair to *Rome*, with shameful dishonour to the Senate and people thereof, in that, in the extream dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieve them.

The Lords of the Senate moved with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadours to determine and end the War between those Kings. In commission they had first to find King *Ptolomy*, and then *Antiochus*, and to let them both understand, that, unless they surceased, and gave over Arms, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate and people of *Rome*, whom they found obstinate, or using delay. So these *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrine* Embassadours, took their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest *Popilius* and his fellows were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his Army over *Lusine*, some forty miles from *Alexandria*. So near was he to the end of his Journey, when the *Roman* Embassadours met him. After greetings and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Roll of Paper; willing him to read those Mandates of the Senate before he did any thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and having a little while considered of the business, he told *Popilius*, That he would advise with his friends, and then give the Embassadours their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as he might report to the Senate, before he moved out of that Circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a Commandment, after he had stayed and pawsed a while, I will be content (quoth he) to do whatsoever the Senate shall ordain. Then *Popilius* gave unto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without any good issue of his costly Expedition; even in such manner as * *Daniel* had propheſied long before: yea, fulfilling every particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to *Jerusalem* after his return; like as if these things had rather been historified than foretold by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embassadours, they stayed a while, and settled the Kingdom of *Egypt*, leaving it unto the elder brother, and appointed the younger to reign over *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they left, as it had been, in the power of the *Egyptian*, having first sent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had already given an overthrow to the *Egyptian* ships.

* Dan. 11. 29, &c.

§. XII.

§. XII.

How the Romans *were dreadful to all Kings. Their demeanour towards* Eumenes, Prusias, Masanissa, *and* Coyts. *The end of* Perseus *and his Children. The instability of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of* Paulus, Anicius, *and* Octavius. *With the Conclusion of the Work.*

BY this peremptory demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; we may perceive how terrible the *Romans* were grown, through their conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had been well contented, a year before this, to lay aside the roughness of his natural condition, and to give good language to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*, when he went Embassador to those people of *Greece*, that were of far less power than King *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadors which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much less used any menacing terms, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes sent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victory over *Perseus*, and to crave help or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallo Greeks*, which molested him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and lovingly entertained by most of the Senators: who bad him be confident, and request of the Senate his Brothers Kingdom for himself; for it should surely be given him. These hopeful promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that he either approved, or seemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was soon reclaimed by the faithful councel of *Stratius* a Physitian; whom *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keep his Brother upright. So, when he came into the Senate, he delivered the errand about which he had been sent, recounting his own services done to the *Romans* in the late War, * where withall, he forgat not to make of his Brother as good mention as he could: and finally, requested, That the Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed upon himself. * By his omitting to sue for his Brothers Kingdom, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of audience for that business alone. Wherefore to make him understand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his desire; but in the presents which they gave unto him (as was their custome to Embassadors that came with an acceptable message) they used singular magnificence. Nevertheless *Attalus* took no notice of their meaning, but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilst he was yet in *Italy*, they gave order for the liberty of *Ænus* and *Maronea*: thereby making uneffectual their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, revoke. And as for the *Gallo-Greeks*, which were about to invade the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; they sent Embassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindred them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest; *Eumenes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. He might well blame the folly of his second voyage thither, for this necessity of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, he had laid open unto these abitious Potentates the way to his own doors. No sooner was he come into *Italy*, than the Senate was ready to send him going. It was not thought expedient to use him as an enemy, that came to visit them in love: neither could they, in so doing, have avoided the note of singular inconstancy: and to entertain him as a friend, was more then their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof sent him home, without expence of much farther complement.

Prusias King of *Bithynia* had been at *Rome* somewhat before; where he was welcomed after a better fashion. He had learned to behave himself as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For, entring into the Senate, he lay down and kissed the threshold, calling the *Fathers* his gods and saviours; as also he used to wear a Cap, after the manner of slaves newly manumissed, professing himself an enfranchised bondman of the people of *Rome*. He was indeed naturally a slave, and one that by such abject flattery kept himself safe, though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith *Perseus* had been charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend unto the Senate the care of his Son *Nicomedes*, whom he brought with him to *Rome*, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to

Liv. l. 45.

Polyb. Leg. 95.

Polyb. ibid

have some Towns added to his Kingdom: whereto, because the grant would have been unjust, he received a cold answer. But concerning the Wardship of his Son, it was undertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider, what effectual protection the *Romans* gave unto the children of Kings, that were to their Patronage commended.

But above all other Kings, *Massinissa* held his credit with the *Romans*, good. His quarrels were endless with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendship of the *Romans* to him the more assured. In all Controversies they gave judgement on his side: and whereas he had invaded the Country of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but unable to win the Towns; the *Romans* (though at first they could find no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let go all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the *Numidian*, for having hindred him of his due so long. Now indeed had *Rome* good leisure to devise upon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Massinissa* himself was shortly by them rooted up. But hereof the old King never dreamed. He sent to *Rome* one of his Sons, to congratulate the Victory over *Perseus*; and offered to come thither himself, there to sacrifice for joy unto *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*. His good will was lovingly accepted; his Son rewarded, and he entreated to stay at home.

Coyts the *Thracian* sent Embassadours to excuse himself touching the aid by him given to *Perseus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hostages; and to intreat, That his Son, which was taken with the children of *Perseus*, might be set at liberty, for convenient ransome. His excuse was not taken; since he had voluntarily obliged himself to *Perseus*, by giving hostages without necessity: Yet was his Son given back to him ransome-free; with admonition, to carry himself better toward the *Romans* in time following. His Kingdome lay between *Macedon*, and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in fair terms.

As for those unhappy Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, they were led thorow *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Æmylius* and *Anicius*. *Perseus* had often made suit to *Æmylius*, that he might not be put to such disgrace: but he still received one scornful answer, That it lay in his own power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himself. And surely, had he not hoped for greater mercy than he found, he would rather have sought his death in *Macedon*, than to have been beholding to the courtesie of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the *Roman* clemency, whereof *Æmylius* had given him hope, was no better than this: After that he, and his fellow-King, had been led in chains thorow the streets, before the Chariots of their Triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot up towards the *Capitol*, there to do sacrifice, he should command the Captives to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanquisher, and misery of those that were overcome, might be both together at the utmost. This last sentence of death was remitted unto *Perseus*: yet so, that he had little joy of his life; but either famished himself, or (for it is diversly reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custody; and so dyed for want of sleep. Of his Sons, two dyed; it is uncertain how. The youngest called *Alexander* (only in name like unto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his Father, unto the fortunes of the Great) became a Joyner, or Turner; or, at his best preferment, a Scribe under the *Roman* Officers. In such poverty ended the Royal house of *Macedon*: and it ended on the sudden; though some eightscore years after the death of that Monarch, unto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If *Perseus* had known it before, that his own Son should one day be compelled to earn his living by handy-work, in a painful Occupation; it is like, that he would not as in a wantonness of Soveraignty have commanded those poor men to be slain, which had recovered his treasures out of the Sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have been very gentle, and would have considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most under-trodden wretches, are all subject unto the One high Power, governing all alike with absolute command. But such is our unhappyness; in stead of that blessed Counsel, *Do*

as you would be done unto, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicity; we entertain that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the most High*: that is, I will do what shall please my self. One hath said truly.

——vc——Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam
Posse volunt.——

Even they that have no murdrous will,
Would have it in their power to kill.

All, or the most, have a vain desire of ability to do evil without controll: which is a dangerous temptation unto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few: among whom also, very few there are, that use is not to their own hurt. For who sees not that a Prince, by racking his Soveraign Authority to the utmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his own person) some one of his own Sons or Nephews to root up all his progeny? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other nearness in blood, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that governs one, the most unworthy of his whole house, yet reigning over all? The untimely death of many Princes which could not humble themselves to such flattery; and the common practice of the *Turkish* Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are two good proofs hereof. Hereunto may be added, that the heir of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traiterously, and barbarously King *Edward* the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*: which, had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortal enemy, to exercise the same upon the Line of that unhappy King. Such examples of the instability whereto all mortal affairs are subject; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitory gods of Kingdoms, not to authorize by wicked precedents, the evil that may fall on their own posterity: so do they necessarily make us understand, how happy that Country is, which hath obtained a King able to conceive and teach, That **God is the surest and sharpest Schoolmaster that can be devised, for such Kings, as think this world ordained for them, without controulment to turn it upside-down at their pleasure.*

* The true Law of Moses.

Now concerning the Triumph of *L. Æmylius Paulus*, it was in all points like unto that of *T. Quintius Flaminius*; though far more glorious, in regard of the Kings own person, that was led along therein, as part of his own spoils; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest, and of the Booty. So great was the quantity of Gold and Silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasury, that from thenceforth, untill the Civil Wars which followed upon the death of *Julius Cæsar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it self with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to have been hindred by the Souldiers; who grudged at their General, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate over-ruled the people and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe exhortation. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much honour of this Victory as men could give. Nevertheless, it pleased God to take away from him his two remaining Sons, that were not given in Adoption: of which, the one dyed five dayes before the Triumph, the other three dayes after it. This loss he bore wisely: and told the people, That he hoped to see the Common-wealth flourish in a continuance of prosperity; since the joy of his Victory was requited with his own private calamity, in stead of the publick. Chap. 3. sect. 2.

About the same time, *Octavius* the Admiral, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace*: and *Anicius* the Prætor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* prisoner; made their several Triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles, together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts, and Kings, either visiting the Imperial City, or offering to visit her, and do their duties in person; were enow to say unto *Rome*, *Sume Superbiam*, *Take upon thee the Majesty that thy deserts have purchased.*

BY this which we have already ſet down, is ſeen the beginning and end of the three firſt Monarchies of the World; whereof the Founders and Erectors thought, that they could never have ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was alſo at this time almoſt at the higheſt. We have left it flouriſhing in the middle of the field; having rooted up, or cut down, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the World. But after ſome continuance, it ſhall begin to loſe the beauty it had; the ſtorms of ambition ſhall beat her great boughs and branches one againſt another; her leaves ſhall fall off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her down.

Now theſe great Kings, and conquering Nations, have been the ſubject of thoſe ancient Hiſtories, which have been preſerved, and yet remain among us; and withall of ſo many tragical Poets, as in the perſons of powerful Princes, and other mighty men have complained againſt Infidelity, Time, Deſtiny, and moſt of all againſt the Variable ſucceſs of worldly things, and Inſtability of Fortune. To theſe undertakings, theſe great Lords of the World have been ſtirred up, rather by the deſire of Fame, which ploweth up the Air, and ſoweth in the wind; than by the affection of bearing rule which draweth after it ſo much vexation, and ſo many cares. And that this is true, the good advice of *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus* proves. And certainly, as Fame hath often been dangerous to the living, ſo it is to the dead of no uſe at all; becauſe ſeparate from knowledge. Which, were it otherwiſe, and the extreame ill bargain of buying this laſting diſcourſe, underſtood by them which are diſſolved; they themſelves would then rather have wiſhed, to have ſtoln out of the world without noiſe, than to be put in mind, that they have purchaſed the report of their actions in the World, by rapine, oppreſſion, and cruelty: by giving in ſpoil the innocent and labouring ſoul to the idle and inſolent, and by having emptied the Cities of the World of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them again with ſo many and ſo variable ſorts of ſorrows.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatneſs nor continuance) there hath been no State fearful in the Eaſt, but that of the *Turk*: nor in the Weſt any Prince that hath ſpread his wings far over his Neſt, but the *Spaniard*; who ſince the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moors* out of *Granado*, have made many attempts to make themſelves Maſters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treaſures of both Indies, and by the many Kingdoms which they poſſeſs in *Europe*, they are at this day the moſt powerfull. But as the *Turk* is now counterpoiſed by the *Perſian*, ſo inſtead of ſo many Millions as have been ſpent by the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defenſive War, and in diverſions againſt them, it is eaſie to demonſtrate, that with the charge of two hundred thouſand pound continued but for two years, or three at the moſt, they may not only be perſwaded to live in peace, but all their ſwelling and overflowing ſtreams may be brought back into their natural channels and old banks. Theſe two Nations, I ſay, are at this day the moſt eminent, and to be regarded; the one ſeeking to root out the Chriſtian Religion altogether, the other the Truth and ſincere Profeſſion thereof; the one to joyn all *Europe* to *Aſia*, the other the reſt of all *Europe* to *Spain*.

For the reſt, if we ſeek a reaſon of the ſucceſſion and continuance of this boundleſs ambition in mortal men, we may add to that which hath been already ſaid; That the Kings and Princes of the World have alwaies laid before them the actions, but not the ends of thoſe great Ones which preceded them. They are alwaies tranſported with the glory of the one, but they never mind the miſery of the other, till they find the experience in themſelves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope of it; but they follow the councel of death, upon his firſt approach. It is he that puts into man all the wiſdom of the World, without ſpeaking a word; which God, with all the words of his Law, promiſes, or threats, doth infuſe. Death, which hateth and deſtroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him, and loves him, is alwaies deferred. *I have conſidered* (ſaith *Salomon*) *all the works that are under the Sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of ſpirit*: but who believes it till Death tells it us? It was Death, which opening the conſcience of *Charls* the fifth, made him enjoyn his Son *Philip* to reſtore *Navarre*; and King *Francis* the firſt of *France*, to command

mand that juſtice ſhould be done upon the Murderers of the *Proteſtants* in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore death alone that can ſuddenly make man to know himſelf. He tells the proud and inſolent, That they are but abjects, and humbles them at the inſtant; makes them cry, complain, and repent; yea, even to hate their forepaſſed happineſs. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, which hath intereſt in nothing, but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a Glaſs before the eyes of the moſt beautiful, and makes them ſee therein their deformity and rottenneſs; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, juſt, and mighty Death! whom none could adviſe, thou haſte perſwaded; what none have dared, thou haſt done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only haſt caſt out of the world and deſpiſed: thou haſt drawn together all the far ſtretched greatneſs, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with theſe two narrow words, *Hic jacet.*

Laſtly, whereas this Book, by the title it hath, calls it ſelf, *The firſt part of the General Hiſtory of the World*, implying a *ſecond* and *third* Volume; which I alſo intended, and have hewn out; beſides many other diſcouragements, perſwading my ſilence; it hath pleaſed God to take that glorious *Prince* out of the world, to whom they were directed, whoſe unſpeakable and never enough lamented loſs hath taught me to ſay with *Job*, *Verſa eſt in luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium.*

FINIS.

To The Reader.

THE uſe of Chronological Tables is needful to all Hiſtories, that reach to any length of time; and moſt of all, to thoſe that are moſt general: ſince they cannot, like Annalls, yearly ſet down all occurrences not cohærent. This here followeth, may ſerve as an Index to the preſent part of this work, pointing unto the ſeveral matters, that having fallen out at one time, are far diſ-joyned in the relation. Certainly it is not perfect, neither do I think that any can be. For howſoever the years of the firſt Patriarchs may ſeem to have been well-neer compleat, yet in the reigns of the Kings of Juda and Iſrael, we find many fractions, and the laſt year, or years of one King reckoned alſo as the foremoſt of another. The ſame is moſt likely to have fallen out in many other, though not ſo preciſely recorded. Hereto may be added the divers and imperfect forms of the year, which were in uſe among ſundry Nations, cauſing the* Summer months, in proceſs of ſome ages, to fall into the winter, and ſo breeding extream confuſion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a ſmall part of trouble, to chooſe out of ſo many, and ſo utterly diſagreeing computations, as have already gotten Authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deal more, is to be alledged, in excuſe of ſuch erreurs, as a more intentive and perfect Calculator ſhall happen to find herein. It may ſerve to free the Book, and likewiſe the Reader (if but of mean judgement,) from any notorious Anachroniciſm; which ought to ſuffice. The book indeed will need it, even in that regard; not only from ſome errours of the Preſs, in the numbring of years, but for ſome haſtie miſ-reckonings of mine own, which I deſire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the Printing of this Table ſhall not want careful diligence. The Reader, of he be not offended with the reſt, ſhall find reaſon to be pleaſed with this, as tending wholly to his own eaſe.

*See lib. 2. cap. 3. ſect. 6.

The titles over the Columns, have reference to that which follows under them, as will readily be Conceived. Where two titles, or more, are over the head, as [Rome / Nabonaſſer] there do the numbers underneath proportionably anſwer, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example, The walls of Jeruſalem were finiſhed in the 319. Year from the building of Rome, and in the 314. from Nabonaſſer. In like manner it is to be underſtood, That Joſaphat began his reign in the 3774. of the Julian Æra, in the 3092. of the World, and in the 99. year of the Temple. This needs not more illuſtration, nor indeed ſo much, to thoſe that are acquainted with works of this kind. To avoid prolixity, I have forborn to inſert thoſe years, which I find not ſigned with ſome regardable accident, as with the birth or death of ſome Patriarch; the beginning of ſome Kings reign; ſome change of Government; ſome battel fought, or the like. So of the 13. years wherein Sylvius Capetus reigned over the Latines, I note only the firſt; that is, omitting all between the 4. of Jehoſaphat, wherein Capetus began, unto the 17. wherein Sylvius Aventinus ſucceeded, and wherein Jehoram firſt reigned with Jehoſaphat his father. For I thought it vain to have filled up a Page with 12. lines of idle ciphers, numbring forth, 2. 3. 4. 5. and ſo ſtill onwards, till I had come to the firſt of Aventinus, and the 17. of Jehoſaphat. In ſetting down the Kings, there is noted over the head of every one, what place he held in order of ſucceſſion: as whether he were the firſt, ſecond, fifth, ſeventh, or ſo forth in rank of thoſe that reigned in his Country, without notable interruption: Before the name, is the firſt year of his reign; at the end or foot of the name (as the ſpace gives leave) is the whole number of years in which he reigned; in the ſpaces following underneath, are thoſe years of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of ſome other King, or with the year of any remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name; there it is to be underſtood, that the ſame year belonged not only to the King then beginning, but unto ſome one or more of his foregoers: as the firſt year of Jehoram King of Iſrael, was the ſame with the ſecond of his brother Ahaziah, and the 22. of his father Ahab. So where two or three names are found in one ſpace, as in the 3077 year of the World, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri; it is meant, that every one of them reigned in ſome part of the ſame year, which is reckoned the ſecond of Ela, and the firſt of Omri. Particularly, under the reigns of the Egyptian Kings, are ſet down the years of thoſe Dynaſties, which it was thought meet to inſert; as likewiſe otherwhiles, the day, the moneth, upon which Nabonaſſar's year began

which

...ch, how it varied from other years, may be ...d in the place last above cited.

...ncerning the Æra, *or account of years, ...lphitus, who began the* Olympiads, *from ... built, from* Nabonassar, *and the like; ...ch as was thought convenient hath been ..., where due place was, in the book it self: ... it remaineth only to note, that under the ...le of* Olympiads, *is set down, first the num... of the* Olympiad, *and beneath it, the year ...f that* Olympiad: *as that* Cyrus *began his ...eign in* Persia, *in the* 55. Olympiad, *and the first year thereof.*

Now, for that the years of the world, of the Olympiads, *of* Rome, *of* Nabonassar, *and other, had not beginning in one moneth, but some of them in* March, *some in* April, *some about* Midsummer, *and some at other times: the better to express their several beginnings, some painful Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their several Columns, opposing part of the one year to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart with one straight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I spared as more troublesome than useful, since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will only be needful to observe, that howsoever the* Æra *of the* Olympiads *be* 24. *years elder than that of* Rome, *and* 29. *than that of* Nabonassar, *yet the reign of some King may have begun at such a time of the year as did not suite with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will easily find my meaning: the vulgar will not find the difficulty. One familiar example will explain all.* Queen Elizabeth *began her reign the* 17. *of* November, *in the year of our Lord* 1558. *She was crowned, held a Parliament, brake it up, threw down Images, and reformed many things in religion, all in her first year, yet not all in that year* 1558. *but the greater part in the year following, whether we begin with the first of* January, *or with the* 25. *of* March. *The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table, but so, as the difference is never of a whole year.*

The Julian Period, *which I have placed as the greater number, over the years of the World, was delivered by that honourable, and excellently learned* Joseph Scaliger: *being accommodated to the* Julian *years, now in use among us. It consisteth of* 7980. *years which result from the multiplication of* 19. 28. *and* 15. *that is, of the Cycle of the Moon, the Cycle of the Sun, and the years of an Indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present year, or if no fraction remain, it shews the last year of that Cycle to be current. For example, in the* 4498. *of this Period, when was fought the great battel of* Cannæ, *the Prime or golden number was* 14. *the Cycle of the Sun.* 18. *and consequently the Dominical letter* F. *as may be found by dividing the same number of the* Julian Period 4498. *by* 19. *for the Prime, by* 28. *for the Cycle of the Sun. This* Julian Period, *after the present accompt, alwaies exceeds the year of the world by* 682. *Besides the former uses, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a year, than any other* Æra (*as,* From the beginning of the World, From the Flood, From Troy taken, *or the like*) *which are of more uncertain position. More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in works of this kind: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.*

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A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Years of the Julian Period, World, Patriarchs, &c.

Julian. The World and Adam										
683 1. *Ada* 930										
813 131	1. *Seth* 912									
918 236	106	1. *Enos* 905								
1008 326	196	91	1 *Cainan.* 910	*All the years of the Patriarcks, wherein they begat children, died, or performed any thing, are reckoned compleat: which is inferred out of the addition of the years before they begat children, unto those that followed; making alwaies a compleat sum,* Gen. 5.						
1078 396	266	161	71	1. *Mahalalel* 895						
1143 461	331	226	136	66	1. *Jared* 962					
1305 623	493	388	298	228	163	1. *Enoch.* 265				
1370 688	558	453	363	293	228	66	1. *Methuselah* 969			
1557 875	745	640	550	480	415	253	188	1. *Lamech.* 777		
...m died a- *...the end of* *...year.*	1612 930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56	
...ch trans- *...d.*	1669 987	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113	
...d died about *...ni of this*	1724 1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168	
	1739 1057		822	732	662	597		370	183	1. *Noah.* 950

	Julian. The world	Enos.	Cainan	Maha. laleel.	Jared.	Me-thuse-lah.	La-mech.	Noah	Sem.				
Enos dyed.	1822 1140	905	815	745	680	453	266	84					
Cainan dyed.	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	361	179					
Mahalaleel dyed this year.	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234					
Jared dyed.	2104 1422					735	584	366					
Flood threatned, Gen. 6. 3.	2219 1537					850	663	481					
	2241 1559					872	685	503	1. *Sem* 600				
Lamech dyed.	2333 1651					964	777	595	93				
Methuselah died this year a little before the Flood Noah entreth into the Ark C. 7. § 8. & 9. The Flood.	2338 1656					969		600	98				
The Flood ceaseth. Noah issued out of the Ark.	2339 1657							601	99				
	Julian. World Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	1. *Arphaxad* 438									
	2341 1659	603	101										
	2376 1694 37	638	136	36	1. *Salah.* 433							11	54
	2406 1724 67	668	166	66	31	1. *Heber.* 464							164
	2440 1758 101	702	200	100	65	35	1. *Peleg.*		*Kings of Assyria.*				
	2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	1. *Reu.* 239	1. *Nimrod.* 114				
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1. *Sarug.* 230	*Kings of Egypt.*		
Vide lib. 2. c. 2. § 2.	2530 1848 191	692	290	190	155	125	91	63	61	29	1 1 *Cham* 161		
	2532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1. *Nabor.* 148	
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30	
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	2 1. *Belus*, 65	83	55	53	

	Julian. World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Peleg.	Reu.	Assyria.	Sarug	Egypt.	Nahor	Terah.	Sicyon.	Abram.
	2618 1936 279	880	278	373	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1 1. Aegialeus, 3	
	2649 1967 326	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	3 1. Ninus, 52	148	120	118	89	32	
	2670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	11	139	110	2 1. Europs 45	
The last year of his life.	2678 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9	
The death of Nahor.	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10	
Nahor died this year.	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19	
Terah goes into Egypt, Vsa. 1...2. [illegible] 3,4,5, &c.	2691 2009 35		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	2 1. Mizraim or Osiris		131	22	1. Abram. 275
	2701 2019 362		461	361	326	296		232	4 1. Semiramis 41	200	11		141	32	11
The last year of Reu.	2708 2026 369		463	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39	18
	2715 2033 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	3 1. Telkin or Selchin, 20	25
The last of Sarug	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17	41
	Julian. World. Flood.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Assyria.		Egypt.		Terah.		Sicyon.		Abram.	
	2739 2053 396	495	395	360	330	35		45		175		4 1. Apis, 25		45	
	2743 2061 404	503	403	368	338	5 2. Ninias, 28		53		183		9		53	
	2760 2078 421	520	420	385	355	18		70		200		5 1. Thelxion or Thelasien, 52		70	
Abram receives the promise, and dies in Haran. Gen. xii. § 1, 2, 3	2705 2083 426	525	425	390	360	23		75		205		6		75	
	Julian. World. Promise.	Sem.	Arphaxad	Salah.	Heber.	Abram.		Assyria.		Egypt.		Sicyon.			
Abram enters into Canaan, descends into Egypt. The first of the 430. years of servitude	2766 2084 1	526	426	391	361	76		24		76		7			
Abram returns into Haran.	2767 2085 2	527	427	392	362	77		25		77		8			
Abram his victory over Chedorlaomer, and other kings. Gen. xiv. § 8 9 &c.	2775 2093 10	535	435	400	370	85		33		85		16			
Saul born.	2777 2095 12	537	437	402	372	87		35		87		18			
Arphaxad dyes.	2778 2096 13	538	438	403	373	88		36		88		19			

	Julian World promise	Sem.	Salah.	Heber.	Abraham.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon	
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91	6 1. Arius, 30	91	22	
Isaac born when Abraham was 100. years old compleat, 101. current.	2791 2109 25	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1 Isaac 180
The last year of Salah.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 1. Arabius, 40	121	52	21
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1. Ægir' 54	22
Sarai the wife of Abraham died this year.	2827 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37
Isaac took Rebecca to Wife, when he was 40. years old compleat.	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41
The last year of Sem.	3840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50
	Julian World promile.	Heber.	Abraham.	Isaac.	Jacob.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon	Argives
	2846 2164 8	441	156	56		36	156	7 1. Thurimachus 45	
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1. Jacob 147	8 1 Belus. 30	161	6	1 1 Inachus. 50
Abraham died this year.	2855 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15
Heber died this year.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19
The 17. Dynastie, called of the Shepheards, beginning this year, lasted 103. years.	2891 2199 116			91	31	9 1. Armamithres, 38	191 1	36	31
	2760 1209 126			101	41	11	201 11	1 1 Leucippus. 53	41
	2901 2219 136			111	51	21	211 21	11	2 1. Phoreneus, 60
The Flood of Ogyges, a thousand and twenty years before the Olympiads. See lib. 1. c. 7. §. 2.	2919 2237 154			129	69	19 1. Belocus Priscus, 35	229 39	29	19
	2942 2260 177			152	92	24	252 62	52	42	1. Joseph. 11
	2944 2262 179			154	94	26	254 64	9 Mossapius, 47	44	3
See L. 2. c. 2. §. 6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	3. & 4. 1. Typhon, & after him Hercul. 7. 72	9	52	11
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 1. Belus, 52	3 74	11	54	13

	Julian. World. promise			Isaac.	Jacob.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
Joseph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194			169	109	6	5 1. Oeus, 9 115	16	59	19
	2961 2279 196			171	111	8	3 81	18	3 1. Apis. 35	20
The last year of Isaac.	2970 2288 205			180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Israel into Egypt.	2980 2298 215				130	27	22 100	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 348 years.	2984 2302 219				134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226				141	38	33 8	10 1. Peratus, 46	31	50
	2996 2314 231				146	43	38 13	6	4 1. Argus.	55
Jacob dies in Egypt.	2997 2315 232				147	44	39 14	7	2	
	Julian. World. promise	Joseph.	Assyria.		Egypt.		Sicyon.	Argives.		
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Altades. 32		48 23		16	11		
	3037 2355 272	96	32		79 54		11 1 Plemnæus, 48	42		
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1 Mamitus, 30		80 55		2	43		
The last year of Joseph.	3051 2369 286	110	14		93 68		15	56		
	3066 2384 301		29		108 83		30	5 1. Pirasus, or Criasus, 54		
	3068 2386 303		14 1, Mancaleus. 30		110 85		32	3		
	3074 2392 309		7		6 1. Sesostris the Great. 33 91		38	9		
	3085 2403 320		18		12 102		12 1 Orthopolis 63	20		
	3098 2416 333		15 1. Spherus, or Iphereus, 20		25 115		14	33		
	3107 2425 342		10		7 1. Sesostris the second, 14 124		23	42		
	3116 2434 351	1. Moses, 120	19		10 133		32	51		

	Julian. World. promise	Moses	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
	3118 2436 353	3	16 1. Mamilas, or Mamelins, 30	12 135	34	53	
	3120 2438 355	5	3	14 137	36	6 1. Thorbas, 35	
	3121 2439 356	6	4	8 1 Orus, 2 or Busiris, 38. 138.	37	2	Athenians.
	3148 2466 383	33	17 1. Sparetus, 40	28 165	13 1 Marathius, 30	29	
	3151 2469 386	36	4	31 168	4	32	1 1. Cecrops 50
Moses visits his brethren the Israelites, kils an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.	3155 2473 390	40	8	35 172	8	7 1. Tripas, 46	5
	3159 2477 394	44	12	9 1. Thermutis, or Acencheres, 12. 176.	12	5	9
	3171 2489 406	56	24	10 1. Rathoris, or Achoris 9 188.	24	17	21
	3178 2469 413	63	31	8 195	14 1 Marathus, 20	24	28
	3180 2498 415	65	33	11 1 Chencres, 16 197	3	26	30
	3188 2506 423	37	18 1. Ascatades. 40	9 205	11	34	38
Moses his wandring into Egypt.	3195 2513 430	80	8	16 212	18	41	45
	Julian. World. Exod.	Moses	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens
The Passeover. Israel delivered out of Egypt. Pharaoh drowned. The Law given. The first of the 480. years from Exodus to the building of the Temple.	3196 2514 1	81	9	12 1. Acherres, 8 213.	19	42	46
The Flood of Deucalion, and conflagration of Phaeton about this time.	3198 2516 3	83	11.	3 215	15 1 Echireus 55	44	48
	3201 2519 6	86	14	6 218	4	8 1. Crotopus, 21	2 1 Cranaus 10
	3204 2522 6	89	17	13 1. Cherres, 15 221	7	4	4
	3211 2529 16	96	24	8 228	14	11	3 1 Amphirion. 12
	3219 2537 24	104	32	14 1. Armeus. or Danaus, 5. 236	22	19	9
	3222 2540 27	107	35	4 239	25	9 1. Sthenelus. 11	12

	Julian World. Exod.	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	Troy.
	3223 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 Cecrops, 50	
	3224 2542 29	109	37	15 1 Rameſſes 63 241	27	3	2	Troy.
	3228 2546 33	113	19 1. Amyntas, 4	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229 2547 34	114	2	6 246	32	8	7	1 1. Dardanus, 6
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. Danaus, 50	11	5
The laſt year of Moſes.	3235 2553 40	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	Julian World Exod.	Iſrael.	Aſſyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon	Argos.	Athens	Troy
The Iſraelites enter the Land of Promiſe.	3236 2554 41	1 1 Joſua 18	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1. Corax 30	21	31	25
	3254 2572 59	2 1 Othoniel, 40	27	31 271	2	22	32	26
	3273 2591 78	20	20 1. Belochus the ſecond. 25	50 290	21	41	5 1 Pandion 40	45
	3283 2601 88	30	11	60 300	17 1. Epopeus 35	11 1. Lynceus. 41	11	55
	3292 2610 97	39	20	16 1. Menophis 40 309	10	10	20	64
	3293 2611 98	40	21	2 310	11	11	21	2 1 Erichthonius, 40
	3294 2612 99	3 1 Ehud 80	22	3 311	12	12	22	2
	3298 2616 103	5	21 1. Beloparces 30	7	16	16	26	6
	3313 2631 118	20	16	22 330	31	31	6 1 Erichtheus, 50	21
	3318 2636 123	25	21	27 335	18 1 Lamedon. 40	36	6	26
	3324 2642 129	31	27	33 341	7	12 1. Abbas, 2.	12	32
	3328 2646 133	35	22 1. Lamprides. 32	37 345	11	5	16	36

[illegible] 19. Dynasties of the Lacides, 191. years, Scalig. c. 20. [illegible].	3332 2650 137	39	5	17 1. Zethus, or Sethosis, 5 1	15	9	20	40
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	5 1. Tr 6
Tantalus *in Phrygia.*	3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1. Præ-tus, 17	35	9
	3358 2676 163	65	21	27 27	19 1. Sicyon, 45	12	46	20
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1. Sosares, 20	29 29	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	7 1. Carops, the second 40	25
Pelops *in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.*	3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1 Acrisius, 31	2	26
Ion *and* Xuthus *the sons of* Hellen. See lib. 2. c. 17. §. 6.	3374 2692 179	4 1 Debora & Ba 40	15	43 43	17	11	12	36
	3380 2698 185	7	24 1. Lampares 30	49 49	23	17	18	42
	3387 2705 192	14	15	18 1. Ramses, 66 56	30	24	25	49
After the death of Acrisius, the Kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, and overgrown by that of Mycens whereof some Kings descended from Perseus, others from Pelops, as in the Pedegree following.	3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56

	Julian. World. Exod.	Israel	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens	Troy.
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42		37	1. Ilus, 55
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	1. Eurystheus. 4	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 1. Polybus, 40	2	3 1. Pandion 25	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. Pannias, 45	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1. Gideon. 40	5	28 83	12	13	12	16
Pandion chased out of his Kingdom, which is recovered by his son Ægeus, in few years after. The omission of this interregnum and reckoning the years in the forty eight of Ægeus, the numbring them apart by themselves, breeds answerable difference in the times of the Athenians following, as Mnestheus, Cecrops, and the rest.	3427 2745 232	14	28	41 96	25	26	25	29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 1. Ægeus, 40	34
Oedipus in Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. Inachus, 4	42	12	45
	3447 2765 252	34	38	61 116	5	1. Atreus and Thyestes 65	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	19 1. Amenophis, 40 122	11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1. Abimelech	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1. Laomedon. 36
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1. Sosarmus, 19	3 124	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. Tholas, 23	3	5 126	15	11	26	4
	3474 2762 379	18	27 1. Mitreus, 27	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2792 285	8 1. Jair 22	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. Theseus, 30	27
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1. Phestus, 8	39	6	32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	1. Priamus. 40
	3493 2811 298	14	20	20 1. Annemenes 26 162	23 1. Adrastus, 4	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1. Polyphides 31	51	18	8
	3501 2819 306	22	28 1. Teutanes, 32	9 170	5	55	22	12

	Julian. World.	Temple	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latines
The 21. Dynasty in Ægypt, which lasted 130. years.	3704 3022	29	175	32	24	13 1	3	21
The Ionick migration after the taking of Troy, 180 years. See L. 2. c. 17. sect. 6.	3709 3027	34	180	37	29	18 6	8	26

	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latines
	3713 3031 38	8 148	1 1. Rehoboam. 17	1 1. Jeroboam. 22	33	22 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43	189	6	6	38	1 Chemmis, 5c 15	17	35
	3721 3039 46	192	9	9	41	4 18	4 1 Tetisp us, 4	38
	3723 3041 48	194	11	11	43	6 20	3	7 1 Syl. A ius, 2
	3726 3044 51	197	14	14	34 1. Pyrithiades. 30	9 23	6	4
	3730 3048 55	201	2 1. Abijam, 3	18	5	13 27	10	8
	3733 3051 58	204	3 1. Asa. 41	21	8	16 30	13	11
	3734 3052 59	205	2	22 2 1. Nadab. 2.	9	17 31	14	12
	3735 3053 60	206	3	2 3 1. Baasha, 24	10	18 32	15	13
	3749 3067 74	220	17	15	24	32 46	29	8 1. Sy Cap. 2
	3756 3074 81	227	24	22	35 1. Ophrateus. 20	39 53	36	8
	3758 3076 83	229	26	24 4 1. Ela, 2.	3	41 55	38	10
Of those Israelitish Kings, See lib. 2. c. 19. §. 5.	3759 3077 84	230	27	2 5 1 { Zimri. 6. Tibni. 7. Omri 11	4	42 56	39	11
	3762 3080 87	233	30	4	7	45 59	3 1 Phorbas, 31	14
	3768 3086 93	239	36	10	13	1. Cheops, 56 65	7	20
	3770 3088 95	241	38	12 8 1. Ahab, 22.	15	3 67	9	22
	3774 3092 99	245	4 1. Jehosaphat. 25	5	19	7 71	13	26

	Julian World. Temple.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latine	
	3776 3094 101	247	3	7	16 1. Ophra tanes. 50	9 73	15	28	
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1. Syl. Capetus 13	
Jehoram *his sundry beginnings to reign.* See l. 2. c. 20. §. 1. & 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1. Jehoram.	21 9 1. Ahazia, 2	15	23 87	29	10 1. Syl. Tyberinus, 8	
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 2 10 1. Jehoram.	16	24 88	30	2	
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	6 1. Mezades, 30	4	
	3793 3113 120	266	22 1. Jehoram again, 8.	5	20	28 92	3	6	
Jehosaphat *dies, and* Jehoram *reigns alone.*	3798 3116 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	6	11 1. Syl. Agrippa	
	3802 3120 127	273	8 6 1. Ahazia. 1.	12	27	35 99	10	5	
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1. Athalia. 7	11 1. Jehu 28	28	36 100	11	6	
	3809 3125 134	280	7 8 1. Joas, 40.	7	34	42 106	17	12	
Carthage built. L. 2. c. 22. §. 6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	27	22	
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	65 170	7 1. Diognetus, 18	28	
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	1 Crepnes, 50 121	2	27	
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	37 Ocrazapes or 1. Anacyndaraxes, 42	3 123	4	29	
	3831 3149 156	302	23	12 1. Joahaz, 17	6	8 128	9	34	
The end of the 21. *Dynastie. The Dynasties following I omit.*	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 130	11	36	
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	12 1. Syl. Alladius, 19	
Joas *reigned with his Father.* L. 2. c. 22. §. 7.	3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1. Joas.	20	22	23	7	
Joas *reigns alone.*	3847 3165 172	118	39	1. Joas, 16	23	24	25	9	
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1. Amazia, 20	2	23	25	26	10	

	Julian World Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latins	
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 1 Pleredus. 19	13	
	3858 3166 183	329	11	12	33	35	8	13 1. Syl. Aventinus, 37	
	3868 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1 Jeroboam, 41	37	39	12	5	
	3862 3186 193	339	21	7	38 1. Sardanapalus 20	45	18	11	
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 1 Ariphron 10	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1. Micerinus 6	5	16	
	Julian World Temp.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latins	Medes
L.2. c.22. §.11.	3877 3195 202	348	1. Interregnum 11. years.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	2. Bocchorus. 44	11	22	
L. 2. c.22. § 12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	20 Sardanapalus slain	8	18	29	
L.2. c.33. §.1. & 4.	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. Uzzia, 0 Azaria, 52	27		9	19	30	1 1. Arbaces.28
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29		11	10 1 Thespyus, 27	32	3
L.2. c.23. §. 4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1. 1. Belosus or Phul. 48	13	3	34	5
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1. Syl. Procas 23	8
L.2. c.23. §. 1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	1. Interregnum 23 years.	12	24	14	9	16
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	2 1. Sosarmus, 30
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	11 1. Agamneftar. 20	23	2
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 1 Syl. Amulius. 44	3
	2924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	1. Asychis and after him Amyrtis 6	8	7	9
Zacharia *began at the very end of the year.* L.2. c.23. §. 1.	3925 3143 250	396	38	23 15 Zachariah six Moneths.	34	2	9	8	10

	Julian World	Troy.			Juda.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latins	Media
	3926					16					
	3244	397			39	Shallum one month & 19 Menahem	35	3	10	9	11
	251										
This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem.	3927										
	3245	398			40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	252										
	3930							1 Sabacus the Ethiopian, 50			
	3248	401			43	4	39		14	13	15
	255										
	3937					18			12		
	3255	408	Iphit.	Olympiads.	50	1 Pekahiah. 2	46	4	1 Aeschylus, 25	20	22
	262										
The beginning of the Olympiads. L. 2. c. 23. §. 5.	3938			1							
	3256	409	1		51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	263			1							
	3939			1		19					
	3257	410	2		52	1. Pekah Romeliæ 2	48	10	3	22	24
	264			2							
	3940			1	11		2				
L. 2. c. 23. §. 6.	3258	411	3		1. Jotham, 16	2	1. Tiglath Pilneser 17	11	4	23	25
	265			3							
	Julian World Temple	Iphit.	Olym.	Juda.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latins	Media	
	3946		3							3	
	3264	9		7	8	7	17	18	29	1. Medidas, 40	
	271		1								
	3955		5	16 12							
	3273	18		1. Ahaz 16	17	16	26	19	38	10	
	280		2								
	3959		6		1. Interregnum 7. years						
	3277	22		5		20	30	23	42	14	
	284		2								
	3960		6					23			
	3278	23		6	2	21	31	1. Alcmeon 2	43	15	
	285		3								
	Julian World Temple.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olym.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Romans	Media
Rome built, L. 2. c. 24. §. 5. Carops the first, governing in Athens for ten years: after whom succeeded six chosen each after other for the like time: whence the Office became Annual.	3962			7					1	1	
	3280	1	25		8	4	23	33	1. Carops, 10	1. Romulus 37	17
	287			1							
	3966			8		20					
	3284	5	29		12	1 Hoshea 9	27	37	5	5	21
	291			1							
The Æra of Nabonassar. L. 2. c. 25. §. 1.	3967	6		8			2 Salmanassar, or Nabonassar 10				
	3285		30		13	2		38	6	6	22
	292	1		2							
Ezekiah began in the very end of this year. L. 2. c. 25. §. 1.	3968	7		8	14 13						
	3286		31		Ezekiah	3	2	39	7	7	23
	293	2		3	1st						
	3969	8		8	15						
This year concurs with the first of Ezekiah. Ibid.	3287		32			4	3	40	8	8	24
	294	4		4	1						
The beginning of the first Messenian War. Whereof see L. 2. c. 27. §. 4. It lasted 20 years.	3971	10		9							
	3289		34		3	6	5	42	10	10	26
	296	5		2							
	3972	11		9							
Samaria is besieged by Salmanassar.	3290		35		4	7	6	43		11	27
	297	6		3							

The Captivity of the ten Tribes.	974 3292 299	13 8	37	10 1	6	9	8	45		13	29
	3976 3294 301	15 10	39	10 3	8		10 4 1. Senacherib 7	47		15	31
L. 2. c. 26. §, 7.	3980 3298 305	19 14	43	11 3	12	Kings of the Chaldæans.	5	1. Sechon. 33		19	35
Senacheribs *Army destroyed, and he slain.* L. 2. c. 25. §. 2.	3982 3300 307	21 16	45	12 1	14		7	3		21	37
	3983 3301 308	22 17	46	12 2	15	1. Merodach, or Mardocempadus	5 Asarha'd n. 10	4		22	38
	3986 5304 311	25 20	49	13 1	18	4	4	7		25	4 1 Cardiæus. 11
Merodach *gets the whole Empire. This year or in the end of the year foregoing. An eclipse of the Moon.*	3993 3311 318	32 27	56	14 4	25	1 1. Merodach, 40	11	14		32	8
	Julian World	*Rome. Temple. Nabon*	*Iphit.*	*Olym.*	*Juda.*	*Caldæa*	*Egypt.*	*Rome.*	*Media*	*Lydia.*	
Two eclipses of the Moon, in the second year of Mardocempadus.	3994 3312 319	33 28	57	15 1	26	2	15	33	9		
	3997 3319 322	36 31	60	15 4	29	5	18	36	12	1 1. Gyges, 38	
	3998 3316 323	37 32	61	16 1	14 1 Manasses 55	6	19	37	13	2	
	3999 3317 324	38 33	62	16 2	2	7	20	Inter regnum one year	5 1. Deioces. 53	3	
	4000 3318 325	39 34	63	16 3	3	8	21	2 1. Numa Pompilius, 43	2	4	
L. 2. c. 27. §. 2.	4013 3331 338	52 47	76	19 4	16	21	1 Interregnum, 2	14	15	17	
	4015 3333 340	54 49	78	20 2	18	23	1. 12 Princes, 15	16	17	19	
The beginning of the second Messenian War; which lasted about 18. *years.* L. 2. c. 27. §. 4.	4020 3347 354	68 63	92	23 4	32	37	15 1. Psammiticus 44	30	31	33	
L. 2. c. 28. §. 3.	4033 3351 358	72 67	96	24 4	36	2 1. Benmerodach, 21	5	34	35	37	
	4035 3353 360	74 69	98	25 2	38	3	7	36	37	2 1. Ardys, 49	
	4043 3361 368	82 77	106	27 2	46	11	15	3 1. Tullus Hostilius 32	45	9	
	4052 3370 377	91 86	115	29 3	55	20	24	10	6 1 Phraortes, 24	18	
	4053 3371 378	92 87	116	29 4	15 1. Amon, 2	21	25	11	2	19	

	Julian. World. Temple	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Juda.	Chaldea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.
The expedition of the Scythians. L.2. c.28. §.3. & 4.	4054 3372 379	93 88	117	30 1	2	3 1. Nabuchodonosor, 35	26	12	3	20
	4055 3373 380	94 89	118	30 2	16 1 Josias, 31	2	27	13	4	21
L.2. c.28. §. 1.	4073 3391 398	112 107	136	34 4	19	20	1. Necho, 17	31	22	39
	4075 3393 400	114 109	138	35 2	21	22	3	1. Ancus Marcus 34	24	41
	4076 3394 401	115 110	139	35 3	22	23	4	2	7 1 Cyaxares, 40	42
	4084 3402 409	123 118	147	37 3	30	31	12	10	9	3 1 Sadyattes, 12
L.2. c.28. §.1. & 2.	4085 3402 410	124 119	148	37 4	37 17 Jehoahaz 3 months	32	13	11	10	2
Nabuchodonosor *had reigned one year with his Father, which is to be regarded in Astronomical observations concerning his time.* L.2.c.25. §.1. & c.28. § 6.	4086 3404 411	125 120	149	38 1	18 1 Jehoiakim, 11	33	14	12	11	3
	4089 3407 414	128 123	152	38 4	4	4. 1. Nabuchodonosor the great. 44	17	15	14	6
	4090 3408 415	129 124	153	39 1	5	2	1. Psammis, 12	16	15	7
	4096 3414 421	135 130	159	40 3	11 19 1 Jechoni 3 months. 20 Zedekiah 11 years. 4	8	7	22	21	4 1 Halyattes 57
Zedekiah *his journey to Babylon.* L.2. c.28. §.6.	4099 3417 424	138 133	162	41 2		11	10	5. 1. L. Tarquin. Priscus. 58	24	4
	4102 3420 427	141 136	165	42 1	7	14	1. Apries or Hophra,	4	27	7
Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor, *with whose 18. for the more part, and partly with whose 19. this year concurs.*	4106 3424 431	145 140	169	43 1	11	18	5	8	31	11
	Julian World	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Captivity.	Chaldea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.
Jerusalem destroyed.	4107 3425	146 141	170	43 2	1	19	6	9	32	12
Egypt conquered by Nabuchodonosor. L.3. c.1. §. 8. & 9.	4111 3429	150 145	174	44 2	5	23	1 Thar. Hophra slain, and the kingdom of Egypt governed 20. years by Viceroys.	13	36	16
	4116 3434	155 150	179	45 3	10	28	6	18	8 1 Astyages, 35	21
Nabuchodonosor *lives wild: and his Kingdom governed by others for him, during seven years.* L.3. c.1. §. 13.	4125 3443	164 159	188	47 4	19	37 1. Evil merodac	15	27	10	30
	3127 3445	166 161	190	48 2	21	2. 1. Neglissar, & Nitocris, 4.	17	29	12	32

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Juda.	Chaldea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.
Nebuchadnezzar *recovers his sense and kingdom.*	4131	170	194	49	25	1 Laborardach 9 mon	21	33	16	36
	3449	165		2						
L. 3. c. 1. §. 6. *The 27. of* Jeconia *his captivity compleat, and he enlarged.*	4133	172	196	49	27	5 Evilmerodach. 2	23	35	18	38
	3451	167		4						
	4137	176	200	50	31	5	27	6 1. Servius Tullius 24	22	42
	3455			4						
Forty years after the conquest of Egypt past, Amasis *began his reign: this being inclusively the* 41. *& therefore the next year seems concurrent with* Amasis *his* 1	4151	190	214	45	54	19	Amasis, 34	15	1 Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, 26	56
	3469	185		2						
	4153	192	216	54	47	21	2	17	3	5 1. Crœsus, 14
	3471			4						

	Julian World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia	Chaldea.	Egypt	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	Jewes
	4154	193	217	55	1 Cyrus in Persia 23	22	3	18	4	2	48
	3472	188		1							
The seven Sages of Greece.	4159	198	222	56	6	6 1. Balthasar. 17	8	23	9	7	53
	3477	193		2							
Pisistratus makes himself Tyrant in Athens.	4164	203	227	57	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	3482	198		3							
	4166	205	229	58	13	8	15	30	16	14 Crœsus taken by Cyrus	60
	3484	200		1							
The end of the Chaldean Empire.	4175	214	238	60	22	17 Balthasar slain.	24	39	25		69
	3493	209		2							
	4176	215	239	60	23	1. Darius the Mede 2	23	40	26		70
	3494	210		3							
The beginning of Cyrus his Empire.	4177	216	240	60	1. Cyrus. 7	2	26	41	Years from 1. Cyrus		Zor babe
His Edict of liberty to the Jews.	3495	211		4							
	4181	220	244	61	5		30	1. Tarquinius Superbus, 25	5		Onely Zorobab & Nehemias remembred as worthy of Jews, anno 32 of Artaxer Mnemon. where were before Nehem as himself wit seth, Ch 5. v. that the sier them, their n and names ar certain.
	3499	215		4							
	4184	223	247	62	2 1. Cambyses. 7		33	4	8		
	3502	218		3							
The 2. first years of Psammiticus, *and part of the third may be added to the years of his father, if it be true that* Cambyses *came into Egypt presently on the death of* Amasis, L. 3. c. 4. §. 2.	4186	225	249	63	3		1. Psammiticus, 3	6	10		
	3504	220		1							
The conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.	4188	227	251	63	5		3	8	12		
	3506	222		3							

	Julian World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphitus	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt	Rome.	Greece	Jewes.	From Cyrus.
Cambyses reigned seven years and five months, so as his last year was filled up by the Magi, and (as may seem) a good part of the next, L. 3. c. 4. §. 4.	4191	230	254	64	8 The Magi one year.		11			15
	3509	225		2						
	4192	231	255	64	1 Darius Histaspis, 36		12			16
	3510	226		3						

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp	Persia	Egypt	Rome.	Greece.	Jewes from Cyrus.
	4197	236	260	65	6		17	Hippias the son of Pisistratus Tyrant in Athens.	21
	3515	231		4					
	4204	243	267	67	13 Babylon, which had rebelled, taken by Darius.		42		28
	3522	238		3					
The Tarquines expelled Rome. L.4.c.1. §.1.	4205	245	268	68	14		25		29
	3523	239		4					
The Carthaginians first League with Rome. L.5.c.1. §.2.	4206	245	269	68	15		Brutus and Publ. cola }	Consuls.	33
	3524	240		1					
L.2.c.5. §.4.	4211	250	274	69	20 Darius his expedition against the Scythians.				35
	3529	245		2					
	4212	251	275	69	21			The Athenians and Ionians take Sardes.	36
	3530	246		3					
	4222	261	285	72	31		Sp Cassius Posth. Cominius Consuls.	The battail of Marathon.	46
	3540	356		1					
	4226	265	289	73	35	Ægypt rebelleth against Darius.			50
	3544	260		1					
	4228	267	291	73	4 1. Xerxes, 21				50
	3546	262		3					
The Law Agraria in Rome propounded, for division of Lands: which bred great commotion.	4229	268	292	73	2	Egypt recovered by Xerxes.	Proc. Virginius. Sp. Cassius }	Cons.	52
	3547	263		4					
An Eclipse of the Sun. L.3.c.6. § 2.	4233	272	296	74	6. The great muster of Xerxes his Army at Sardes.				57
	3551	267		4					
L.3.c.6. §.3. & 6.	4234	273	297	75	7			The battails at Thermopylæ, Artemisium, and Salamis.	58
	3552	268		1					
L.3.c.6. §.9, 10, & 11.	4235	274	298	75	8 Xerxes his tragical love			The battail of Platæa and Mycale.	59
	3553	269		2					
L.2.c.7. §.1 & 2.	4237	267	300	75	10			The Athenians rebuild the walls, and lay the foundation of their Dominion.	62
	3555	271		4					
	4244	283	307	77	17			The great victories of Simon, at Eurymedon and elsewhere.	68
	3562	278		3					
L.2.c.7. §.3.	4248	287	311	78	21 The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabanus.				72
	3566	282		3					
	4249	288	312	78	5 1. Artaxerxes Longimanus. 46			Themistocles being banished flieth to Artaxerxes	73
	3567	283		4					
	4251	290	314	94	3	Inarus set up as King by the Egyptians.			75
	3569	285		2					
L.3.c.7. §.5. & 7.	4255	294	318	80	7. The marriage of Hester	Inarus vanquished by the Persians.			79. Esdras commeth to Jerusalem. Daniel his 70. weeks or 490. years beginneth.
	3573	289		2					
	4264	303	327	82	16		The Decemviri chosen to comp. and a body of the Roman Laws.	Hippocrates the great Physitian, and Democritus the Philosopher flourish.	10
	3582	298		3					

The Account from the solution of the Captivity, is the same with that from Cyrus.	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt	Rome.	Greece.	Years from Cyrus and David.
	4265	304	328	82	17		The decemviri chosen for a second year, tyranize and usurp the place three years.	Simons voyage to Cyprus, in which he died.	89
	3583	299		4					11
Nehemias comes to Jerusalem.	4268	307	331	83	20			A league for 36 years between Athens and Sparta	92
	3586			3					14
	4272	311	335	84	24		Tribuni Militum first chosen instead of Consuls. Dionys. Liv. Plutarch them in the 110 year of Rome.		96
	3590	306		3					18
	4273	312	336	84	25			The conquest of Samos by the Athenians under Pericles.	97
	3591	307		4					19
	4278	317	341	86	30			The Athenians & the Corcyreans against the Corinthians.	102
	3596	312		1					24
The walls of Jerusalem finished.	4280	319	343	86	32				104
Nehemias returns to King Artaxerxes.	3598	314		3					26
L. 3. c. 8. §. 1.	4283	322	346	87	25			The first year of the Peloponnesian War.	107
	3601	317		2					29
L. 3. c. 9. § 1. L. 3. c. 8 §. 1.	4289	328	352	88	6 Xerxes 2. months 7 Sogdianus 8. months.			The victory of the Athenians at Pylus.	113
	3607	323		4					35
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1.	4290	329	353	89	8 1. Darius Nothus. 19.				114
	3608	324		1					36
L. 3. c. 8. §. 5. & 6.	4292	331	355	89	3			A vain and troublesom peace between Athens and Sparta.	116
	3610	326		3					38
L. 3. c. 9. § 1. & c. 8. § 8.	4301	340	364	92	11. Egypt rebelleth against the Persians, and sets up Kings that reign successively, till Ochus its reconquest.	1 1. Amyrtæus, 6		The Athenian forces in Sicil utterly destroyed.	125
	3619	335		4					48
Cap. 8. §. 9.	4302	341	365	92	13 Darius enters into confederacy with the Spartans	2		The government of the 400, in Athens, which was suppressed the year following.	128
	3620	336		1					50
The Carthaginians invade Sicil with an Army of 300000. L. 5. c. 1. §. 4. † 3.	4304	343	367	93	15	4		The Athenians begin to recover strength.	125
	3622	338		3					50
L. 5. c. 8. §. 10.	4306	345	369	93	17	6		Alcibiades after many victories returns from banishment to Athens, is made General, and banished again.	130
	3624	340		1					52
	4307	346	370	93	18	2 1. Nephres 6		The battail at Arginusæ.	131
	3625	341		2					53
	4308	347	371	93	19	2		Dionysius the elder usurps tyranny in Syracuse.	132
	3626	342		3					54
L. 3. c. 8. § 12.	4309	348	372	93	9 1. Artaxerxes Mnemon, 43	3		The battail at Argos, Potamos, &c.	133
	3627	343		4					55
	4311	350	374	94	3	5	The siege of Veii, lasted 10. years.		135
	3629	345		2					57
L. 3. c. 10. §. 1.	4313	352	376	94	The expedition of Cyrus against Artaxerxes	3 1. Acoris, 12		Socrates put to death. The 30 tyrants put down in Athens.	137
	3631	347		4					59

	Julian. and World.	Rome. and Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Yrs From Cyrus Daniel
L3.c.11.§.4.	4318	357	381	96	10	6		Agesilaus warreth in Asia.	142
	3636	352		1					64
L3.c.11.§.7.	4320	359	383	96	12	8		The victory of Conon at Cnidus, &c.	144
	3638	354		3					64
	4321	360	384	96	13	9	Veii taken by Camillus.	Xenophon and Plato flouriſh	145
	3639	355		4					67
	4325	364	388	97	17	1. Pſammitichus the ſon of Iarus, and after him Nepherites the 2. reigned in all about two years.	The 80. year. the victory of Camillus over the Fidenates.		149
	3643	359		4					71
L4.c.7.§.1. L3.c.11.§.9.	4326	365	389	98	18	2	Rome taken and burnt by the Gauls.	The Peace of Antalcidas.	150
	3644	360		1					72
	4327	367	390	98	19	4 1 Nectanebus.			151
	3645	361		2		18			73
	4332	371	395	99	24	6	M. Manlius Capitolinus put to death	The Lacedæmonians take the citadel of Thebes by treaſon.	150
	3650	366		3					78
L3.c.11.§.11.	4336	375	399	100	28	10		The Thebans recover their Citadel, and make ſtrong war upon the Lacedæmonians.	160
	3654	370		3					82
	4340	379	403	101	32	14	Tribunes of the people continued 5. years in office, & propoſed popular Laws, among which the one of the Conſuls ſhould be find a Plebeian.		164
	3658	374		2					86
L3.c.12.§.1.	4343	382	406	102	35	17		The famous battaile of Leuctra.	107
	3661	377		2					89
L3.c.12.§.4.	4345	384	408	102	37	1. Tachus 8. Euphius 4 gives only 2. years to Tachus. Reims. 6. but the ſtory of him proves more.	L. Sextius a Plebeian, and L. Æmilius, Conſuls.	The haſty growth of the Theban Eſtate.	169
	3363	379		4					91
	4351	390	414	104	43 Many Provinces rebel againſt Artaxerxes, and are ſoon reclaimed.	7		The great battail of Mantinæa. Epaminondas dies.	175
	3669	385		2					97. Jonathan.
L3.c.12.§.8.	4352	391	415	104	10 1. Ochus.	3 Tachus betrayed by Ageſilaus.		Peace in Greece. The Athenians weaken themſelves by converting their treaſure to vain uſes.	176 about this time High
	3670	386		3	23	1. Nectanebus. 13			98 Prieſt.
	4354	393	417	105	3	3		1. Philip King of Macedon 24 years and part of the 25	178
	3672	388		1					100
L4.c.1.§.4.	4359	398	422	106	8	8		5. The Phocian war begins.	183
	3677	393		2					105
	4364	403	427	107	13. Ochus reconquers Egypt.	13. Nectanebus flies into Æthiopia.		11	188
	3682	398		3					110
L4.c.1.§.6.	4368	407	431	108	17			15. The end of the Phocian War.	192
	3686	402		3					114
L5.c.1.§.4.†.4.	4369	408	432	108	18			16. Timoleon his voyage into Sicil.	193
	3687	403		4					115
	4370	409	453	109	19	Nabonaſſar. Novemb the 17.		17 Philip waſteth Illyria, and draws the Theſſalians to follow him.	194
	3688	404		1					116
After this the years from Cyrus and Daniel are too much by one.	4375	414	438	110	11 1. Arſes 3.			22	199 Jaddus High
	3693	409		2					121 Prieſt, 16

	Julian and World	Rome. and Nabon	Iphitus	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt	Rome.	Greece.	Jews From Cyrus Daniel.
	4376	415	439	110	2			23 The battail of Chæronea. Philip chosen Captain General of the Greeks.	2
	5694	410		3					121
	4378	417	441	111	19 1. Darius 6 years and somewhat more.	Nabon. Novemb. 15		25 Philip slain by Pausanias 1. Alexander the great 12. years and 5. moneths.	4
	3696	412		1					123
	4379	418	442	111	2			2 Thebes razed by Alexander.	5
	3697	413		2					124
	4380	419	443	111	3			3 Alexander passeth into Asia.	6
	3698	414		3					125
L. 4. c. 7. §. 1.	4381	420	444	111	4 The battail of Issus.			4	7
	3699	415		4					126
L. 4. c. 2. §. 5. 6. & 7. & L. 5. c. 2. §. 8.	4382	421	445	112	5		The Gauls enter into league with the Romans.	5 Alexander wins Tyre and Ægypt.	8 205 127
	3700	416		1					
	Julian World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olympiads.					
An Eclipse of the Moon	4383	422	446	112	6 The battail of Arbela.				6 Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis won by Alexander. 9 206
	3701	417		2					128
L. 4. c. 2. §. 13.	4384	423	447	112	7 Darius slain by Bessus.				7 10 207
	3702	418		3					129
					Macedon.	Egypt.		Greece.	Romans Jews.
	4385	424	448	112	8. Alexander changeth conditions: he puts to death Parmenio and Philotas.				11
	3703	419		4					130
	4380	425	449	113	9. Alexander passeth into India kils Clytus and Calisthenes.				12
	3704	420		1					131
Alexander died 17 days before the Summer Solstice. From Nabonassar hitherto are collected 424. years: and hence to the reign of Augustus, 294 The sum is 718. years, which agrees with this accompt. Ptolem Almageit. l. 3. c. 8.	4390	429	453	114	13. Alexander dies at Babylon.	Nabon. Novemb. 12			16
	3708	424		1					135
	4391	430	454	114	1. Aridæus, 6 and 4. moneths.	1 1. Ptolemie Lagi. 39.	L. 3. c. 3. §. 1, 2. & 3.	The Lamian War.	1. Omri. 25
	3709	425		2					136
	4391	433	457	115	4	4. Pardicas slain in Egypt. } Nab. Nov. 11.	L. 4. c. 3. § 8. & 9.	Victories of Eumenes.	4
	3712	428		1					139
	4395	433	458	115	5. Antigonus sent against Eumenes.	5			5
	3713	429		2					140
Aridæus slain by Olympias. Antigonus beaten by Eumenes.	4397	436	460	115	7	7			7
	3715	431		4					142
Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus. Olympias slain by Cassander. Antigonus grows dreadful.	4398	441	461	116	1. Cassander. 19	8		Thebes re-edified by Cassander.	8
	3716	432		1					143
Some place the beginning of Seleucus in this 12. from Alexander, by which accompt he reigned 32. years	4402	441	465	117	5	12 Nabonassar. Novemb 9.	Demetrius beaten at Gaza, by Ptolemy, and Seleucus.		12
	3720	436		1					147
Peace between Alexanders Captains: with division of Provinces.	4403	442	466	117	6	13			13
	3721	437		2					148

	Julian and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt	Syria and the Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jews. Daniel.
The Æra of the Kingdom of the Greeks.	4404	443	467	117	7	14	1 1. Seleucus, 30	L. 4. c. 5. §. 7.		14
	3722	438		3			1			149
Alexanders Captains assume the name of Kings.	4406	445	469	118	9	15 Ptolomy overcome by Demetrius at Cyprus.	3	Athens set free by Demetrius the son of Antigonus.		16
	3724	440		1			3			151
L. 4. c. 6. §. 4.	4413	452	476	119	16	23	10. The battail at Ipsus wherein Antigonus was slain. 10			23
	3731	447		4						158
	4414	453	477	120	17	24	11. Seleucus makes alliance with Demetrius 11			1 Timon the ancient. 13
	3732	448		1						159
	4417	456	180	120	1. Antipater and Alexander the son of Cassander.	27	14			4
	3735	451		4			14			162
L. 4. c. 6. §. 7.	4421	460	484	121	2. Demetrius, 6	31	18			8
	3739	455		4			18			166

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews. Daniel	
	4427	466	490	123	1. Pyrrhus. 7. Moneths.	37	24			1 Eleazar high Priest, 19	
	4745	461		2						172	
	4428	467	491	123	1. Lysimachus. 5	38	25			2	
	3746	462		3						173	
	4429	468	492	123	2	39 9 1 Ptolomy Philadelphus, 38	26			3	
	3747	463		4			26			174	
The translation of the Bible by the Septuagint	4432	471	495	124	5	4	29		The Tarentines raise war in the Eastern parts of Italy, and call in Pyrrhus against the Romans.	6	
	3750	466		3			29			177	
See L. 4. c. 6. § 9. & c. 7. §. 2.	4433	472	496	124	6. Lysimachus slain. Seleucus 7 Mon.	5	32 Seleucus slain in the end of the 124. Olymp. Polyb. and Justin. 30		Pyrrhus his victory against the Romans.	7	
	3751	467		4						178	
L. 4. c. 7. §. 3. & 7.	4434	473	497	124	1. Ptol. Ceraunus. Antipater. Meleager. Sosthenes.	6 Nabon Nou. 1	2 1. Antiochus Soter. 19 31	The Gauls do great spoil in Macedon and Greece, under Brennus and Belgius.		8	
	3752	468		1						179	
	4436	475	499	125	1 1. Antigonus Gonatas. 26	8	3		Pyrrhus goes into Sicil.	10	
	3754	570		1			33			181	
L. 5. c. 2. §. 6.	4438	477	501	126	3	10. Nabanassars year begins, Oct. 1	5	About these times the Achæan begun their society	Pyrrhus called out of Sicill against the Ro.	12	
	3756	572		1			35			183	
	4439	478	502	126	4	11	6		Pyrrhus overthrown by the Romans.	13	
	3757	473		2			26			184	
L. 4. c. 7. §. 5.	4441	480	504	126	6	13	8	Pyrrhus slain at Argos.	The Tarentines crave ayd of the Carthaginians.	15	
	3759	475		4			38			186	
The Translation by the Septuagint finished, this 17 of Philadelphus.	4445	484	508	127	10	17	12			19	Consuls.
	3763	497		4			42			190	
	4446	485	509	128	11	18. Nabonassar Octob. 29	2			1 Manasses high Priest 27	
	3764	480		1			90			191	
The more ancient Roman Consulships have been often so uncertain, that Livy hath doubted about them.	4450	489	513	129	15	22. Nabonassar Otto 28.	17	L. 5. c. 1. § 3.	The beginning of the first Punick war.	5	Ap. Claudius M. Fulvius
	3768	484		1			47			195	

	Julian and World	Rome. Nabon	Iphitus	Olymp.	Macedon	Egypt	Syria and the Kingdom of the Greek.	Greece.	Romans.	Jewes. Danie.	Consuls.
	4453	492	516	129	18	25	3 1 Antiochus Thous. 16			8	L. Valerius.
	3771	487		4			15			198	T. Octacilius.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 6.	4454	493	517	130	19	26	2		Duilius his victory at Sea.	9	C. Duilius.
	3772	488		1			51			199	Cn. Cornelius.
	4457	496	520	130	22	29	5		Regulus passeth into Africk.	12	M. Attil. Reg.
	3772	491		4			54			2 2	Cn. Cornelius.
L. 5. c. 1. § 8.	4458	497	521	131	23	30	6	Marcus Carymensis Prætor of the Achæans	Regulus taken prisoner.	13	L. Manlius.
	37.6	492		1			55			203	Q. Caditus.
	4463	502	526	132	28	35	11	Aratus recovers Sicyon & joyns it to the Achæans		18	L. Cæcilius.
	3781	497		2			60			208	C. Furius.
The Roman Consuls beaten at Lilybæum. The beginning of the Parthian Kingdom.	4464	504	427	132	29	36	12		Regulus his death.	19	C. Atilius.
	3782	498		2			61			209	L. Manlius.
	4465	504	528	132	30	27	13		Shipwrack & unhappy fight of the Romans at Sea.	20	P. Claudius Pulcher, and
	3783	499		4			62			210	L. Junius.
	4467	506	530	133	32	1. Ptolemy Euergetes 26	35			22	L. Cæcilius.
	3785	501		3			64			212	M. Fabius.
Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicil. L. 5. c. 1. §. 11.	4467	508	532	133	34	3	4 1. Seleucus Callinicus, 20			24	M. Fabius.
	3787	503		4			66			214	C. Atilius.
	4472	511	535	134	2 Demetrius 10	6	4		Lætatius his great victory at Ægates.	27	C. Luct. Catul.
	3792	506		3			69			217	A. Posthumius.
The war of the Mercenaries with the Carthaginians. L. 5. c. 2.	4473	512	536	134	2	7	5	Aratus wins Corinth.	Peace granted to Carthage.	Onias 1	Q. Lutatius.
	3791	507		4			70			218	A. Manlius.
	4473	513	537	135	3	8 Nabon Oct. 22	6			1 Simon the just 28	C. Claudius.
	3792	508		1			71			219	M. Sempronius.
The war with the Mercenaries ended.	4470	515	539	135	5	10	8		The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.	3	Graschus.
	3794	510		3			73			221	Falco.
	4482	521	545	137	3 1. Antigonus Doson. 10	16	14			9	Lepidus.
	3800	516		1			79			227	Malleolus.
	4483	522	546	137	2	17	15		A Roman Embassadour slain by Queen Teuta	10	M. Æmylius
	3801	517		2			80			230	M. Junius.
L. 5. c. 2. §. 7.	4485	524	548	137	4	19	17		Teuta, queen of Illyria subdued by the Romans	10	L. Posthumius.
	3803	519		4			82			234	C. Fulvius.
I. 5. c. 5. §. 1.	4489	528	552	138	8	23	5 1. Seleucus Ceraunus. 3			16	L. Æmylius.
	3807	523		4			86			224	C. Atilius.
Flaminius was also Consul this year. See L. 5. c. 2. § 8.	4492	531	555	139	11	26	5 1 Antiochus the Great, 36.		Marcellus his victory over the Gaules about Milan.	19	C. Cornelius.
	3810	526		3			89			237	M. Marcellus.
L. 5. c 5. §. 2.	4493	532	556	139	12	1. Ptolemy Philopater 17	2			20	P. Cornelius.
	3811	527		4			90			238	M. Minutius.
	4494	533	557	140	4 1. Philip. 42	2	3			20	L. Veturius.
	3812	528		1			91			239	C. Lutatius.

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt	Syria & kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece	Rome.	Jews and Daniel	Consuls.
Annibal taketh Saguntum.	4495	534	558	140	2	3	4	Demetrius Pharius chased out of his Lordship.		22	L. Æmylius.
	3813	529		2			92			240	M. Livius.
The beginning of the second Punick war.	4596	534	559	140	3	4	5	L. 5. c. 3. §. 4.	The battails of Ticinus and Trebia.	23	P. Cor. Scipio.
	3814	529		3			93			241	T. Sempronius.
The occurrences of this year are referred by Polyb. l. 3. to the 3 of the 140 Olymp. The battel of Thrasymene was fought in the Spring: the Olympian year began at the summer solstice. Hannibal and Marcellus Hiero King of Syracuse dyes Hieronymus succeeds	4497	536	560	140	4. Sol Eclips. Liv. l. 22. Feb 11. reckoning by Julyear	5. War in Syria between Antiochus and Ptol.	6	Philip and the Achæans at peace with the Ætol.	The battails of Thrasymene.	24	C. Flaminius.
	3815	530		4			94			242	Cn. Servilius.
	4498	537	561	141	5	6. Nabonassars year begins Octob. 16.	7		The great battel at Canne.	25	C. Terent. Varro.
	3816	532		1			95			243	L. Æm Paul.
	4499	538	562	141	6	7	8		Posthumius the R. Consul slain by the Gauls.	26	L. Posthumus.
	3817	533		2			96			244	T. Semp. Grac. Q. Fabius.
The two Scipio's slain in Spain. Hannibal wins Tarentum.	4502	541	565	142	9	10	11	Philip and the Achæans warr with the Etolians & Romans in Greece.	Syracuse won by Marcel.	247 1 Onias by Priest	Ap. Claudius.
	3829	536		1			99		Capua besieged	29	Q. Fulvius.
Hannibal at the walls of Rome.	4503	542	566	142	10	11	12		Young Scipio sent into Spain.	2	Cn. Fulvius.
	3821	537		2			100		Capua won by the Romans.	248	P. Sulpitius.
	4507	546	570	143	14	15	16		The battail at Metaurus.	6	C. Clau. Nero.
	3825	561		2			104			252	M. Livius.
	4508	547	571	143	15	16	17		Scipio drives the Carthaginians quite out of Spain	7	Q. Cecilius.
	3826	542		3			105			253	L. Veturius.
	4510	549	573	144	17	1. Ptolemy Epiphanes.	19		Scipio invades Africk.	9	Cethegus.
	3828	544		1			107			255	P. Sempronius.
	4511	550	574	144	18	2	20		King Syphax taken.	10	Servilius, and Servius.
	3829	545		2			108			256	
	4512	551	575	144	19	3	21		Hannibal vanquished by Scipio.	11	T. Claudius,
	3830	546		3			109			257	M. Servilius
The end of the second Punick war, and beginning of the Macedonian war with Philip. This year and the next were three Eclipses of the Moon.	4513	552	576	144	20	4	22		Scipio triumphs over Carthage.	12	Lentulus.
	3831	547		4			110			258	Petus.
	4516	555	579	145	21. Philip overcome at the River Absus, by the Romans.	7	25		L. 5. c. 5. §. 1. 3.	15	T. Q. Flamin
	3834	550		3			113			261	Sex. Ælius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 14. §	4517	556	580	145	The battail at Cynoscephalæ.	8	26	Liberty of Greece proclaimed by the Romans.		16	Cethegus. Q. Minutius.
	3835	551		4	24		114			262	
Hannibal expelled Carthage, L. 5. c. 5. §. 4. & c. 4. §. 5.	4518	557	581	146	25. Peace between Philip & the Romans.	9	27			17	L. Furius.
	3836	552		1			115			263	Marcellus.
Cap. 5. §. 5.	4519	558	582	146	26	10	28	War upon Nabis the tyrant.		18	M. Cato.
	3837	553		2			116			264	L. Valerius.
C. 5. §. 7.	4522	561	585	147	29	13	31. Antiochus at Chalcis.			21	L. Quintius.
	3840	556		1			119			267	Cn. Domitius.
	4523	562	586	147	30	14	32 Antiochus vanquished at Thermopylæ. 110		The great victory of L. Scipio over Antiochus in Asia which gave beginning to the Roman luxury.	22	Acil. Glabrio.
	3841	557		2						268	Nasica.
	4524	563	587	147	31	15	33	c 5 §. 8		23	L. Scipio.
	3842	558		3			121			269	C. Lælius.

	Julian and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus	Olymp.	Macedon	Egypt	Syria and the Kingdom of the Greek.	Greece.	Romans.	Jewes. Danie.	Consuls.
	4453	492	516	129	18	25	3 1 Antiochus Thous. 16			8	L. Valerius.
	3771	487		4			15			198	T. Octacilius.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 6.	4454	493	517	130	19	26	2		Duilius his victory at Sea.	9	C. Duilius.
	3772	488		1			51			199	Cn. Cornelius.
	4457	496	520	130	22	29	5		Regulus passeth into Africk.	12	M. Attil. Reg.
	3772	491		4			54			2 2	Cn. Cornelius.
L. 5. c. 1. § 8.	4458	497	521	131	23	30	6	Marcus Carymensis Prætor of the Achæans	Regulus taken prisoner.	13	L. Manlius.
	37 6	492		1			55			203	Q Caditus.
	4463	502	526	132	28	35	11	Aratus recovers Sicyon & joyns it to the Achæans		18	L. Cæcilius.
	3781	497		2			60			208	C. Furius.
The Roman Consuls beaten at Lilybæum. The beginning of the Parthian Kingdom.	4464	504	427	132	29	36	12		Regulus his death.	19	C. Atilius.
	3782	498		2			61			209	L. Manlius.
	4465	504	528	132	30	27	13		Shipwrack & unhappy fight of the Romans at Sea.	20	P. Claudius. Pulcher, and
	3783	499		4			62			210	L. Junius.
	4467	506	530	133	32	1. Ptolemy Euergetes 26	35			22	L. Cæcilius.
	3785	501		3			64			212	M. Fabius.
Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicil. L. 5. c. 1. §. 11.	4467	508	532	133	34	3	4 1. Seleucus Callinicus, 20			24	M. Fabius.
	3787	503		4			66			214	C. Atilius.
	4472	511	535	134	2 Demetrius 10	6	4		Luctatius his great victory at Ægates.	27	C. Luct. Catul.
	3792	506		3			69			217	A. Posthumus.
The war of the Mercenaries with the Carthaginians. L. 5 c. 2.	4473	512	536	134	2	7	5	Aratus wins Corinth.	Peace granted to Carthage.	Onias 1	Q. Luctatius.
	3791	507		4			70			218	A. Manlius.
	4473	513	537	135	3	8 Nabon Ol. 22	6			1 Simon the just 28	C. Claudius.
	3792	508		1			71			219	M. Sempronius.
The war with the Mercenaries ended.	4470	515	539	135	5	10	8		The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.	3	Graschus.
	3794	510		3			73			221	Falco.
	4482	521	545	137	3 1 Antigonus Doson. 10	16	14			9	Lepidus.
	3800	516		1			79			227	Malleolus.
	4483	522	546	137	2	17	15		A Roman Embassadour slain by Queen Teuta	10	M. Æmylius
	3801	517		2			80			230	M. Junius.
L. 5. c. 2. §. 7.	4485	524	548	137	4	19	17		Teuta, queen of Illyria subdued by the Romans	10	L. Posthumus.
	3803	519		4			82			234	C. Fulvius.
I. 5. c. 5. §. 1.	4489	528	552	138	8	23	5 1. Seleucus Ceraunus. 3			16	L. Æmylius.
	3807	523		4			86			224	C. Atilius.
Flaminius was also Consul this year. See L. 5. c. 2. § 8.	4492	531	555	139	11	26	5 1 Antiochus the Great, 36.		Marcellus his victory over the Gaules about Milan.	19	C. Cornelius.
	3810	526		3			89			237	M. Marcellus.
L. 5. c 5. §. 2.	4493	532	556	139	12	4 1. Ptolemy Philopater 17	2			20	P. Cornelius.
	3811	527		4			90			238	M. Minutius.
	4494	533	557	140	4 1. Philip. 42	2	3			20	L. Veturius.
	3812	528		1			91			239	C. Lactatius.

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt	Syria & kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece	Rome.	Jews and Daniel	Consuls.
Annibal taketh Saguntum.	4495	534	558	140	2	3	4	Demetrius Pharius chased out of his Realm.		22	L. Æmylius.
	3813	529		2			92			240	M. Livius.
The beginning of the second Punick war.	4496	534	559	140	3	4	5	L.5.C. 3.§.4.	The battails of Ticinus and Trebia.	23	P.Cor. Scipio.
	3814	529		3			93			241	T. Sempronius.
The occurrences of this year are referred by Polyb. 3. to the 3 of the 140 Olymp. The battel of Thrasymene was fought in the spring: the Olympian year began at the summer solstice. Hannibal and Marcellus. Hiero King of Syracuse. Then Hieronymus succeeds.	4497	536	560	140	4. Sol Eclips. Lun. 1. 22. Feb 11, reckoning by Julian year	5. War in Syria between Antiochus and Ptol.	6	Philip and the Aetolians at peace with the Romans.	The battails of Thrasymene.	24	C. Flaminius.
	3815	530		4			94			242	Cn. Servilius.
	4498	537	561	141	5	6. Nabonassars year begins Octob. 16.	7		The great battel at Canne.	25	C. Terent. Varro.
	3816	532		1			95			243	L. Æm Paul.
	4499	538	562	141	6	7	8		Posthumius the R. Consul slain by the Gauls.	26	L. Posthumus. T. Semp. Grac.
	3817	533		2			96			244	Q. Fabius.
The two Scipio's slain in Spain. Hannibal wins Tarentum.	4502	541	565	142	9	10	11	Philip and the Athenians make an Edictum to Romans in Greece.	Syracuse won by Marcel.	247 1 Onias by Priest 39	Ap. Claudius.
	3829	536		1			99		Capua besieged		Q. Fulvius.
Hannibal at the walls of Rome.	4503	542	566	142	10	11	12		Young Scipio sent into Spain.	2	Cn. Fulvius.
	3821	537		2			100		Capua won by the Romans.	248	P. Sulpitius.
	4507	546	570	143	14	15	16		The battail at Metaurus.	6	C. Clau. Nero.
	3825	561		2			104			252	M. Livius.
	4508	547	571	143	15	16	17		Scipio drives the Carthaginians quite out of Spain	7	Q Cecilius.
	3826	542		3			105			253	L Veturius.
	4510	549	573	144	17	1. Ptolemy Epiphanes.	19		Scipio invades Africk.	9	Cethegus.
	3828	544		1			107			255	P. Sempronius.
	4511	550	574	144	18	2	20		King Syphax taken.	10	Servilius, and Servius.
	3829	545		2			108			256	
	4512	551	575	144	19	3	21		Hannibal vanquished by Scipio.	11	T. Claudius,
	3830	546		3			109			257	M. Servilius
The end of the second Punick war, and beginning of the Macedonian war with Philip. This year and the next were three Eclipses of the Moon.	4513	552	576	144	20	4	22		Scipio triumphs over Carthage.	12	Lentulus.
	3831	547		4			110			258	Petus.
	4516	555	579	145	23. Philip overcome at the River Absus, by the Romans.	7	25		L.5.c.5.§.1.3.	15	T. Q Flamin
	3834	550		3			113			261	Sex. Ælius.
L.5.c. 5. §. 14.	4517	556	580	145	The battail at Cynoscephalæ.	8	26	Liberty of Greece proclaimed by the Romans.		16	Cethegus. Q. Minutius.
	3835	551		4	24		114			262	
Hannibal expelled Carthage, L.5.c.5. §.4. & c.4. §. 5.	4518	557	581	146	25. Peace between Philip & the Romans.	9	27			17	L. Furius.
	3836	552		1			115			263	Marcellus.
Cap. 5. §. 5.	4519	558	582	146	26	10	28	War upon Nabis the tyrant.		18	M. Cato.
	3837	552		2			116			264	L. Valerius.
C.5. §.7.	4522	561	585	147	29	13	31. Antiochus at Chalcis.			21	L. Quintius.
	3840	556		1			119			267	Cn. Domitius.
	4523	562	586	147	30	14	32 Antiochus vanquished at Thermopylæ. 110		The great victory of L. Scipio over Antiochus in Asia which gave beginning to the Roman Luxury.	22	Acil. Glabrio.
	3841	557		2						268	Nasica.
	4524	563	587	147	31	15	33	c 5 §.8		23	L. Scipio.
	3842	558		3			121			269	C. Lelius.

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece	Rome.	Jews and Daniel	Consuls.
L.5.c.5.§.9.	4527	566	590	148	34	18	36		Scipio banisheth himself from Rome.	26	Lepidus.
	3845	561		2			124				
	4528	567	591	148	35	19	6 1. Seleucus Philopater. 12.			27	S. Posthumius.
	3846	562		3			125			273	Q. Martius.
L.5.c.6.§.2.	4532	570	594	149	38	22	4		Scipio, Hannibal, and Philopœmen die. Fully placeth Eclipses dated two years earlier.	30	Marcellus.
	3849	565		2			128			276	Q. Fabius.
L.5.c.6.§.3.	4532	571	595	149	39 The tyranny of Philip, his son Demetrius accused to him, and slain the next year.	23	5			31	Paulus.
	3850	566		3			129			277	Cn. Babius.
Cap. 6. §. 4.	4533	572	596	149	40	24	6	Callicrates betrays the Achæans, and all the Greeks.		32	Cethegus.
	3851	567		4			130			278	M. Babius.
	4534	573	597	150	41	1. Ptoleineus Philometor, and his brother Physcon 35	7			35	A. Posthumius.
	3852	568		1			131			279	Piso.
	4535	574	598	150	42 1. Perseus, 11. or 12 yrs.	2	8			34	Piso.
	3853	569		2			132			280	Manlius.
An Eclipse of the Moon the 7th of Philometor, 573 years and 206 daies from the beginning of Nabonassar, which agrees with this account. It was by Julian years the last of April, about one of the clock in the morning.	4540	579	603	151	6	7	7 1. Antiochus Epiphanes. 12.			39	Sp. Posthumius
	3858	574		3			137			285	Scævola.
	4541	580	604	151	7	8	2		See l. 5 cap. 6. §. 11.	Jason buyeth the high Priesthood, and after him Menelaus.	L. Posthumius.
	3859	575		4			138				M. Popilius.
	4543	582	606	152	9 The beginning of the war of Perseus.	10	4		c.6.§6	288	P. Licinius.
	3861	577		2			140				C. Cassius.
	4545	584	608	152	11	11. Egypt invaded by Antiochus under pretence of helping one King against another.	6				Martius.
	3863	579		4			142			290	Servilius.
A total Eclipse of the Moon foregoing the overthrow of Perseus, in the ye. of Nabonassar here noted.	4546	585	609	153	12 Perseus vanquished and taken.	12. Antiochus commanded out of Egypt by the Romans, spoils the Temple.	7	Cap 6 §.8,9. & 11.	Gentius King of Illyria taken.	192. Persecution in Jury for Religion.	L. Æm. Paul.
	3864	580		1			143				C. Licinius.
	4547	586	610	153	Macedon made a Roman Province.	14	8	The captivity of all the best among the Greeks.	Triumphs in Rome.	C.6. § 10. & 12.	Paius.
	3865	581		2			144				Junius.
	4549	588	612	153		16	10			1 Judas Maccabæus, 6	Torquatus.
	3867	581		4			146				Octavius.

An

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AN

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